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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MANAGING EDITOR

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS

101658
29/4/10

VOLUME XXIV

1909

BALTIMORE: THE EDITORS

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXIV.

BALTIMORE, JANUARY, 1909.

No. 1.

KING LEAR IN CELTIC TRADITION.

In an Ossianic ballad called *Dan Liuir*, printed by J. F. Campbell in his *Leabhar na Feinne*¹ (1872) from a collection made by Duncan Kennedy in 1774, tradition represents Ossian as relating to St. Patrick an interesting episode in the careers of King Lear and Finn MacCumhail. The vicissitudes of the ever-rankling quarrel between Finn and Goll, chief of Clan Morna, a rival band of Fianna, compelled Finn to betake himself to the court of Lear, where he was entertained with bountiful cheer, bardic songs, and the music of harps. The feast was interrupted by the approach of Goll with a powerful fleet. Whereupon the obliging and amicable Lear ventured forth with only three attendants to meet Goll, whom he succeeded in reconciling to Finn.

Finn found opportunity for requiting the hospitality of Lear, when one day he descried the latter, "a poor, infirm, weak, and despoiled old man," a veritable "Lear's shadow," wandering about unattended by even a poor fool, bereft of his kingdom, and reduced to beggary. What strange mutations had brought him to this low estate, whether blood had proved unkind, or machinations of foes too successful, the ballad fails to record, being more taken up with the generosity of Finn in returning favor for favor.

The above ballad has been reprinted along with the music, which is of a character peculiar to Fingalian songs, by Mr. Malcolm MacFarlane in *Guth na Bliadhna* (Aberdeen, Aug., 1907). In the following translation of this version, the present writer is indebted to Mr. MacFarlane for the explanation of a number of obscure passages :

Finn journeyed one day to the house of Liur
In company with thirty-one men ;
The man of least account among us
Was chief of an army of three nines.

¹ A collection of Scotch Gaelic traditional ballads relating chiefly to the Ossianic cycle ; see pp. 125 ff.

The wife of Liur sat at the shoulder of Finn,
Finn sat at the side of Liur ;
King Art sat at the side of Aodh,
By the side of Aodh of mirthful mien.

Couachar and Cormac sat together
By the side of Aodh of the beautiful skin,
And so on forth ;
Every one that was there sat down to meat.

Through the hall was wafted the music of harps
And bardic songs chanted melodiously ;
The humped bow on every instrument
Was making mirth and music.

Thus we whiled away the time,
And pleasant indeed was our state ;
Wanting neither honey nor wine,
Nor melody and the music of fiddles.

In such wise were we till the day of the meeting,
Merry, joyous, and with sorrow banished ;
Until there broke upon our view
The host of Goll drawing near on the wave.

Then it was that Finn spoke out :
" I see a sight that is unpleasant to me :
Yonder I see the fleet of Goll
Sailing toward us to Driom-feann.

" And banners I see floating high
On the pointed masts over Driom-bhagh ;
In that conflict of banners above our heads
We have no part nor our host of spears."

Cormac of victories advised us then ;
Gave us advice that was truly hard :
" Though wise in experience are you all,
You three shall protect us from that man."

Then it was that Liur spoke out :
" Goll is under obligation to me ;
And if the man remembers it,
He would account me well deserving of good-will."

Liur sallied out then to meet Goll,
Accompanied by three others on horse-back ;
And pleasantly he saluted him,—
Great to-night is the glory of my tale.

" May fortune prosper you, O Goll,
The best of men under the sun ;
The best are you for favor and honesty,
Better far are you than me.

"Do you remember the day of the speckled horse,
On Fraochan above Tom-cliar?
When I gave to you the gray horse
Would bear you speedily over the mountain?"

"Since you have done thus to me, O Liur,
Most hospitable of men under the sun,
If you have a request to prefer,
Rise, and you will get it readily."

"There was a guest in my house last night,
Fionn MacCumhail, strong as the crust of the earth,
(obscure)
Allow him to depart safely over the mountain,
Since he has eaten at my board."

"Return whence ye came,
O brave host from Innis-freoin;
And by the soul that lives in my body,
The word of my mouth will not be broken."

We all proceeded to the house of Liur,
And found therein both honey and wine;
Though to-day it is cold and desolate,
It was once an abode of kings.

I myself saw the house of Liur
And plentiful within was honey and wine;
And I myself saw afterwards
Liur and his hospitable wife in want.

And I myself saw afterwards
Wanting food both man and wife,
Making their way from house to house
Seeking what house would provide them meat.

One day while Fionn was hunting
With his Fianna brave on Ben Luir,
Whom did he see afar off
But the high king named Liur.

At once he sped to meet him,
For the affection and love he bore him;
He permitted no one else to accompany him
That Liur might be spared all shame.

"Long life to you, O Liur,
Bestower of favors, obliging and kind;
Many gifts have you made to me,
Asking nothing in return.

"You gave to me while you sat at the wine
Thirty-one cows with their calves;
A young fool calf following each cow,
On the heather above Driom-caol.

"You gave to me one hundred and eighty horses
To bear me safely away from danger;
And thirty-one ships for my equipment,
To carry me home over the sea.

"Freely you bestowed those things on me,
Without refusal, without stint;
Nor did you bespeak a price
For land and visit, speech and praise."

"I am indeed no longer Liur,"
Said the man renowned for clemency;
"Preferable far to me is death
Than to be found in his likeness."

"Truly you are no other than Liur,"
Replied the man of the beautiful skin;
"Accordingly you will receive
Repayment in full, gift for gift.

"I'll give to you cow for cow,
I'll give to you horse for horse,
I'll give to you ship for ship,
To bear you safely o'er the waves.

"Every chief on the face of the earth
I'll force to restore your land to you;
I'll make you full wealthy again,
And send you safely to your house."

My king fulfilled everything he promised.
Six days they spent then in sports together;
In fair garments he clothed them both,
The wife and hero of greatest fame.

A hundred horses were sent to defend him
And to guide him to his land;
Pleasant and mirthful was the time
The Fians spent in company with the hero.

These were the exchanges the two kings made,
Thus they repaid their obligations to each other;
Lovely were they, amiable and generous,
Full of mercy and courtesy.

A thousand blessings to you every season,
O Oisín, hospitable and sweet of voice;
For the tales so pleasant
You have related to me during my life.

The normal disregard of popular tradition for congruity has here operated to reduce to a petty kinglet a sea-god whose origin and nature are enveloped in an obscurity as baffling as a druidic mist. From the failure of the few meagre references to him in Irish literature to body him forth with well-defined features, we know little of him beyond that his name means the sea (*Lir* nom., *Lir* gen.), and that he belongs to the *Tuatha de Danann*, or folk of the goddess *Danu*. How far he justifies the title of the Irish *Poseidon*, sometimes conferred on him by modern writers, is beyond conjecture, for Irish legend early stripped him of all association with the sea, bestowing on his son *Manannan mac Lir* the attributes of a sea divinity. In Irish poetry, however, is preserved the memory of his connection with a watery realm. Such a reference is to be found in the *Song of the*

Sea, for the Sea-Kings of Dublin by Rumann, the "Irish Virgil" ²:

"Storm is on the plain of Lir (*i. e.*, the sea)
Bursting o'er its borders here," etc.

"The ploughing of Lir's vast plain
Brings to brave hosts pride and pain," etc.

The vast period of time over which his existence stretches, together with the fact that most of the tales which give him anything more than a local habitation and a name, viz., the Ossianic, are comparatively late, may account for the minifying of his powers and his possible confusion with other Lirs.

No one, to my knowledge, has approached the subject of Lir from the Irish side except O'Curry, whose article, however, is well-nigh inaccessible, being locked up, as it were, in the exceedingly scarce volumes of the *Atlantis Papers*.³ Hence reproducing in part the argument of this valuable contribution to the subject will be nearly equivalent to offering new material. And since it is impossible to consider Lir genealogically apart from his son Manannan mac Lir, to whose name and fame he chiefly owes his perpetuation, the nature and rôle of the latter must be involved in the discussion.

It is chiefly in connection with the mysterious race of the Tuatha de Danann that he is most frequently met with. This race, in the mythological period of Irish history, overran Ireland as the second great migration. According to pagan Irish belief, they descended upon the country from Heaven; later Christian coloring made them appear as having dwelt formerly in some northern land, where they had learned druidery, *i. e.*, magic, which they employed to obscure the sun for three days after their arrival. At any rate, all accounts invest them with supernatural powers. They in turn had to yield to the third and last body of migrators, the Milesians, from whom are descended the chief Gaelic families. After their disastrous defeats by the latter at Tailten (Teltown) and Druim Lighen (Drumleene), they

dispersed over the country, quartering themselves in sid-brughs (fairy mansions) among the hills and mountains, whence, still endowed with the attributes of gods, they issued forth, invisible to mortals, to work good or evil. The evolution of popular belief has reduced them to the fabled life of the "good people" of Irish fairy lore. They are represented in Ossianic legends as sometimes warring against Finn and the Fianna, and as sometimes coming to their aid; *e. g.*, in the Battle of Ventry, whither they resorted in response to Finn's appeal for help against the invading forces of the King of the World. "Are those yonder the Fianns of Erin," asks the latter. "No," was the answer, "another lot of the men of Erin that dare not be on the surface of the earth, but live in sid-brughs under the ground, called Tuatha de Danann."⁴ As appears from this battle, although of divine origin, they are not exempt from being put to hard straits, nor even, as we learn elsewhere, from violent death.

The tale naturally laid under requisition first for material, because of its suggestive title and its currency, is that of the *The Fate of the Children of Lir*,⁵ belonging in manuscript to the seventeenth century. This modernised story offers little to link him with the character we know through Geoffrey of Monmouth, unless it be the element of tragic suffering that attends his footsteps. In this tale the suffering is brought about, not through filial ingratitude, but through treachery dealt out by the step-mother on the children. The version of this tale extant in the *Book of Fermoy* is significant in that it represents Manannan mac Lir as presiding over the assembly of the Tuatha de Danann chiefs and apportioning out the land. Among these chiefs is Lir, to whom is assigned for a dwelling-place Sid Finnachaid, *i. e.*, the hill of the White Field, on the top of the Few mountains in County Armagh. Apparently the Lir of the famous "Children" is not he who is father to Manannan.

In the Ossianic tales also he comes to light only as a chief of the Tuatha de Danann race. That

² *Bards of the Gael and the Gall*, Dr. George Sigerson, 2nd edit., 1907. (The Rumann belongs probably to the eighth century.)

³ Note on Manannan mac Lir in *Atlantis Papers*, vol. IV, pp. 226 ff.; O'Curry, 1863.

⁴ *Cath. Finntraga*, edit. with translation by Kuno Meyer, 1885.

⁵ Edit. with translation by O'Curry in *Atlantis Papers*, vol. IV, 1863. Also translated in Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances*, 2nd edition, 1894.

he is identical with the Lir of the preceding tale is inferable from the name of his residence, Sid Finnachaid, from his rank, and from the qualities attributed to him. The few additional features yielded up by these tales are as follows. He is numbered among the Tuatha de Dananns who hasten to the relief of Finn at the Battle of Ventry, where, however, he more than meets his match in his mortal adversary. The *Colloquy of the Ancients*⁶ relates that, at a council held by the Tuatha de Danann chiefs, one of them is made to say, "Let Lir of Sid Finnachaid advise us since he is the oldest of the Tuatha de Danann." In another place mention is made of Lir as engaged in feuds with some of his brother chiefs, in one instance marching to the assault accompanied by his twenty-seven sons and their sons. In one of these engagements, while seeking to avenge the slaughter of his "baleful bird" on Cailte, one of the Fianna, who was enjoying the hospitality of Ilbreac mac Manannan of Easa Ruaid (Assaroe), another of the Tuatha de Danann, Lir lost his life. Cailte, seeing the host approach, asked, "What seems to you the most dangerous conflict?" "The man of greatest valor among the Tuatha de Danann," said they, "that is, Lir of Sid Finnachaid." Cailte, true to his custom of choosing the most perilous combat, sought out Lir, and after a furious battle came off victor, leaving Lir dead on the field.

Before we attempt to straighten out his genealogy, it will be well to dispose of two isolated references to Lir. In the Bodleian *Dinnseneas of Sinann*⁷ occur lines which remember his divine origin: "Sinend, daughter of Lodan Luchar, son of Lir, out of the Land of Promise," etc. O'Curry mentions in his list of heroic tales named in the *Book of Leinster* (twelfth century) the *Three Circuits of the House of Lir*.⁸ But this tale of the attack on Lir's house has not been preserved.

⁶ *Acallamh na Senorach*, Irische Texte, vierte serie, I heft; edited by W. Stokes from the *Book of Lismore* (fifteenth century). The *Colloquy* is a series of dialogues between Cailte, one of the last of the Fianna, and St. Patrick.

⁷ See *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, O'Curry, vol. II, Lecture vii, 1873.

⁸ *Lectures on Manuscript Materials*, App. p. 584, O'Curry, 1873.

According to O'Curry,⁹ the only Lir mentioned in the genealogical tract on the Tuatha de Danann in the *Book of Lecan* (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) is he who was father to Manannan, and this only in one stanza of an ancient fragmentary poem quoted in this tract:

Manannan, son of Lir, from the Lake,
sought many battles;
Oirbsen was his name; after hundreds
of victories, of death he died.

Now, in a poem written by Flann of Monasterboice (ob. 1056) on the manner of death of the Tuatha de Danann chiefs, we find another name given to the father of Manannan:¹⁰

Elloit the renowned fell,—
The great fierce father of Manannan,—
And Donann, the perfect, comely,
By De-Domnann of the Formorians.

The son of Alloid the renowned fell,
The illustrious, wealthy Manannan,
In the battle in hard Cuillinn,
By the hand of Uillenn of the red weapons.

The parentage and locale of Manannan are further illuminated by the following passage from the *Yellow Book of Lecan* (fourteenth century)¹¹:

Manannan, the son of Alloit, a druid of the Tuatha de Danann; and it was in the time of the Tuatha de Danann he flourished. Oirbsen, indeed, was his true name. It was this Manannan that resided in Arann (in the Firth of Clyde) and this is the place which is called Emhain Abhlach (Emain of the Apple-trees); and it was he that was killed in the battle of Cuillinn, by Uillenn, son of Catir, son of Nuada of the Silver Hand, in contention for the sovereignty of Connacht; and when his grave was dug, it was then Loch Oirbsen burst over the land (out of the grave) so that it was from him that Loch Oirbsen (now Loch Corrib) is named; he was the first Manannan.

This was certainly the Manannan who distributed the Tuatha de Danann chiefs to their hill residences; still he is not called the son of Lir, though the first stanza quoted above, where he is called Manannan, the son of Lir "from the Lake," seems to identify him with Oirbsen, who

⁹ Note on Manannan mac Lir in *Atlantis Papers*.

¹⁰ *Book of Leinster*, fol. 6a; the stanzas quoted are the 4th and the 29th.

¹¹ The Ms. H. 2, 16, T. C. D., col. 881.

gave his name to Loch Oirbsen. This Oirbsen, or Manannan, the son of Alloit, is again set down as the son of Lir in an anonymous poem written for Ragnall Arannach (Randal of the Arann Island), a Dublin Dane of the eleventh century. In praise of Arann runs one stanza so :

If the hosts of the men of the lands were yours,
From the Boyne till you touched the Tiber,
More important to you for honey and mead-joy
Emhain (*i. e.*, Arann) of the Son of Lir, son of Migher.

There can be no doubt that the "Son of Lir" spoken of here was the great Manannan of Emhain of the Apple-trees. It would seem then that tradition and scribal carelessness have confused the two Manannans, attributing the acts, gifts, and residence of the Son of Lir to the Son of Alloit. That this confusion is of ancient standing may be seen from the following item taken from the genealogical tract in the *Book of Lecan* :

These are the three sons of Alloit, son of Eladan (son of Delbaeth, son of Neit), namely : Manannan the merchant, who traded between Erin and Albain ; and it was he that used to know the coming of the foul or the fair weather in the sky ; and Bron, the son of Alloit, . . . and Ceiti, the son of Alloit.

Again in Cormac's *Glossary*—written about 890—occurs another description of Manannan :

Manannan, son of Lir : that is, a famous merchant who resided in Inis Manann (the Isle of Man) ; he was the best mariner that was in Western Europe. . . . Inde Scoti Britones eum deum vocaverunt maris ; ejus inde filium esse dixerunt (*i. e.*, Mac Lir, son of the sea) ; et de nomine Manannan, Inis Manannan dicta est nomen, et de nomine Manann Insola Manann dicta est.

We may then identify Manannan mac Lir, of the Isle of Man, and of Emhain Abhlach, with Manannan mac Alloit, of Loch Oirbsen, in Connacht. He must not, however, be confounded with the Manannan, son of Athgnai, who protected Naisi and Deirdre in their exile and who nursed and reinstated their son after their death.¹² That the Lir slain by Cailte is not the Alloit, son of Eladan, is clear enough, for the latter, be it remembered, met his death at the hands of De-

domnann, a Fomorian. We must look to the poem on Randal Arannach for the true parentage of Lir, the father of Manannan, for the Lir of the Ossianic tales is spoken of as the son of Lughaidh. So concludes O'Curry's argument.

That Manannan is a god, restless and fickle, as fond of shifting his shape as his abode, is seldom lost sight of in Irish romance. His mysterious palace lies somewhere in an isle of the sea, inaccessible to the average navigator, where he holds sway as Lord of the Land of Promise, of the Happy Other-world, the Honey-plain, around whose borders

"Summer sea-steeds leapt and ran
Far as reach the eyes of Bran.
Rivers run with honey clear
In the fair land of Mac Lir."

He possessed many famous weapons, some which never failed to slay.¹³ Two of these, the "Great Fury" and the "Little Fury," he loaned to Diarmait in his flight with Grainne from the vengeance of Finn. His horse, called "Splendid Mane," which was fleetier than the wind and was equally at home on water as on land, together with his impenetrable armor, formed the equipment of Lugh, when the latter, in his capacity of ambassador, cast the Fomorian camp into wondering inquietude. His boat, named the "Wave-sweeper," renowned for propelling and guiding itself at the wish of its occupants, bore the ill-fated Children of Tuirenn in their quest for the treasures of the East. And his shield, which was fashioned from the Ancient Dripping Hazel, the withered tree on which was fixed the head of Balor of the Evil Eye, after Lugh had cut it off at the Battle of Moytura, later became the shield of Finn.

Manannan mac Lir is an important figure in the epic cycle of the Cuchullinn tales, which have been approximated to the time of Christ, and also plays a considerable part in the Ossianic cycle. In the person of his own son Mongan, of the sixth century, he brings about a re-birth of Finn, of the third century.

Welsh legends present scarcely less hazy outlines of Lir. Here, too, divested of all remem-

¹² *The Fate of the Children of Uisnech* ; see *Atlantis Papers*, p. 416, O'Curry. This Manannan is called the "fourth Manannan."

¹³ See *The Mythology of the British Isles*, p. 60, Charles Squire, 1905.

brance of his connection with the ocean, he is well-nigh submerged in the fame of his son Manawyddan mae Llyr. Nor does the latter figure entirely in the rôle of an ocean deity, but appears also as a shoemaker and a tiller of the soil, having been deposed from his throne by an intruder.¹⁴ Some reminiscences of his associations with the Land of Promise, however, are evident in the state of peace and plenty in which he and his companions dwell so long as they carry about with them the head of his brother Bran. That he was a master of magic could be attested by no less a personage than Arthur, who was at one time a captive in the prison which Manawyddan constructed of human bones for the confinement of those who trespassed in his Underworld.

It has been suggested that the name Llyr Lleidiath (Llyr of the Foreign Dialect) applied to him in Welsh literature, and the name Iweridd (Ireland), given to one of his wives, render probable the supposition that he may have been borrowed by the Britons from the Gaels subsequent to a common Celtic mythology.¹⁵ The name Llyr itself is a source of confusion. The Welsh translated the Latin Leir of Geoffrey of Monmouth into Llyr.¹⁶ The form Leir looks to be derived from *legr-* of *Legraceaster*, now *Leicester*. The river *Legra*, from which the city took its name, has been regarded as the old name of the *Soar*, and as extant in that of the village *Leire*, spelled *Legre* in the *Doomsday Book*. It probably points back to a *Legere* or *Ligere*, which recalls *Liger*, 'the *Loire*.'

He who would attempt to unravel the snarl in which the stories of *King Lear* and his three daughters have become involved in Welsh and English tradition should consult *The Story of King Lear*, wherein are discussed very thoroughly the stories, their probable origin and relation, and their fortune, until once for all time fixed by Shakespeare.¹⁷

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THÜMMEL'S REISE AND LAURENCE STERNE.

Moritz August von Thümmel's *Reise in die mittäglichen Provinzen von Frankreich im Jahre 1785 bis 1786*¹ has been mentioned in a general way as one of the most important German imitations of Laurence Sterne. The following is an attempt to show briefly the extent and nature of Thümmel's relationship to the English master and to note some striking differences.

Thümmel, like Sterne, starts out in pursuit of health, but apart from this initial motive both travellers are chiefly interested in the opportunities to observe the workings of the human heart. They revel in sentimental situations and seek first in every place stimulation of the sympathetic emotions. Such expressions as "Das menschliche Herz," "Das Spiel des menschlichen Herzens," "Kenntnisse des menschlichen Herzens" are of constant occurrence in Thümmel's account of his adventures. Both travellers ignore completely the ordinary objects of the sightseer's interest. The passage in which Thümmel expresses his attitude of indifference with reference to the sights of Paris seems hardly more than an elaborated paraphrase of Yorick's well-known statement. He testifies formally at the frontier on his return that the purpose of his journey has been the search for health and "die Verbesserung meines Verstandes und Herzens."

In motive and incident there are frequent suggestions of Sterne. The traveller is asked to take a lady into his carriage. He twice encounters maimed veterans who are reminiscent of Sterne's old soldiers. There is a sentimental visit to a tomb like Sterne's pilgrimage to that of Amandus and Amanda. The beautiful woman crazed through love and grief is a direct imitation of Maria of Monlines. One notes further the peasants' dance, Yorick-like praise of the patient ass, a devotion to sentimental mementoes, ruthless interruptions of sentimental situations by inter-

¹⁴ See "Manawyddan, the Son of Llyr," the *Mabinogion*, translated by Lady Guest, 1877.

¹⁵ *Arthurian Legends*, p. 130, J. Rhys, 1891.

¹⁶ *Celtic Folklore*, vol. II, p. 547, J. Rhys, 1901.

¹⁷ Published in *Palestra*, No. xxxv, Wm. Perrett, Berlin, 1904.

¹ In ten parts, Leipzig, 1791-1805. In two contemporary reviews Thümmel's name is connected with that of Sterne (*Allg. dt. Bibliothek*, Vol. 108, pp. 343-349, and *Gothaische gelehrte Zeitungen*, 1791, II, pp. 305-7). For other reviews and contemporary opinions, see the article on Thümmel in Jördens.

position of the commonplace, tacit acknowledgment of Yorick's division of travellers into categories, constant examination of motives for actions and discussions of the moral aspect of conduct. As in "Shandy" discussions of curious topics are found, and use is made of odd old books, casuists, theologians and scientists. There are frequent appeals to the reader to skip a passage, to help the author, for instance, in describing the beauty of a woman, or to justify a course of action. A genuinely Sterne's idea is the oft-mentioned collection of window-panes on which autographs or sentiments have been written.

The relation between Thümmel and his servants is also reminiscent of Sterne; for instance, he takes one of them into the carriage with him, as Sterne did, and lets another sit down at the table with him. Thümmel brings into his narrative also certain objects which through Sterne had gained a sentimental currency, like the horn snuff-box, or nettles growing on a grave. But Thümmel has adopted Sterne's manner most completely and most frequently in the scenes which border on impropriety. He copies very successfully Sterne's method in the clever insinuation of indelicacies. The constant assertion of innocence in compromising situations, the perilous proximity of sleeping arrangements, accidental bodily contact and nudity are part and parcel of Thümmel's machinery.

Several scenes of Thümmel's journey could hardly have been written had not Sterne's Pater Lorenzo sentimentalized the monk. The most striking of these scenes is the visit to the galley where the capuchin labors in the midst of inconceivable misery. As a narrator of sentimental scenes Thümmel, like Sterne, beholds in priest and monk representatives of unselfish devotion and human kindness, but his general attitude toward the Roman Church differentiates itself widely from that of Sterne. His contempt for certain phases of church life is openly and vigorously expressed, and far beyond a flippant ridicule of belief in saints and the efficacy of relics one finds genuine opposition to the Catholic clergy and formal attack upon the whole church system. This antagonism is an unmistakable animus pervading much of the book. In his capacity of a thoughtful observer of existing conditions Thüm-

mel treats the church with hostility and scorn, as a sentimentalist, he celebrates the devotion and humanity which he witnesses in some of her servants. In Sterne's work scenes and events are described only in the medium of his sentiments and emotions; in this consists the exquisite simplicity of the *Sentimental Journey*. In Thümmel's record we have not only his emotions coloring his interpretations of foreign life, but we find also at considerable length the convictions and conclusions of an observing and analytic mind.

Thümmel's outspoken German patriotism contrasts strikingly with Sterne's indifference. The German seeks opportunity to hear his mother-tongue, and to meet with his fellow-countrymen. Sterne avoids his compatriots. Descriptions of external nature, so conspicuously absent in Sterne, are extensive and appreciative in Thümmel's *Reise*. The trend of German thought and feeling in the intervening decades made this inevitable, and, similarly, the idealization of rural simplicity and the sentimental acceptance of democratic ideas are more pronounced than in Sterne's day. Rousseau's influence in these matters is marked. He is mentioned many times in the book, and a bust of him is frequently referred to as a mute critic of the author's conduct. The idea of the return to nature is repeatedly and definitely expressed.

In eccentricity of external form Thümmel never suggests Sterne. The narrative is like a succession of little stories bound together by the thread of a traveller's experience. It would be possible to take out of the book a number of separate stories, well-rounded complete "Novellen." The frequent use of verse is a noteworthy difference in external form from Sterne's two narratives. In this respect we are reminded of Chapelle, who is indeed mentioned once in the text.

In spite of dissimilarities Thümmel's *Reise* must be classed as a "Sentimental Journey"; its spirit is in the main unquestionably derived from Sterne; the literary genre has been determined by the English master. In many cases the influence of Sterne is also observed in the details of the narrative and the style of the narration. Yet it is not a mere imitation. To Sterne's sentimentalism have been added powers of sound observation and reflection. It is a later

"Sentimental Journey," modified by decades of more substantial democratic thought and social theorizing, infused with a new devotion to the beauties of nature, less humorous and essentially German.

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NOTES ON THE EGLOGES OF ALEXANDER BARCLAY.

It is well known that Alexander Barclay's fourth Eclogue is a paraphrase of Mantuan's fifth, also, that his fifth Eclogue is a paraphrase of Mantuan's sixth, with the insertion of a long passage taken from Mantuan's seventh.¹ But this is not all that he borrowed from his chief model in pastoral verse,² from the poet whom he extols even above Theocritus and Virgil—

As the moste famous Baptist Mantuan
The best of that sort since Poetes first began.

Even in his other Eclogues a part of the pastoral setting is taken from Mantuan.

The beginning of the first—with its mention of the great storm which has damaged the crops, its rebellious complaint that evil falls upon the just as well as upon the unjust, and its attempt to justify the ways of God to men—is all due to the beginning of Mantuan's third. Compare, for example, the passage,

A thousande illes of daunger and sicknesse,
With diuers sores our beastes doth oppresse :
A thousande perils and mo if they were tolde
Dayly and nightly inuadeth our poore folde.

¹ For details, see O. Reissert, *Neuphilologische Beiträge*, Hannover, 1886, pp. 14–31. One item which is taken bodily from Mantuan (VII, 42–54) is a "detailed notice of a mural painting in Ely Cathedral, which has long since disappeared"—a painting which struck one of Barclay's editors as "very curious," *Publications of the Percy Society*, vol. XXII, p. 43. It is cited also in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (s. v. Alexander Barclay) as a proof that Barclay's Eclogues were written at Ely.

² Not that he translated "six of Mantuan's Eclogues," as Professor C. H. Herford says in his edition of *The Shepherd's Calendar*. The 'Prologue' carefully states that "fine Ecloges this whole treatise doth holde."

Sometime the wolfe our beastes doth deuour,
And sometime the thefe awayteth for his hour :
Or els the souldiour much worse then wolfe or thefe
Agaynst all our flocke iorageth with mischefe,

with Mantuan, III, 22–24 :

Mille premunt morbi pecudes, discrimina mille
Sollicitant, latro insidias intentat ouili,
Atque lupus, milesque lupo furacior omni ;

and the lines,

This is the rewarde, the dede and worke diuine,
Unto whose alters poore shepherdes incline :
To offer tapers and candles we are fayne,
And for our offering, lo, this we haue agayne,

with Mantuan, III, 28–29 :

Hoc superi faciunt, quibus inclinamur ad aras,
Et quibus offerimus faculas et cerea uota.

Nor can the two speakers begin their paraphrase of the *Miseria Curialium* of Æneas Sylvius without being reminded of Mantuan's ninth Eclogue, *De Moribus Curie Romanæ*. Hence the punning allusion to one "worthy courtier," Bishop Alcock,

He all was a cocke, he wakened us from slepe,
And while we slumbred he did our foldes kepe, etc.,

which is adapted from the complimentary allusion to Falco Sinibaldus, "ouium custos ipso uigilantior Argo"—

Pastor adest, quadam ducens ex alite nomen, etc.

The beginning of the second Eclogue—where Cornix has been detained by an overflow of the river, and by the labor of "strengthing our bankes, and heyghting them agayne"—is borrowed from the beginning of Mantuan's second. Compare Coridon's comment on the situation,

The earth in this poynt is like maners of men,
From hye groundes water descendeth to the fen.
The hye mountaynes of water them discharge,
And lade the riuers with floudes great and large.
Agayne the riuers dischargeth them likewise,
And chargeth the Sea : so mens common gise
Is alway to lay the burthen or the sacke
(Which them sore grieneth) upon some other backe,

with the comment of Fortunatus, Mantuan, II, 12–16,

nam liquitur altis
Nix hyberna iugis, implent caua flumina montes :
Se exonerant fluuiosque onerant : sic flumina rursum

Se exonerant, pelagusque onerant. hominum quoque mos est,
Quæ nos cunque premunt, alieno imponere tergo.

In the fifth Eclogue, in addition to all that is taken from Mantuan's sixth and seventh, there is a passage which comes from Mantuan's second. Compare the words of Amintas, toward the close of the poem,

What man is faultlesse, remember the village,
How men uplondish on holy dayes rage.
Nought can them tame, they be a beastly sort,
In sweate and labour hauing moste chiefe comfort.
On the holy day assoone as morne is past,
When all men resteth while all the day doth last,
They drinke, they banket, they reuell and they iest,
They leape, they daunce, despising ease and rest.
If they once heare a bagpipe or a drone,
Anone to the elme or Oke they be gone.
There use they to daunce, to gambolde and to rage,
Such is the custome and use of the village.
When the ground resteth from rake, plough and wheles
Then moste they it trouble with burthen of their heles.
To Bacchus they banket, no feast is festiuall,
They chide and they chat, they vary and they brall,
They rayle and they route, they reuell and they crye,
Laughing and leaping, and making cuppes drye,

with Mantuan, II, 66-75,

Rustica gens, nulla genus arte domabile, semper
Irrequietum animal gaudet sudore, peracto
Mane sacro, festa (quando omnibus otia) luce,
Ipsa oti ac famis impatiens epulatur, et implet
Ingluuiem, audito properat tibicine ad ulmum,
Hic furit, hic saltu fertur bouis instar ad auras.
Quam rastris uersare nefas et uomere, terram
Calcibus obduris et inerti mole fatigat,
Ac ferit, et tota Baccho facit orgia luce,
Vociferans, ridens, saliens, et pocula siccans.

In Barclay's 'Prologe,' too, there is an interesting parallel to a passage in Mantuan's dedicatory epistle. This epistle, dated 1498,³ begins with a playful riddle :

Audi, o Pari, ænigma perplexum, quod Œdipodes ipse non solueret. Ego quinquagenarius et iam canescens, adolescentiam meam reperi, et habeo adolescentiam simul et senectam.

The explanation is, that in the previous year he had found a certain youthful composition of his own, consisting of eight Eclogues and, "ab illa

³The *Dictionary of National Biography* (s. v. Alexander Barclay) says that Mantuan's Eclogues "appeared about 1400."

ætate," entitled *Adolescentia*. And now he sends it forth again, in revised and augmented form. But history repeats itself, and it was not long before Barclay could report a similar experience :

But here a wonder, I fortie yere saue twayne
Proceeded in age, founde my first youth agayne.
To finde youth in age is a probleme diffuse,
But nowe heare the truth, and then no longer cause.
As I late turned olde bookes to and fro,
One little treatise I founde among the mo :
Because that in youth I did compile the same,
Egloges of youth I did call it by name.

And now he too has "made the same perfite"—

Adding and bating where I perceyued neede.⁴

In Barclay's fourth Eclogue there is inserted a stanzaic poem entitled, '*The description of the Towre of vertue and honour, into the which the noble Hawarde contended to enter by worthy actes of chiuallry.*' This is a "wofull elegy" upon the "laste departing of the noble lorde Hawarde," the English admiral who died in 1513. As its title might suggest, it seems to owe something to *Le Temple d'honneur et de vertus* (c. 1503), written by Jean Lemaire de Belges, "à l'honneur de feu Monseigneur de Bourbon." Thus, Barclay's "castell or toure" is set

High on a mountayne of highnes maruelous,
just as Lemaire's is seen "sur une montaigne haulte et spectable dont le sommet surpassoit de beaucoup les nues errans en region aerine."⁵ It is a "building olde"

Joyued and graued, surmounting mans brayne,
And all the walles within of fynest golde,

just as Lemaire's is "ung edifice sumptueux a merueilles a maniere dung temple anticque en ouuraige, mais riche oultre mesure en sa façon." And men attain unto it by "holy liuing," by

⁴It is interesting to notice that Professor ten Brink found in these lines the explanation of a peculiar quality of Barclay's Eclogues, namely, their combination of the freshness of youth with the maturity of manhood: "So erklärt es sich, wenn diese Dichtungen in höherem Grade als andere Werke Barclay's jugendliche Frische mit männlicher Reife in sich vereinigen" (*Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur*, vol. II, p. 455).

⁵*Œuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges*, publ. by J. Stœcher, Louvain, 1891, vol. IV, p. 216.

"wisedome," by "Justice and equitie," etc.—a list of virtues which roughly corresponds to the six images set at the portal of Lemaire's temple: Religion, Prudence, Justice, Equité, Espérance and Raison.

In E. K.'s famous epistle to Gabriel Harvey he suggests that Spenser wrote in pastoral form, "mynding to furnish our tongue with this kinde, wherein it faulteth." Just how he could ignore Barclay's five Eclogues, is not very clear. They must have been fairly well known at that day, even if they were not very highly valued. Indeed, it is possible that he had Barclay's 'Prologe' definitely in mind when he wrote this particular passage. The "example of the best and most auncient Poetes, which devised this kind of wryting, being both so base for the matter, and homely for the manner, at the first to trye theyr habilities," had already been cited by Barclay:

Therefore wise Poetes to sharpe and proue their wit,
In homely iestes wrote many a mery fit,
Before they durst be of audacitie
Taunture thinges of weyght and grauitie.

The simile, "as young birdes, that be newly crept out of the nest, by little first to prove theyr tender wyngs, before they make a greater flight," may be set beside another passage in the 'Prologe,'

The birde unused first flying from her nest
Dare not aduenture, and is not bolde nor prest
With winges abroade to flye as doth the olde, etc.

And it is surely significant that the first five pastoral poets in E. K.'s list—Theocritus, Virgile, Mantuane, Petrarque and Boccace—are the five poets mentioned by Barclay, in the same unusual order. For the obscure lines,

What shall I speake of the father auncient,
Which in brieft language both playne and eloquent,
Betwene Alatheia, Sewstis stoute and bolde
Hath made rehearsall of all thy storyes olde,
By true historyes us teaching to object
Against vayne fables of olde Gentiles sect,

must allude to Boccaccio. They suggest, to be sure, the title and the professed purpose of his *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*, rather than his sixteen Latin Eclogues.

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STYLE AND HABIT: A NOTE.

A systematic and exhaustive study of literary style from the psychological point of view yet remains to be undertaken. Hitherto the studies put forward in English from this point of view have been inadequate, and, with the exception of Spencer's erroneous essay, distressingly vague and general. DeQuincey's essay was seminal, but only seminal. His *Organology* and *Mechanology*, and his passage on Publication, are too brief and general to be called developed theses: DeQuincey would not descend to Spencer's minuteness. On the other hand, Lewes, though always promising something detailed and definite, never really settles down from his inspiring platitudes. Renton, to mention but one more, has preferred the logical point of view, and in his plethora of metaphysics upon sensibility has parted company with the strictly individual character of style. The French attempts are almost equally disappointing. When engaged in a search for those peculiarities and nuances of mental make-up which distinguish the infinite varieties of individuals, one from the other, it is neither sufficient to divide mankind in general, as De Gourmont does, into two great classes *les visuels et les émotifs*, nor satisfying to account for any one individual, as Hennequin would, by predicating him with an over-development of the third frontal convolution. Such observations are undoubtedly valuable, but they are woefully fragmentary when put side by side with the mental complexity which is present in any great writer and which, by its multiple variations of tendency and emphasis, constitutes the unique thing called his individual character. To conduct a thorough-going, psychological inquiry into literary style is a task whose general magnitude is equalled only by the minuteness of its particular details. Not one or two principles of a general nature, not one or two categories for the distribution of mankind from China to Peru, but rather the application of well-nigh all the observations of an entire two-volumed psychology to each author contemplated, and the careful notation of varying values and tendencies in each case, is what is needed and what has never been undertaken.

In essaying such a task the old confusion of four points of view, which has been the cause and

bane of all the loose discussion of the subject at the hands of those mysteriously blest with a "literary sense," would easily be avoided. These views, the descriptive, æsthetic, pedagogical, and genetic points of view, have seldom been rigorously segregated or even properly distinguished in prose-style theory from Aristotle to Spencer. The adoption of the genetic or psychological view, including as it does the conception of style as a normal aspect of ordinary psychic functioning in words, and therefore a common aspect of all writing, good or bad, but varying in its details of tendency and emphasis from individual to individual, excludes alike the æsthetic conception of style as "good-style," the descriptive definition based upon the reader's general and vague "sense" of an author's style, and the pedagogical precept that style is a detachable ornament or a mere thing of verbal and syntactical mechanism which may be learned by clever address to the rules of rhetoric. The genetic view recognizes with primary emphasis that thought and feeling processes, and verbal expression, and the psychological inter-relations of these, furnish the materials for definite categorical investigation. Æsthetic appreciation and pedagogical fervor must not interfere in a purely genetic inquiry.

The two primary facts mentioned above, that style is an aspect of all writing, except strict compilation, and that it is something that varies as we pass from individual to individual, suggest the method to be adopted in a psychological inquiry into the nature of literary style. The first fact embraces the material of the inquiry (mind expressed in written words). And of this material three aspects must be considered: the nature and kinds of thought (including emotions and feelings), the relations of thought to words, and, finally, the relations of words to each other, grammatically and syntactically considered. The field indicated is of course the whole field of general psychology *plus* the special fields of the psychology of written expression and the science of grammar and syntax. But the work in these fields has, fortunately, been already done, for the most part by specialists within each territory. Of their rich results the methodical student of style may now avail himself. The least developed field is that

of the psychology of the written word as distinguished from the spoken word. Of course the old and much debated question of thought with words and thought without words will necessarily pop up and prove something of a bogey; but now-a-days there is much new light upon this matter; and, besides, for the actual production of written words, which involves a concurrent stream of thought and words, the question is hardly of deterrent importance. On the other hand, far more attention than ever before must be paid to the influence of the so-called sub-conscious factors which play a prime part in the production of what is termed "inspired writing." Here, too, much material and observation have been collected, especially of late, by trained specialists.

The second primary fact (style is a variant which varies with the individual) suggests the next step in method. It is obvious that in psychology, as in any organic science, the character of individuality is distinguished by the variations of the particular subject within a common generic type. Now the multiplicity of such variations in the psychologic individual is as highly as it is intangibly increased over the variations in the anatomical individual; and if these variations of mental and emotional economy always occurred in an unique and sporadic fashion, their very multiplicity and ephemeral nature would produce a confusion of successive, aberrant individualities instead of that fairly stable thing which we call the character of the individual. In a word, variation alone will produce individuality within a species, but variation alone will not produce what in the human species we call individuality of character. The definiteness of this latter appearance demands a corresponding definiteness or regularity in individual variations. Instead of sporadic cases, the variations must assume a repetitive tendency. A tendency to act consistently and repeatedly in certain ways, which are at more or less variance with the ways of other people, is what constitutes individuality of character.

It is necessary, therefore, when once the description of thought relations and thought-word relations in general is as far as possible complete, to observe what funding and coördination of particular variations any particular author's case presents,—what variations by their repetition

evinced stable tendencies. In the case of Shelley's prose, for instance, the lyrical progression of his thought by imaginative rather than ratiocinative association of ideas and images is a trick so often repeated that it becomes at once a peculiarity and a stable peculiarity, *i. e.*, a stable variation. Thus that variation of individuality of character to which common experience gives an aphoristic recognition, but which is rather recognized than definitely conceived, may be somewhat exactly analyzed and accounted for. To be sure, the analysis will involve a statement of variation in degree and emphasis from common kinds of mental action even more often than a statement of variation in quality, but the very difficulty of such statements goes a long way to explain rationally the prevailing vagueness of appreciations of literary characters. Moreover, it may be noted in passing, that perhaps written speech alone offers that quality of permanency which is necessary to the object of a minute psychological analysis into character; and, as Renton well observes, a psychological inquiry into style may throw much new light upon psychology itself. That the writing of an author shows him only in certain moods and delineates his character at its best rather than in its entirety, is a contingency which, while it rather fortunately eliminates for us comparatively unessential traits, may yet be minimized, if that is thought desirable, in cases where the more pretentious literary remains of an author are supplemented by his familiar, undress expression in diaries or letters.

To such regular variations of thought-feeling and thought-word relations, which in their synthetic complexity present the author's character through the somewhat deflecting media of words, may be applied the term style. Variations which are not coördinated by repetition cannot be said to constitute a style. In this sense, and in this sense only, a writer may be said to have no style; but that is practically equivalent to saying that all writing has style, since ignorance most of all has its regularity of stupidity. Occasionally the sporadic variation is so exaggerated as to obtrude itself strongly upon the attention,—as in the case of a single poetic figure in a text-book in mathematics. But that sporadic variation is to be noted as such: it would not justify one in speaking of

the poetic style of the book. Where the variation is sufficient in degree or kind to be termed pathological, style becomes striking in its bizarre and extravagant effects—those effects which, usually apprehended most easily, are most definitely described. But for those other, usual, and more subtle traits of individual style which, though perceiving, we despair of describing save in the vaguest of figures, the regular variations within the limits of the normal may be taken as the cause.

But these regular variations of thought and thought-word relations, these more or less stable tendencies coördinated by repetition, present to the psychologist a law of functioning which has already been deeply studied in other than literary phenomena; and the present literary problem should be studied in the light of what has already been determined from the study of the same character of functioning in other and similar contents. This law of function is called *Habit*. Literary style therefore should be investigated as a problem in the psychology of habit, and upon it should be brought to bear all those discovered data and principles which are now included by psychologists under the category of habit. The observations of James, Tarde, Baldwin, and Jastrow would yield rich results if properly applied. The circular-reaction theory and the laws of imitation and invention, for instance, would go a long way to supply the discipline of style and rhetoric with that philosophical basis which the methodical mind of Spencer desired. The formation of individual habits by direct and original adaptation to environment or by indirect and imitative adaptation, by chance variation or enforced instruction; the refractive aspect of imitation; the growth of types of association; the imitative susceptibility and the inventive inclination,—these are only a very few of the principles which would find a rich illustration in the facts and functions of style. The concrete and picturesque elements of style, or its rhythmic effects, whether these belonged to an Isaiah or to a Sir Thomas Browne, to an Inca of Peru or to a Jeremy Taylor; the style of a retired dreamer like Amiel, or of an empire-dreamer like Sir Walter Raleigh; the style of one who talks and writes rather for effect than for matter; the style which is the product of expression concurrent

with thought, as compared with that which belongs to the expression of a thesis already carefully elaborated into logical proportions; the style of the verbalist, or of the abstractionist; or of the emotionalist; of the theologian, or the mystic, or the reformer; of the spectator, or of the participator; the grand style, the *estilo culto*, the metaphysical style, the precious style,—these are only a very few of the aspects of style which would receive their proper explanation and coördination. Moreover, the social aspects of habit, if sought in literary style, would afford to the latter an adequate theory of what is more vaguely designated as the style of a literary period or epoch, or of a race, and would assign to Taine's *milieu* its proper place in the economy of style. The “isms” of style would be explained—Euphuism, Marinism, Gongorism, Asianism, Atticism, Rhetoricism. Individual habit as subjected to the requirements of an external authority, with its temporized acquiescence or flaring revolt—the set of problems so ably discussed by Bagehot and Royce and Tarde—would find its literary homologue in the syntactical and metrical aspects of style and in the impositions of the various literary types. Finally, certain general habits of thinking underlying all these variations would be distinguished as such; and, consequently, instead of speaking of a narrative or expository style, it would be realized that here there is a difference, which must be expressed by speaking of the narrative manner, or expository manner. Style is individual habit within the general manner of a type or kind.

When once it becomes clearly understood that style is a case of habit, the difficulties of the subject begin to clear. Such expressions as “Le style est de l'homme même,” or style is the “physiognomy of the mind,” take their place as figurative statements of the matter of habit. The chief characteristics of the conception—its vagueness and “indefinableness”—are accounted for by the complexity of subjective habits. The old quarrel as to the propriety of extending the word *style* to all writing or to *belles lettres* alone, is systematically solved. The demand of the literary student for a definite program of work is met so far as the science of mental habit can be brought within observation and definition, and the student understands forthwith in what boundaries his sub-

ject lies, and how far he can treat it methodically—how far science may go, and where appreciation must begin. Nor, to adopt the pedagogical view for a moment, will anyone who has taught literary composition fail to recognize that in the definition of style as habit lies the description, as well as the secret, of his labor with young, untutored minds whose habits have been ignorantly and unconsciously formed.

It would not be venial, even in a mere note such as this, to neglect the warning that must accompany any such minute task as the one here recommended. The task, to be sure, would amount to nothing so much as to restating all our loose criticism of the present on a methodical and as near as might be scientific basis—the basis in psychology long since recommended and prophesied by DeQuincey. The task is not so much revolutionary as supplementary and definitive. But dryly and unimaginatively followed, without the proper generalization, the analysis contemplated would inevitably degenerate into a labor as useless as that of the *Rhetores Græci* themselves; and for the old mechanical discipline, another, quite as defunct, would be substituted. The results of the analyses of style-habits can find their justification only in a wider definition of spiritual meaning and a completer, more authentic conception of the inter-relations of particular characters in the social organism.

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THE SINGULAR FATE OF A PASSAGE IN FREYTAG'S *DIE JOURNALISTEN*.

Responding to the editor's request, I submit the following statements as supplementary to my previous article, “A Curious Mistake in Freytag's *Die Journalisten*,” published in the *Modern Language Notes*, vol. XXIII, pp. 180-1, June, 1908.

Some half-dozen annotated editions of *Die Journalisten*, as we have seen, give the reading ‘*Zeitung*,’ instead of the suggested version ‘*Zeit*,’ in the passage previously indicated. In view of the additional evidence now at hand, it seems

more than probable that in each case the form 'Zeitung,' as I already intimated in my former discussion, is indeed directly traceable to some of the older German editions. If this be actually the case, as I hope to show with such new facts as I can produce at this writing, then, I suppose, we shall be justified in saying that the responsibility for this particular reading 'Zeitung,' does *not* rest primarily with our American editors.

Before proceeding to a consideration of the new available data, it will perhaps be interesting to note that, besides the annotated editions with the impugned reading 'Zeitung,' I have also found several others with the version 'Zeit.' There does not, however, seem to be any sufficient reason, at this time, for assuming that this difference is due to an editorial alteration of 'Zeitung' to 'Zeit.' Rather, I should say, is this reading 'Zeit' also to be traced back to German sources. I shall now, with a few words, attempt to reconcile these seemingly contradictory statements.

The Hirzel editions of Freytag's works which were published previous to 1873 have the reading 'Zeit.' Strangely enough, however, the editions which appeared between 1873 and 1889 show the version 'Zeitung' instead of 'Zeit.' The reason for this most singular change does not now appear, and even the author's publisher is at a loss how to account for it. Personally, I cannot conceive Freytag to have been responsible for the change. Indeed, soon after the publication, in 1886, of the first edition of the *Gesammelte Werke*, Freytag seems to have ordered the original version 'Zeit' to be restored. At this same time a sentence which originally stood directly after 'Charakter,' was dropped from the text. For the sake of orientation on this point, I refer the reader to my previous article. The discarded sentence referred to reads as follows: 'Sie sind zwar jetzt ein armer Teufel, aber es wird Ihnen noch besser gehen in der Welt.' As we should expect from what we have noted thus far, we find that the *second* edition of Freytag's *Gesammelte Werke*, as well as the later editions of his *Dramatische Werke*, and also the two editions of *Die Journalisten* issued since 1890, have, all of them, the version 'Zeit.' The seventh edition of *Die Journalisten*, S. Hirzel, Leipzig, 1882, still shows the reading 'Zeitung.' From these facts it is apparent that the reading

'Zeit'—for which I previously expressed my preference—is the one which will finally have to stand as authoritative. The detailed statements regarding the curious fate of the passage in question are based on information kindly submitted by Freytag's publisher, S. Hirzel, of Leipzig. The facts were communicated to me by Dr. J. Ernst Wülfing, of Bonn (Germany).

As stated in my first article, I am seriously handicapped here as far as the older editions of the play are concerned. Nevertheless, I shall take this opportunity to call attention to still another textual variation in the same passage. From the editions at my disposal, I am able to state that there are at least three distinct versions of the passage as a whole. Besides the points of difference already noted, I find that one of the variant versions has before the negative 'nicht' the intensifying adverb 'gar,' while the other two readings lack this augmentative particle.

Without commenting further upon these interesting variations, I shall now simply enumerate the three versions in full. For the sake of the reader's convenience, it may be advisable to italicize the points of difference. The three complete readings before me are, accordingly, as follows:

- (a) Ihnen kann's in unserer *Zeit gar nicht* fehlen.
- (b) Ihnen kann's in unserer *Zeitung nicht* fehlen.
- (c) Ihnen kann's in unserer *Zeit nicht* fehlen.

As we should, indeed, have expected, the simple, straightforward, and critically suggestive version, 'Ihnen kann's in unserer *Zeit nicht* fehlen,' seems to have received the author's final sanction.

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CHAUCER'S ENVOY TO BUKTON.

On the hazard of drawing inferences about Chaucer's married life from so jocose a poem as the address *To Bukton*, we may learn something from Eustache Deschamps. That he satirized

marriage is notorious. We have not only his long *Miroir du Mariage*, but various lyrics of similar tenor. In No. 271 (II, 116), which has a good deal of resemblance to Chaucer's poem, Deschamps praises the freedom of the celibate :—

Les serfs jadis achaterent franchise
Pour estre frans et pour vivre franchis,
Car li homs serfs est en autrui servise
Comme subgiez en servitude chis ;
Mais quant frans est, il est moult enrichis
Et puet partout aler ou il lui plaist,
Mais ce ne puet faire uns homs asservis,
Pour ce est li homs eureus qui frans se paist.

Donc est bien foulz et fole qui est chise
En serf lien d'estre femme et maris, etc.

In No. 340 (III, 54), he calls the man who marries a second time a fool :—

Un chien, un chat, un lievre et un conin,
Un esprevier, un oisel de riviere,
Et les poissons refusent a l'engin ;
Quant prins y sont en aucune maniere,
S'ilz eschapent, ilz se traient arriere,
D'y rembatre n'ont nulle fois envie ;
Toudis pensent a leur prinse premiere ;
Dont est cilz fous qui deux fois se marie.

Here, too, we may compare the address to Bukton.

No. 823 (IV, 343) is similar :—

Homs hors du senz, plains de forçonnerie,
Tristes, dolens, chetifs et malostrus,
Est li meschans qui deux foiz se marie ;
Puisqu'il s'i est une foiz embatus,
Du premier cop il doit estre tens
Pour ygnorant, mès qu'il y entre arriere,
Des maleureux doit porter la banniere.

In No. 929 (v, 138) Deschamps dissuades a friend from wedlock. Compare also Nos. 931 (v, 140), 976 (v, 216), 977 (v, 217). In the last-mentioned *balade*, the speaker says that he has been a captive in Syria, and implies that marriage is a worse bondage than slavery among the Saracens :—

J'ay demouré entre les Sarrasins,
Esclave esté en pays de Surie.

Compare *Bukton*, vv. 22–24 :—

Experience shal thee teclie, so may happe,
That thee were lever to be take in Fryse
Than eft to falle of wedding in the trappe.

On the usual principles of interpretation—which tend to ignore the obvious probability of convention or of the dramatic touch—such utterances would be enough to show that Deschamps

was unhappy in his married life. Yet in another *balade*—advice of a father to his daughter who has just become a wife—he exhorts the girl to copy the virtues of her dead mother :—

Fille, au depart et a vo bien alée,
Qui par mari estes de moy sevrée,
Vueilliez en bien a vo mere retraire
Tant que de vous, qui bien vous ay amée,
Ne soit nul jour male chanson chantée :
Soyez humble, courtoise et debonnaire.¹

Chaucer's *Envoy to Bukton* may or may not be in good taste, but we are certainly not justified—in view of what we have seen in the case of Deschamps—in allowing it any autobiographical significance. It seems to have been not uncommon to send a jocose message, in dispraise of wedlock, to a friend who had either just married or was on the point of taking such a step. Probably such utterances were no more seriously meant than the jests which are passed upon an intending bridegroom by his intimates at pre-nuptial “stag dinners” now-a-days.² Deschamps was certainly not offended when his friend Simon Poyart favored him with a missive of this kind :—

He ! Eustace, dire pnes desormés :
“ Adieu bon temps ! ” car tu l'as tout perdu ;
Soies certain, plus n'en auras jamès,
N'encor ne scez pas qui est advenu ;
Car jusques cy l'en t'a tousjours tenu
Bon compaignon, et tu seras clamez
Chetifs, dolens, es tu bien mariez ?³

Our mediæval ancestors were willing to go rather far for the sake of a joke. Witness the apparent cynicism (peculiarly revolting to us) of one of Deschamps's complaints about the hardship of having to give his daughter a *dot*.⁴ Yet there is every reason to believe that this was the same daughter whom he addresses so tenderly in the *balade* of good advice already referred to.

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¹No. 1151 (VI, 84). See the sensible remarks of Hoepffner, *Eustache Deschamps, Leben und Werke*, 1904, pp. 53–54.

²Compare the custom of sending satirical or so-called “comic” valentines, which is of considerable standing—so far as age is concerned—though now happily falling into desuetude.

³*Œuvres de Deschamps*, IV, 351. In his reply (No. 830, IV, 352), Deschamps addresses Poyart as “treschier et bon ami.”

⁴No. 1150 (VI, 81); cf. No. 1149 (VI, 79).

DARES AND DICTYS.

Dares and Dictys, An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Versions of the Story of Troy. By NATHANIEL EDWARD GRIFFIN. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company.

Dr. Griffin, in his dissertation on *Dictys and Dares*, has had a wide field of literature to cover, with the mass of erudition that has been expended on the intricate and changing problems of the subject he has chosen. For the history of the medieval Troy legend, the works of Dunger and Joly were not more important than the publications in 1892 of Noack and Patzig who, by a new study of the Troy matter in the Byzantine chroniclers, showed the existence of a longer and more elaborated text of Dictys, than that represented in the Latin *Ephemeris*. They were the starting point for a number of critical studies in the long-neglected field of Byzantine writers, and the results of these studies are for the first time summed up and adjusted in a concise and judicious manner by Dr. Griffin. The general results of all these studies have been fully justified by the publication of the fragments of the Greek Dictys, discovered in the Tebtunis papyri; but these few fragments show that certain details in the reconstruction of the Greek text, can only be cited as instances of the fallibility of textual critics. Thus the well-warranted conjecture, based upon the date of the papyrus—the early part of the third century—that the Greek Dictys was written at least prior to 200 A. D.,¹ puts out of court at once the assumption (8, n. 3, 110, 119) that the *Prologus*, if written by the author of the Greek Dictys, was indebted to the Life of Apollonius of Tyana of Philostratus, for the fiction of the earthquake in Crete, even if the latter work can be attributed to a date as early as 217.² Further, the detailed description of the death of Achilles, through his love for Polyxena, denoted in the Dictys fragment,³ shows the absurdity of finding the source of the account in the Latin version in the slight

allusions in the *Ἡρωϊκος* of the younger Philostratus, who from the posterior date of his work (213–219)⁴ might well have been the borrower in this as in other episodes.⁵

In the introductory chapter of seventeen pages, Dr. Griffin has summed up the contents of Dictys and Dares, and shown their prevalence and use in medieval literature, and their continued authority as historians and stylists in the learned world down to the eighteenth century. This summary of the whole problem, in which the brief outline of the text is fully substantiated by extensive notes, only calls for a few supplementary remarks, in way of criticism. Colliliens's suggestion (1, n. 3) that the very name of Dictys, and the fiction of the finding of the *Ephemeris* were devices borrowed from Alexander Monachos's account of the discovery of the body of St. Barnabas, should have only been mentioned to state that the stories are so different, that the account of Alexander,⁶ which was written fifty years (525)⁷ after the date of the alleged discovery, of which, naturally, there is no record in contemporary chroniclers,⁸ could

⁴ Münscher, *l. c.*, 498, 508, 557. Griffin, 110, follows Dunger, *Dictys Septimius*, 44–6, in not correctly distinguishing the two writers of the same name.

⁵ Cf. Münscher, *l. c.*, 501, n. 72. The emphasis that Philostratus lays on the campaign in Mysia, and the story of Telephus (Münscher, *l. c.*, 505 ff., 537 ff.), does not make his account as detailed in some particulars as that in the Latin translation. Cf. Dictys (II, 1–7); where (II, 14) the reference to Eurypylos, the son of Telephus, is found in the Greek Dictys (*Tebt. Pap.*, II, 15, ll. 81 ff.). Dunger also thinks that Philostratus is the earliest authority for the murder of Achilles in the temple of Apollo (*l. c.*, 45); with the discovery of the Greek Dictys one can ask whether it is the source of the allusion in the pseudo-Justinian *Apology*, which is dated by Harnack, 180–240, to Achilles who, “τὰ θεότευκτα ὅπλα ἀποδυσάμενος, νυμφικὴν στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος, φίλων ὄμμα ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος νηῷ” (Harnack, *Sitzungb. der Berl. Ak.*, 1896, 634, ll. 16–18).

⁶ *Acta Sanctorum*, 3d. ed., Junii II, 444 ff.; cp. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelges.*, II, 2 (1887), 195, 301.

⁷ Krumbacher, *Ges. d. byz. Lit.*, 2d. ed., 164.

⁸ Malalas, 385; Theophanes, I, 184–5 (which represents the unabridged text of Malalas, cp. Gleye, *Byz. Zeit.*, IV, 157, v, 433; Brooks, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, VII, 292, 299). The mention of the *Inventio* is first found in Theodorus Lector, II, 1 (A. D. 530; Krumbacher, *l. c.*, 291); then in the *Chron.* of Georgios Monachos, ed. de Boor, 618, 21 (842, Krumbacher, 352); and in Kedrenos, I, 618 (1100, Krumbacher, 36).

¹ *Tebtunis Papyri*, ed. Grenfell, Hunt, & Goodspeed, II (1907), 10.

² K. Münscher, *Philologus*, Suppl. x, 489, 557.

³ *Tebt. Pap.*, II, 12–14.

not have even been suggested by the earlier account of Dictys.

As a criterion on the date of both the Greek original and the Latin translation (3, n. 2), no one⁹ has made use of the statements in the *Prologus* telling how Nero "Annales vero nomine Dictys inscriptos in Græcam bibliothecam recepit" and of Malalas' "καὶ ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ βιβλιοθήκῃ ἀποτεθῆναι αὐτὰ" (p. 250, 9). The correctness of the phrase "Græcam bibliothecam" is vouched for by the statement of Suetonius¹⁰ that Augustus added in the temple of Apollo "porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Græcaque," and the inscription in regard to an attendant "ab bybliothece Græca."¹¹ This library, divided into two sections, was founded in 28 A. D., escaped the Neronian fire, and was burned to the ground in 363.¹² Does the more general term "Public Library"¹³ of Malalas represent the Greek Dictys, and is the more specific statement due to the translator, who in that case may have lived before the destruction of the library by fire?

The *Historia Daretis Frigii*, interpolated in three manuscripts of the chronicle attributed to Fredegarius, can not be called "two long excerpts from Dares" (5, n. 4), if it is something other than a mere abridgment of the *Historia*.¹⁴ The fashion of contrasting the veracity of Dares and Dictys with the mendacity of Homer was not confined to medieval writers (11, n. 1); the first French translator of the *Iliad*, Jean Sanson (1529–1530), invokes their authority as well as that of Guido delle Colonne, to correct the errors of Homer,¹⁵ after Juan de Mena (1410–1456) had considered it necessary to defend him from the attacks of Guido;¹⁶ and the Marquis de Santillana (1442) pleaded for a Spanish translation of parts of the *Iliad*, even if the works of Dares

and Dictys were available.¹⁷ The sources of the eleventh Oration of Dio Chrysostomos have been examined in more detail than by Chassang (11, n. 2).¹⁸

Rohde¹⁹ and Norden²⁰ have collected many instances of finding manuscripts in the tombs of the writers, which have not been noted by Dr. Griffin and his authority Joly (14, n. 1), and in not a single one is the discovery due to an earthquake, as was the case with the *Ephemeris*, according to the *Prologus*, a notion much more natural in Dr. Griffin's opinion, "than that the tomb of the author merely collapsed through old age" (119).

The fiction of attributing to pretended participants in the Trojan war the authorship of pre-Homeric histories (15, n. 1), finds its counterpart in the favorite autobiographic setting of early Christian apocryphal literature,²¹ and the later literary device of hagiographical writers of speaking in the name of a disciple of a saint in order to give more weight to their accounts.²² The statement that Perizonius's dissertation of 1782 "removed for all time the last vestiges of this peculiar veneration" for the authority of Dictys and Dares (17), shows too optimistic a belief in the kinetic force of truth. Various eighteenth century editions of the two authors attest a lingering popularity and regard, and it must be remembered that Jebb in his study on Bentley pointed out the retarded general acceptance of the results of the destructive criticisms of the *Epistles* of Phalaris, by a scholar incomparably greater than Perizonius.

¹⁷ Morel-Fatio, *l. c.*, 121, 126; Schiff, *La bibliothèque du marquis de Santillane*, 1 ff. Although Santillana writes as if he were acquainted with independent translations of Dares and Dictys, probably he only knew them through the Spanish translation of Guido's work by Lopez de Ayala (cf. Mussafia, *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad. Phil. Hist. Klasse*, LXIX, 49 ff.).

¹⁸ W. Montgomery, *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, 405 ff. ¹⁹ E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, 292–3, n.

²⁰ *Jahrb. f. Philol. Suppl.*, XVIII, 327–8. Birt has noted the custom of poets, on dying, to bring their own works to Persephone ("Persephonæ libellos ferre" Propert., II, 13, 26); and its similarity to the story in Dictys (*Rh. Mus.*, II, 498; *Die Buchrolle im Kunst*, 83).

²¹ Von Dobschütz, *Deutsche Rundschau*, CXL, 89, 87 ff.

²² Delehaye, *Rev. des questions historiques*, LXXIV. Cf. the practise of the Patristic writers calling early Christian writers, Apostolic, a title to which they had no claim; Harnack, *Gesch. der altchrist. Lit.*, I, xxxvii–viii.

⁹ Cf. Körting, *Dares and Dictys*, 1874, p. 7.

¹⁰ Aug. 29. Cf. M. Ihm, *Centralblatt f. Bibliotheksuesen*, x, 516. ¹¹ CIL. VI, 5188. Cf. Ihm, *l. c.*, 525–6, 517.

¹² Ihm, *l. c.*, 519.

¹³ Cf. Ovid's reference to Rome's three public libraries of which that of Apollo was one; esp. vv. 79–80, "interea, quoniam statio mihi publica clausa est, privato liceat delituisse loco," *Trist.* III, 1, 60 ff. Cf. Ihm, *l. c.*, 518; Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der römischen Verwaltungsgesch.*, 187, n. 2, 189; n. 5.

¹⁴ G. Paris, *Romania*, III, 129 ff.

¹⁵ Constans, *Hist. de la langue et de la litt. franç.*, I, i, 217.

¹⁶ Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, xxv, 113.

The second section of the origin of Dictys, occupying more than a hundred pages (17-120), is a clear well-digested analysis of very nearly the complete literature of the subject. Dr. Griffin has established his thesis beyond question, and his work only calls for criticism on a few points. There has been at least one voice of dissent besides that of Greif (23, n.), in the general acceptance of the thesis Dr. Griffin has made his own. Meister in his review of Greif's latest contribution in defense of the original Latin authorship of the *Ephemeris*, accepted Greif's conclusions, and interpreted to their advantage obscure passages in the Latin text, in which his opponents have found confirmatory evidence for their own side of the case.²³ The allusion to Priam's embassy to King David found in one of the fragments of John of Antioch must be due not to the author of the excerpt, as suggested by Dr. Griffin (27, n. 2), but to John himself, from whom Manasses borrowed the episode to pass it on to Hermoniakos;²⁴ and the tradition found a further development in medieval European literature.²⁵

It seems very doubtful whether the sole authority of the eleventh century Arethas, who states that Dictys wrote his work on brazen tablets, "χαλκοῖς πίναξι," is reason enough to reject (32) the repeated statements of the *Ephemeris* that the material used was the product of a linden tree; "libros ex philyra" (1, 10), "in tilias" (2, 8; cf. 11, 18). In all probability the original Greek Dictys did not mention tablets, even if the statement of Arethas is confirmed by Malalas's excerptor, Isaak Porphyrogenitus, "πίνακι" (85, 1).²⁶ The purpose of the forger was to emphasize the antiquity of his supposed

original, which was proven for him by the use of the primitive alphabet, "litteris Punicis" (1, 3; 3, 1-2; 12, 12; 101; 33), "litterarum Phœnicum" (2, 3), and of an old-fashioned writing material. For the same reason it is stated in an Egyptian inscription in the temple of Dendara that what is clearly an apocryphal sketch of a building was written in ancient script on parchment—which antedated the use of papyrus in Egypt²⁷—and the Cretans, in disputing the claims of the Phœnicians as the inventors of the alphabet, alleged that the invention was Cretan, where they were first written on palm-leaves, "ἐν φοινίκων πεπλώοις."²⁸ The testimony of Galen in regard to manuscripts of Hippocrates preserved "ἐν ταῖς φιλύραις,"²⁹ Ulpian's (d. 228) "volumina" in "philyra aut in tilia,"³⁰ the "philuram calculatorium" and "ex tilia" of inscriptions; (108), all attest the use of the bast of linden wood as a writing material, somewhat contemporaneous with the dates both of the Greek Dictys and the Latin translation. In the first part of the fifth century the "libri in philyræ cortice subnotati" were spoken of as "rare" by Martianus Capella;³¹ Photius, the teacher of Arethas, had only the very indefinite information that the linden tree had bast very similar to the papyrus

²⁷ R. Pietschmann, *Sammlung bibliothekswiss. Arbeiten*, Heft viii, 112.

²⁸ Suidas, s. v. φοινίκων γράμματα; cf. R. Garnett, *Library*, N. S. iv, 225; R. M. Burrows, *The Discoveries in Crete*, 64-65.

²⁹ *Med. gr.*, ed. Kuhn, xviii, 2, p. 630; adopting reading suggested by Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, 21, n. 1; cf. Dziatzko, *l. c.*, 44, n. 4.

³⁰ *Dig.*, 32, 52, 1; adopting Dziatzko's suggestion that the "aut" before "philyra" be dropped (*l. c.*, 77, n. 3), avoiding thus the difficulty of making a distinction between "philyra" and "tilia," noticed by Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*,² 800, n. 2.

³¹ CIL, vi, 2, 10229; cf. Cagnat, *Cours d'Epigraphie latine*, 1889, 251, 292. On the structure of linden-bast as writing material, cf. Wiesner, *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad. Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 126, viii, 11, who has shown that certain manuscripts have been wrongly considered to be of linden bast paper (1 ff.). At the same time nothing warrants Landwehr's statement that the phrase of Ulpian is "eine juristische Tüftelei, die nur ja nicht irgend eine Möglichkeit ausser acht lassen will"; ALL, vi, 225, a too skeptical point of view adopted by W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Gr. u. Rom.*, 2-3.

³² CIL, ii, 4125.

³³ 2, 136 (p. 39).

²³ *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 1900, 1295-6. The reading "ἐν Σιγῶ" of the Greek Dictys [*l. c.*, i, 91; cf. 95, and 55 n.] demolishes the arguments of both sides, proving on one hand that the "σιγῆ" of Malalas is a corruption (Griffin, 79 n.); and on the other, that it was not due to a misunderstanding of the latin "in Siego."

²⁴ Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byzant. Lit.*, 846, n. 2.

²⁵ R. Heinzel, *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad. Phil. Klasse*, 126, i, 13, 61; W. Foerster, *Rom. Forsch.*, xxii, 2, 32 ff., 46; cf. *Byz. Zeit.* iii, 520; iv, 530.

²⁶ On the use of the singular, cf. *Iliad*, vi, 168, and the interpretations of Dziatzko, *Untersuchungen über ausgewählte Kapitel des antiken Buchwesens*, 12; Birt, *Centralbl. f. Bibliotheksw.*, xvi, 149.

of a book-roll.³⁴ On the other hand, the ancient use of wooden tablets, for one purpose or another, was known to almost the present day,³⁵ and was unquestionably prevalent in the tenth century and known to Arethas and Isaak.³⁶

Again there is a possibility that the idea of bronze tablets was suggested to Arethas by the custom of engraving laws on bronze tablets,³⁷ but the only literary work,³⁸ noted as being engraved on metal, was Hesiod's *Works and Days*, which was shown to Pausanias, engraven on lead, at Hippocrene.³⁹ In fact it may be almost accepted as a canon of criticism in the study of literary forgeries, that the more durable—and generally the more costly—the material on which the original is said to be found, the more recent the forgery. In the Egyptian romance of Setna, written in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B. C.), the secrets of Thoth-Hermes are found written on a papyrus roll;⁴⁰ the Pythagorean books said to have been found in the tomb of Numa in 150 B. C. were written on the same material,⁴¹ the geographical romance of Antonius Diogenes (c. 100 A. D.) on cypress tablets,⁴² while the tablet,

reported by Plutarch to have been found in a tomb in the time of Agesilaus, was of bronze;⁴³ Lucian has his fun with bronze tablets, which were buried, and then dug up by the roguish hero of his *Πσευδομάγντις*;⁴⁴ Pausanias relates in the second century the revelation in 350 B. C. of a zinc tablet, containing the mysteries of the greater gods;⁴⁵ the original of the Byzantine *κυραινίδης* attributed to Hermes, was written on an iron slab;⁴⁶ an angel presents silver tablets containing prophecies to the Carmelite Cyril (1175);⁴⁷ a late medieval work, attributed to Hermes owed its title "*Tabula smaragdina*" to the tablet of emerald on which it was engraved;⁴⁸ and finally the Mormon bible was dug up by Joseph Smith,

⁴³ *De genio Soer.*, p. 577 E. Cf. also his account of a collection of secrets written on parchment, dug up at Carthage; *De fac. in orb. lun.*, 26, p. 942 C.

⁴⁴ C. 10.

⁴⁵ IV, 26, 6. On its source in the *Μεσσηνιακά* of Rhianus (B. C. 200), cf. Susseml, *Geschichte der griech. Litt. in der Alexandrinerzeit*, I, 405, n. 157b.

⁴⁶ Fabricius-Harles, *Bibliotheca Græca*, I, 70. II. Haupt, *Philologus*, XLVIII, 373.

⁴⁷ *Acta SS. Martii*, I, 498, 500; *Martii*, VII, 100. An angel only shows the scribe the tablet, of which the material is not denoted, from which he is to copy the Gospels of Kildare, in the account of Gerald de Barri (1186), *Topograph. Hib. Opera*, ed. Dimock, v, 123; cf. Berthelot, *La Chimie au Moyen-Âge*, III, 120. It must be noted that the fiction of tablets does not appear in the accounts of the originals of *Perlesvaus*, written by an angel (*Perlesvaus*, p. 1), or of the *Grand St. Graal* (ed. Hucher, II, 9, 439, 441), written by Christ, or in the book of wonders sent from heaven to Brandan (Schroeder, *Sanct Brandan*, vii). According to an interpolated passage in a sixteenth century manuscript of the life of a sixteenth century St. Caillin (*Diet. Nat. Biog.*, VIII, 211), an angel dictated to him a history of Ireland (D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le cycle mythologique irlandais*, 82).

⁴⁸ On different traditions of its discovery, cf. Kopp, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Chemie*, I, 370. Steinschneider was not acquainted with any Arabic source; *Sitzungsb. der Wien. Akad. Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 151, I, 26. On the tradition of finding the works of Hermes in various forms, cf. Berthelot, *La Chimie au Moyen-Âge*, I, 242; II, 311, 328; III, 120. The "*laminæ plumbeæ*" secretly immured with the Seven Sleepers, telling of the cause of their martyrdom, found in different versions of their hagiography (*Acta SS. Julii*, VI, 382, 386, 390, 391, 394) seems to be the first of a class of forgeries that does not call for treatment here (cf. Wattenbach, *l. c.*, 50). Delclaye (*l. c.*, 101, n. 4) has noted how tradition enhances the material value of inscriptions; stone becomes bronze, etc.

³⁴ *Lexicon*, ed. Porson, II, 649: "*φύλλα. φύλλον ἔχον φύλλον βύβλου παπύρου ὁμοιον*"; with corrections suggested by Dziatzko, *l. c.*, 33, n. 2.

³⁵ Marquardt, *l. c.*; Dziatzko, *l. c.*, 16 ff.; Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*,³ 91 ff.

³⁶ Jebb, Note to Soph. *Trachinæ*, 683.

³⁷ Hübner, *Rom. Epigraphie*, in I. Müller, *Handb. der klass. Alterth.*, I², 631.

³⁸ The tablets of thuya, on which were written the Gospel of St. Matthew found with the body of St. Barnabas (*Acta SS. Junii*, II, 446 D) was not chosen by its author on account of its durability and preciousness (cf. Theophr. *H. P.*, 5, 3, 7; Plin., *H. N.*, XIII, 30; *Apocal.*, XVIII, 20); but because it was miraculously saved from the funeral fire, like the body of the saint (*l. c.*, 440 B); in an earlier account the Gospel, of which the material is not mentioned, is buried with the few remains of the body left by the fire (429; cf. 417).

³⁹ IX, 31, 4. Cf. Dziatzko, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, II, 564–565.

⁴⁰ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Fairy Tales*, II, 111 (cf. 116 "*steles*"), 131. On date, cf. *l. c.*, 141; Brugsch Bey, *Rev. archéol.*, 1867, II, 162; Revillout, *l. c.*, 1879, II, 18. Livy, XI, 29; Pliny, *H. N.*, XIII, 84; cf. Dziatzko, *Unters.*, 93. On modern discoveries of papyri, in Roman tombs, Birt, *Buchrolle*, 7, n. 2.

⁴¹ E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, 277.

⁴² *Eroici scriptores Græci*, ed. Hercher, I, 237–239.

engraved on golden plates,⁴⁹ through the revelations of an angel.

Arethas in stating that the annals of Dictys were found, as written, on bronze tablets, which were copied and transferred into books, makes the same distinction between two kinds of writing material as is found in the account of George Synkellos, based upon the pseudo-Manetho, of how the works of Thoth-Hermes, originally inscribed in a sacred language in hieroglyphics on pillars (στῆλαι), were translated into Greek, in hieroglyphic script, preserved in books in the sanctuary of the temples of the Egyptian.⁵⁰ Of this process through which the *Ephemeris* passed there is no sign elsewhere. Surely the Latin translator would have translated by "Pugillares" or "tabulas," "σύνικες" "δέλτοι," if it had occurred in his Greek original. The peculiarly Latin word "volumina" in the passage in the *Prologus*, "de toto bello decem volumina in tilias digessit," does not seem to be able to have any other meaning but that of the division of the work into parts, a use of the word peculiarly Augustan, becoming rarer with succeeding generations of writers.⁵¹ The writer of the *Epistle* speaks of the original work as "libros ex philyra," using "libros" in its more general sense of "book," "volume," in which writing material made out of linden-bast would have been properly included, according to the specific statements of Galen and Ulpian,⁵² but

not of tablets of linden-wood.⁵³ In no case is there any evidence for the correction of the Latin text "tabulas" for "in tilias," as suggested by Patzig,⁵⁴ and accepted by Griffin (33, n. 1). In the *Epistle* "volumina" is used in the same sense as in the *Prologus*, and its author has gone further in dividing his "ten" volumina into two main sections, "priorum quinque voluminum, quæ bello contracta gestaque sunt,"⁵⁵ and the "residua quinque de reditu Græcorum," a division into pentades according to the subject for which he had the model of Livy;⁵⁶ the Greek historians, Diodorus,⁵⁷ Dion Cassius and Josephus,⁵⁸ whose works are arranged in pentades neither purposed nor made this arrangement according to subject. Is not this a further proof of the authorship of the *Epistle* by the Roman translator, who made this addition against the authority of the *Prologus*, which speaks of only "sex volumina" according to all the manuscript evidence?⁵⁹ The use of "libellus" in the *Epistle* is again almost peculiar to Latin of the fourth century in the meaning of the division of a work, a synonym for "book."⁶⁰

In a work written in English it would be well to refer to "Hody" instead of "Hodius" (26, n. 3). Dr. Griffin speaks of "the original Malalas" (36), without at all considering the first edition, known to us by the use made of it by Evagrius, a point clearly made out by the researches of Shestakov, Brooks and Gleye.⁶¹ Nor does he seem to have accepted Gleye's suggestion that the source of the *Troica* of Tzetzes was this same more complete edition (30, 72).⁶² Similarly

⁴⁹ W. A. Linn, *The Story of the Mormons*, 23 ff. The author of the most recent neurotic gospel has obviated the difficulty of a material original of her revelation, by making herself the amanuensis of God (F. W. Peabody, *Complete Exposure of Eddyism and Christian Science*, Boston, 1904, p. 7).

⁵⁰ Ed. Bonn, I, 72, 14 ff. The process of translating the original sacred language, corresponds to the additional process denoted in the *prologus* "Nero iussit in Græcum sermonem ista transferri" and "Dictys peritus vocis et litterarum Phœnicum," although there is not the same need in the case of Dictys, and Dr. Griffin has properly rejected it (9, n. 1), although the fiction of a Hebrew original is found in certain Christian apocryphal texts, e. g. *Liber Sapientiæ* (André, *Les Apocryphes de l'ancien testament*, 319); *Acta Pilati* (Harnack, l. c.; H. Peter, *Neue Jahrb. f. d. k. Alterth.*, xix, 23).

⁵¹ One of the chief sources of Philostratus, in his *Life of Apollonius*, was "τὰς δέλτους τῶν ὑπομνημάτων" of Damis (ed. Kayser, 3, 33), showing a somewhat contemporaneous use of the word.

⁵² Landwehr, l. c., 240-241.

⁵³ Cf. Notes 21 and 22.

⁵⁴ Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen*, 98.

⁵⁵ *Byzant. Zeit.*, I, 590.

⁵⁶ Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.*, ¶ 257, 11. On a division into parts of other Latin works, Landwehr, l. c., 221-2; Dziatzko, l. c., 109.

⁵⁷ I, 4.

⁵⁸ C. Wachsmuth, *Rh. Mus.*, XLVI, 329 ff.; for other divisions in Greek historians cf. Birt, *Das ant. Buchwesen*, 34, 35, cf. 114, 117, 240; Rohde, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1882, 1544.

⁵⁹ One is tempted to correct the impossible construction of Arethas, "ἐξ ὧν καὶ βιβλος" into "ᾧ καὶ ἐξ βιβλος κατερέθησαν συμφώνως κατὰ πάντα Ὁμήρῳ"; this division would have at least the merit of corresponding in some way to the 48 books of Homer, and would also confirm the MSS. reading "sex."

⁶⁰ Landwehr, l. c., 244.

⁶¹ *Byz. Zeit.*, v, 422.

⁶² L. c., 427.

(46, n. 2) he has failed to note various studies on the importance of the Slavic translation for the Greek text, particularly Gleye's use of it in his reconstruction of the *Troica* of Malalas.⁶³ The tradition of the "portraits," so characteristic of the *Troica* of Byzantine writers, was continued in the lives of certain saints in the *Synaxaria* of the Greek Church, features borrowed from manuals of painting, in which the Byzantine artists found the traditional appearance of these saints perpetuated.⁶⁴ This feature does not appear in Occidental hagiography,⁶⁵ and only appears in the late medieval translations into Latin and the vernacular tongues of the Arabic work of Mubaschschir (1053-4), of which the latest version was the *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* of Caxton.⁶⁶ Burton⁶⁷ has noted the Oriental preference for joined eye-brows (53, n. 2); but Liebrecht⁶⁸ and others⁶⁹ have collected evidence which shows that this taste is not peculiar to the East.

Doubtlessly owing to an earlier printing of his text than is implied by the title-page, Dr. Griffin has not been able to make use of the text of John of Antioch found in Lampros's *Νέος Ἑλληνισμὸς*, I (1904), or Büttner-Wobst's and de Boor's editions of the works of Constantine Porphyrogenitos. The Vienna manuscript containing the chronicle of Johannes Sikeliota should be properly noted as "Vind. Hist. Graec. 99" (83), and the correct reading, in agreement with the *Ephemeris*, of the name of Hecuba's father is "Dymas."⁷⁰ The agreement of the fragments of the Greek Dictys with Septimius in the account of the negotiations of Achilles for the hand of Polyxena,⁷¹ confirms Patzig in thinking that the different account in Malalas is due to the continual attempt to eulogize Achilles,⁷² a view which Dr. Griffin does not seem

to be willing to accept entirely (84, n. 3); although the same fragments have played havoc with a number of points in the same critic's reconstruction of the work of Sisypchos of Cos, and his unshaken opinion that John of Antioch made use both of Malalas and a Greek Dictys.⁷³ Future discussions of the source of Kedrenos will have to take into account the first version of the chronicle of Malalas, on which Dr. Griffin has not touched (90 ff., 104).

There are other details which would call for comment if space allowed, but they are of minor importance, and do not reflect on the thoroughness with which Dr. Griffin has performed his work, and one must look forward to the publication of his chapter on "The Origin of Dares," even if the later forgery does not present the interest of Dictys. It is only with the completion of critical studies on these two worthless literary productions, that one can work backward to the Greek cyclic epic, and forward to the medieval literature on the subject.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Der Schimmelreiter. Novelle von THEODOR STORM. Edited with Introduction, Exercises, Notes, and Vocabulary by JOHN MACGILLIVRAY and EDWARD J. WILLIAMSON. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1908.

The editors of this book have placed American teachers and students under obligation for a useful text of one of the most charming tales of that master of modern German prose, Theodor Storm. Those who know and admire the essentially lyric genius of this author recall the simple outline and the sombre colors of his Schleswig-Holstein home, in such striking contrast with the fullness and poetic suggestiveness of his works. For Storm the brown heath, the gray sand-spit, the stretch of

⁶³ L. c., 451.

⁶⁴ *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, Proptyleum ad Acta SS.*, Nov., p. lxii.

⁶⁵ H. Delehay, l. c., LXXIV, 98.

⁶⁶ F. Boll, *Anglia*, XXI, 225, n. 5.

⁶⁷ *Arabian Nights*, I, 156, 227; III, 255.

⁶⁸ *Germania*, v, 123; *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1873, 1479.

⁶⁹ G. P. Krapp, *M. L. N.*, XIX, 235; Hamilton, l. c., xx, 80.

⁷⁰ Gleye, *B. Z.*, v, 453-454.

⁷¹ L. c., II, 21 ff.

⁷² *B. Z.*, XII, 235-236, 244; and now *B. Z.*, XVII, 384.

⁷³ Besides those noted by Griffin, 85-6, cf. *B. Z.*, XII, 236, 245, 257; XIII, 43; and finally *B. Z.*, XVII, 384, 491-3.

ocean below and the expanse of sky overhead are the fundamental tones of a music as varied and as complex as the ever-shifting moods of the human heart. In his lyric poems and in his short stories the appreciation of the infinite suggestiveness of these tones is quite as characteristic of Storm's art as are the more obvious lines of his sketches of human life.

Our editors have chosen an admirable specimen of the poet's craftsmanship. It is an unpretentious story of the peasant life of the North German coast, presenting to us with wonderful vividness a picture of the hardships, ingenuity, success, and failure of a modern Faust, the dike-builder who reclaims for the good of the community a waste strip of sea-marsh—only to incur the suspicion and hostility of his narrow-minded and superstitious neighbors and with his wife and child to be swept away by a calamity closely connected with the great enterprise of his life.

The editorial *Introduction* devotes eight pages to a resumé of the essential features of Storm's life and works and four pages of German to a sketch of the plot of the story, to a critical estimate of the work, and to a general evaluation of the poet. Following the hundred and fifty-three pages of clearly printed text come thirty-seven pages of notes, nineteen pages of exercises for translation, based upon the text of the story, sixteen pages of *Fragen* touching the events of the action, the *Schimmelreiter* as a work of art, and the poet, and two pages of *Themata zu deutschen Aufsätzen*. The vocabulary at the end of the volume of three hundred and fifty pages is unfortunately confined to the text of the story, leaving thus undefined a considerable number of German words, introduced by the editors, as indicated in the foregoing. While the present writer believes the special vocabulary in a book of this kind to be pedagogically bad, since it discourages sight reading and the early intelligent use of an adequate dictionary, he would emphasize the need of completeness, as the least that may reasonably be expected in a feature demanded, not by editorial conviction, but by the commercial instinct of publishing houses.

The editorial comment is on the whole terse, clear, and appropriate. Real appreciation of the genius of the author and of the peculiar beauty and strength of the work under consideration finds

expression in a style calculated to stimulate independent thought and appreciation in the reader. The brevity of the introduction suggests the wise editorial reserve, which is impossible without some faith in the intellect and imagination of the public. But conciseness is not always compatible with completeness of statement. This may occasionally account for passages that challenge objection or even contradiction. So while it is true, for instance, that critics should be allowed a wide latitude in matters so subjective, as is the individual judgment of the relative merits of different lyric poets, it seems fair to doubt the propriety—*a*) of coupling Mörike and Geibel as similarly gifted yrists; *b*) of affirming of both a successful rivalry with Goethe, which even the most enthusiastic admirers of Mörike would scarcely claim for Geibel; and *c*) of comparing Storm to Geibel, by way of compliment to the Husum poet.

An occasional infelicity or inaccuracy of expression in the German part of the Introduction should be noted, as, for instance, "Auch *enthüllt* der Dichter eine genaue Kenntnis der menschlichen Natur" instead of "Auch *zeigt* d. D." etc. (p. xvii); "Mörike und Geibel, die *Goethe* . . nicht weit zurückstehen" instead of "M. u. G., die hinter (gegen) Goethe . . zurückstehen" (p. xviii); "worin er den Rang *mit den Besten* streitig macht" instead of "worin er *den Besten* den Rang streitig macht" (or "worin er *den Besten* ebenbürtig ist") (*ibid.*), "indem er ihn oft in festgeschlossener Technik übertrifft," instead of ". . an f. Technik" . . (*ibid.*); "seine *eigene*, poetische Worte" instead of "seine *eigenen*, poetischen Worte" (*ibid.*, footnote 2).

The Notes are generally well conceived and adapted to the purpose of explaining real difficulties of construction or allusion. They occasionally include, however, the superfluous translation of individual words explained in the vocabulary. Such are, *e. g.*, *berichten*, *beabsichtige*, *längst* (3, 1), *Obmann* (39, 11), *haschen* (120, 16). The systematic attempt of the editors to enrich the vocabulary of the learner by the suggestion of synonyms and antonyms and to secure attention to vital details by means of skilful cross-reference is wholly commendable. Not equally satisfactory in every case is the choice of the suggested synonym, etc. So, *e. g.*, it is quite misleading to

mention (5, 28) *Gestalt* instead of *Gespenst* or *Spuk* in connection with *Erscheinung* of the text. Various other minor defects of the Notes may be summarized as follows: The expressions *Euren dummen Drachen* (8, 26 and 28), *frug* (11, 5), *wieder* (13, 11), the subjunctive *könne* (73, 16), and Storm's use of phrases like *nach dort* (48, 7 and elsewhere) are sufficiently peculiar to call for editorial comment; the plural *Teleskopen* (10, 2) should be designated as dialectic and contrasted with the regular form; the note to *Bussolen* (10, 1) is unintelligible with its *Landstecherskompass* instead of *Landmesserkompass*; the note to the complementary infinitives *ritzen* and *prickeln* (10, 7) should also explain their technical meaning in this context; the note to *Deichgraf* (14, 2) "regularly declined weak; otherwise colloquial or dialectical" applies to 138, 11; it does not apply to 14, 2: the connection shows that in the sentence, "Du kannst es ja vielleicht zum Deichgraf bringen" the word *Deichgraf* here designates the title or office and not a concrete holder of the office; as such it is the regular uninflected form; *sie angeknabbert* (15, 20) is explained as meaning *an sie gefressen*, which is certainly not correct German. Something like *sie angefressen* (or *sie angenagt*) seems to have been in the mind of the editors; the student would infer from the note to 29, 25 that *an Boden* is less usual than *auf dem Boden*, whereas the real distinction is that the former is the older and vaguer and the latter the more precise designation of place; *Vergiss er* (23, 23) is not sufficiently explained by stating that it is the "second person singular imperative, the *er* being superfluous;" the note should call attention to the cross between the third person singular of the hortatory subjunctive and the second person singular of the imperative, presented in this form of address; *um* in the phrase *um zehn Jahre weiter* (87, 16) is a preposition measuring a difference of time and not an adverb meaning *ungefähr*; the different forms of address, used by different social ranks or classes when conversing with each other, should be explained in a future note to 101, 24 and 26.

A useful discussion of the principal points of German as distinguished from English word-order is prefixed to the Exercises for Translation. The statement of the editors (II, [2]) that "the

separable particle in compound verbs in a simple tense . . . is inseparable" needs modification in the interest of clearness. The general word-order scheme given on page 197 would be more helpful if arranged so as to include concrete illustrative examples.

The English exercises are idiomatic, conceived in the spirit of the story, and yet sufficiently different from the text to afford excellent discipline in assimilating the German vocabulary.

The *Fragen* touch all the chief events in the story and in the life of the poet. They are well conceived and so searching as to compel the student who would answer them to scan attentively and thoughtfully the whole work. They might be used to good purpose as the starting point of a series of written reports upon successive parts of the tale. Several slips in the phrasing of these questions should receive attention in a second edition: For *ist* read *wird* (213, 30); for *konnte* read *könne* or *könnte* (214, 7); for *die* read *der* (215, 1); for *Wo* read *Wohin* (216, 8, 226, 9 and 226, 16); for *Worin* read *Worein* (216, 9); for *einen* read *ein* (216, 19); for *Besuch* read *Besuchs* (216, 23); for *dritten* read *drittem* (216, 28); for *Anschauer* read *Zuschauer* (217, 6) as the more usual form; for *Warum so?* read simply *Warum?* or *Warum denn?* (218, 10-11 and 222, 29); for *dieselbe(n)* read *sie* (218, 28, 219, 14 and 25, and 223, 27); for *gegen dieselben* read *dagegen* (221, 3 and 4); for *denselben* ("Wie trat Hauke denselben entgegen?") read *ihnen* ("Wie trat ihnen Hauke entgegen?") (221, 4); for *sich hineinmischen* read *sich einmischen* (219, 9 and 10); for *endete* read *beendete* (*brachte zu Ende*) (221, 6); for "als Oktober wieder da war" read "als der Oktober wieder da war" (222, 4); for *Wohltätiger* read *Wohltäter* (225, 20); for *stier-näckig* read *stiernackig* (225, 23, 25, 27, 29, and 33); for *wenn so* read *in diesem Fall* (225, 34); for *auf diejenigen, die ihnen überwachsen sind* read, for the sake of terseness, *auf die ihnen Überwachsenen* (225, 35); for "Anpassung des Stils der Stimmung oder dem Inhalt" read "A. d. S. an die Stimmung oder den Inhalt" (227, 13); for *leaving examination* read *finals* (*final examination*) (228, 7); for "Welche politische Ereignisse" read "Welche politischen E." (228, 19-20); for "Die verschiedenen Auftreten des

Eschenbaums und deren Zweck" read "*Das wiederholte Auftreten d. E. und dessen Zweck*" (229, 18).

The book is excellent in point of paper, type, and printing. But few misprints have been discovered: A comma should be inserted after the word *Notes* on the title page; quotation marks should be used before the word *Man* and after the final word *ist*, page xix, ll. 14 and 30; for *älesl* read *alles* (8, 2); for *ihn* read *ihm* (175, 15); for *kamen* read *kämen* (191, 5).

A clearly printed map of Schleswig-Holstein and also one of the conjectural topography of the story, given on page xx, are an important aid to the intelligent reading of the story.

The hope and confidence that the sale of this pioneer American text of the *Schimmelreiter* will warrant an early new edition of the book is the occasion of the somewhat detailed review of it herewith presented.

STARR WILLARD CUTTING.

The University of Chicago.

FRENCH LITERATURE.

Molière et l'Espagne, par GUILLAUME HUSZÁR.
Paris: Champion, 1907, pp. ix + 332 in 8°.

In the present work, M. Huszár has applied to Molière the same critical method that he employed in his well known work on Corneille.¹ Now, as before, he has been preceded by M. Martinenche, who has been working in the same field.² So in a discussion of M. Huszár's book a brief comparison with that of M. Martinenche will not be out of place, and the comparison is rendered all the more interesting by the fact that the two critics arrive at different conclusions. M. Martinenche has aimed above all to throw new light on the Spanish sources of Molière. For him Molière's superiority to his originals is unquestionable, and he never fails to reassert Molière's

originality whenever it may be called in question. M. Huszár, on the other hand, has not limited himself to a study of sources, but has tried to revise the verdict of the critics concerning Molière and to establish his proper place in general literature, or as he puts it *la littérature européenne*.

M. Huszár's work divides itself naturally into three parts; a summary of the critical literature dealing with Molière (which serves as an introduction), a study of Molière's Spanish sources, and finally a critical evaluation of Molière's work. The author shows in his introduction that many of those who have hitherto discussed Molière's relation to Spain have allowed their judgments to be influenced by considerations entirely foreign to literary criticism. The Spaniards themselves have taken little part in the discussion compared with the Italian, German, and French critics. Italians, such as Tiraboschi and Riccoboni, have tried to prove that Molière is indebted to Italy rather than Spain for his plots. The German critics, especially Schack and Klein, have been unjust to Molière because of their dislike for the principles of the French classic drama. French critics have been actuated by patriotism to exalt Molière at the expense of his foreign models, justifying on the ground of his superior genius whatever borrowings they were forced to admit. Among the worst offenders in this regard are the editors of the official definitive edition of Molière, Despois and Mesnard; and M. Huszár is at times very severe in his attacks on them. He considers himself in a position to discuss the question dispassionately, as he is a Hungarian with no personal attachment to either country. For two critics, however, he expresses the highest admiration; for M. Brunetière, whose writings inspired him to undertake the present study, and for Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo, whose impartiality is above reproach.

In the second part of the work, every play of Molière is taken up and discussed with reference to the Spanish drama. This exclusive attention to Spanish sources would not be justifiable in a book of the scope of M. Huszár's, were it not that he considers that Molière was little affected by any other foreign influence. The only plays where Spanish influence is not visible are the *Jalousie du Barbouillé* and the *Fourberies de Scapin*, which are drawn from Italian sources.

¹ P. Corneille et le théâtre espagnole, Paris, 1903.

² E. Martinenche, *La comedia espagnole en France de Hardy à Racine*, Paris, 1900. E. Martinenche, *Molière et le théâtre espagnol*, Paris, 1906.

Other instances of Italian influence are generally disposed of by proving that the Italian models are imitations from the Spanish; e. g., the *Médecin volant* is taken from Dominique's *Medico volante*, which is derived from Lope's *Acero de Madrid*.

In the long list of Spanish plays which Molière has imitated, or in which one may discover striking analogies to certain scenes of his, M. Huszár presents very few facts that have not been brought out by M. Martinenche and others. In a way this is an advantage, for we feel sure we are dealing with accepted facts when we come to consider the justice of the conclusions drawn from them by M. Huszár.

To sum up the Spanish influence on Molière, we find that his ideas as to the doctors, the *précieuses*, the hypocrites, and the jealous husbands had all been expressed in Spain, that almost all of his plots have some element borrowed from Spain, and that three of his plays, *La Princesse d'Élide*, *Don Juan*, and *l'École des maris* may certainly be classified as adaptations of Spanish originals, while there is a strong probability that the same is true of *Dom Garcie de Navarre*, *Sganarelle*, and the *Fâcheux*. Molière has not allowed himself to be dominated by his originals, however, and has borrowed only what suited his purposes. If any of his plays are failures they are precisely those in which he comes nearest to surrendering his personality by following closely a foreign model.

In the concluding chapters, where M. Huszár tries to determine Molière's proper place in the world's literature, he begins by comparing the French dramatist with Lope de Vega. Molière invented the French *comédie*, Lope invented the Spanish *comedia*. Which author has accomplished the greater task? M. Huszár does not hesitate to give the palm to Lope, on the ground that his *comedias* represent a greater advance on the *entremeses* and *autos* of his predecessors than the *comédies* of Molière do on the productions of such men as Desmarests, Scarron, and Pierre Corneille.

Granted Lope's superiority as an innovator, it remains to be seen whether the *comedia* as introduced by him and continued by Tirso, Alarcón, Calderón, and others is superior to the *comédie* as represented by Molière. It is often urged against the *comedia* that it usually consists of

little more than a complicated plot, while Molière devotes himself to the delineation of character. M. Huszár protests against this generalisation and cites a number of *comedias* that are real *comédies de caractère*. After studying Lope's *Acero de Madrid*, Tirso's *Burlador de Sevilla*, and Alarcón's *Verdad sospechosa*, to mention only a few, one can scarcely escape the conviction that the Spaniards have produced types more lifelike than Molière's Harpagon and Tartuffe, for example, whatever defects may exist in the Spanish plays. Again, Alarcón and Tirso show themselves able to depict character without neglecting the plot, as Molière sometimes does.

As to the exactness with which Molière observed and described his contemporaries, he falls behind the Spaniards, whose greatest weakness, perhaps, is their strong local color, the *goût de terroir*, which renders them so hard for foreigners or even Spaniards of a later age to appreciate. In refutation of the claim that Molière has given a complete picture of society, M. Huszár calls attention to the fact that the common people, the financiers, the lawyers, or to descend somewhat, the *entremetteur*, the *courtisane*, and the *chevalier d'industrie*, do not appear in his works. But they are all represented on the Spanish stage.

The Spaniards had a strong sense of humor; the quality that made Cervantes famous was not possessed by him alone. Molière is never humorous in the broad sense of the word. His nearest approach to it is his *esprit gaulois*, which is often too strong for any but a French palate and at other times he falls into mere buffoonery and horse-play.

To summarize M. Huszár's conclusions, which he develops by a train of close reasoning supported by numerous examples, the Spaniards are superior to Molière in the fertility of their inventive genius, as shown in their complicated plots and in the variety of the characters brought upon the stage; furthermore they have a strong sense of humor, which the French lack. They are equal to Molière in the exactness with which they portray their contemporaries. They share with Molière such weaknesses as the repetition of conventional types and factitious endings. Molière is superior in the depth of his philosophical observations and in his clear and logical style.

The relative merits being so nearly equal in

each case, how are we to explain Molière's success and the oblivion into which the Spanish dramatists have fallen? M. Huszár replies:

"Le succès de l'œuvre de Molière, nous l'attribuons, au moins, en partie, à l'universalité de l'esprit français; sa comédie a bénéficié des qualités de cet esprit que le labeur commun d'une foule de grands écrivains a rendu si apte à concevoir toute pensée et à la formuler de manière à la rendre intelligible à tous. . . . Quand on compare Molière à des dramaturges d'autre race, il est juste de considérer les avantages en possession desquels le mit sa naissance; Lope et ses disciples au contraire déployaient des qualités qui tiraient toute leur valeur d'elles-mêmes. Nous donnons donc à ce parallèle cette conclusion qui ne nous paraît pas paradoxale: si l'œuvre de Molière eut une destinée plus glorieuse que celle des Espagnols, il le doit presque autant à sa qualité de Français qu'à son propre génie."³

Personally the reviewer can subscribe to this opinion only with reserve. M. Huszár should have named a few of that "*foule de grands écrivains*" who had imparted to French style its lucidity and logical sequence. It is agreed that these qualities explain to a certain extent Molière's success, but it does not follow that he inherited them from his predecessors. Molière and his contemporaries built up the literary tradition which has made French style a model of clearness.

It does not seem to have occurred to M. Huszár that the political development of France and of Spain has affected the popularity of their respective literatures abroad. When a nation is strong politically the attention it attracts along all lines contributes in no slight degree to the vogue of its literature. During the period of Spain's political supremacy the number of persons familiar with its language and customs made the diffusion of its literature easy. The same causes conspired later to spread the knowledge of French literature. In more recent times Germany's political rise has brought with it an increased interest in German literature.

M. Huszár's discussion of originality in his final chapter has not the charm of novelty. The position that an author is justified in taking an old idea if he can impart new force to it by stamping it with the mark of his own genius is hardly disputed now. To the English-speaking public, Shakespeare's superiority over Molière

scarcely admits of discussion. As to Dante and Cervantes, it is evident that they had more creative genius than Molière, but, as M. Huszár himself observes elsewhere, this is not the only point to be considered. It is something of a surprise to see Balzac placed in such illustrious company, but this is a question of taste which does not call for discussion.

M. Huszár's book is well written, his reasoning is sound on the whole, and his knowledge of his subject most thorough. His work is a valuable contribution to comparative literature.

J. A. RAY.

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SCIENTIFIC GERMAN.

Introduction to Scientific German. Air, Water, Light, and Heat. Eight Lectures on Experimental Chemistry. By Dr. REINHART BLOCHMANN, Professor of the University of Königsberg. Edited with Notes and Vocabulary by FREDERICK WILLIAM MEISNEST, Ph. D. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1906.

A German Science Reader, with Notes and Vocabulary. By WILLIAM H. WAIT, Ph. D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907.

An introductory text for a class devoted primarily to scientific German should be written in comparatively simple German, and should contain matter of general interest to most of the students. Physics and chemistry, above all other sciences, will appeal in some degree to practically every member of such a class. An excellent book with which to begin a course in scientific German will, therefore, be one which presents in clear and simple language the most important facts of the two sciences mentioned.

Such a book Dr. Meisnest has given us in his edition of eight popular lectures delivered some ten years ago by Professor Blochmann at Königsberg—lectures devoted respectively to (1) a general introduction in which is explained the difference between physical and chemical changes, the characteristics of solids, fluids, and gases, the distinction between alchemy and chemistry, and the

³ P. 297.

structure of all matter from about seventy-eight elements, (2) air, (3) water, (4) carbon dioxide, (5) combustion, (6) incomplete combustion, (7) work, heat, light, (8) slow combustion.

Blochmann's lectures are interesting not only because they take up the phenomena of daily life, but because they explain also the importance and the construction of various useful contrivances as the Bunsen burner, the gas-range, the Drummond calcium light, Davy's safety lamp for miners, the Fahrenheit, Réaumur, and Centigrade thermometers, the Welsbach light, the spectro-scope, and others. Finally, they trace the historical evolution from the old Greek philosophical systems through the mediæval theories of the "philosopher's stone" to the modern conception of scientific physics and chemistry. The text is supplied, moreover, with more than fifty drawings illustrating the experiments.

The style is, in the main, simple and concise. In about thirty places the substitution of a semicolon for an original comma would make clear a sentence which in the present form gives unnecessary difficulty to the beginner. Of misprints, less than half a dozen occur.

The editorial work has, on the whole, been carefully done. The Introduction takes up various "suggestions for the study of scientific German"—discussions on the German participial constructions, on the theory of word-composition, and on the method of acquiring a vocabulary. All these are helpful to the beginner in scientific German.

The Notes, although extending over only six pages, contain all the information necessary for understanding the references in the text. Some readers might object to the note to 24,7 that *man* is rarely translated by 'one.' Class-room experience with the book will show also that the insertion, either in the Notes at the back of the book, or in footnotes, of the chemical equations representing the reactions described in the German text, will be a great help in securing for the students a technical vocabulary.

The Vocabulary is to be particularly commended for its completeness and its excellent arrangement. Accented syllables, plural of nouns, vowel changes and other irregularities of verbs are indicated. Two definitions are to be corrected. Under *Bleioxyd* the subdivision *essig-*

saures Bleioxyd is given "carbonate of lead." This should evidently read "acetate of lead." Under *Kohlensäure* we find the definition "carbonic acid." This, though a literal translation of *Kohlensäure*, is open to objections. It should be given "carbonic acid gas" and the alternative definition "carbon dioxide"—a term generally used in English for the chemical compound CO_2 —should be added.

Blochmann's lectures, as edited by Dr. Meisner, are a welcome addition to our available texts for use in scientific German classes; as an introductory text for such classes this edition of lectures is unusually practical and successful.

Whereas in Blochmann the student is brought face to face with principles which apply to all sciences, in Wait's *Reader* he finds the general field of science presented by subjects. The six chapters deal respectively with Chemistry as taken from the German writer Gerlach, Physics by Sattler, Geology by Fraas, Mineralogy by Brauns, Astronomy by Möbius-Wislicenus, Anatomy by Rebmann. For purposes of correction and verification, the exact titles and dates of the works from which these chapters are taken should have been cited.

A new edition will make the *Reader* more serviceable. A number of misprints can easily be corrected. The table of elements on page 4 omits seven elements (of more or less importance) which are included in the table in Blochmann (published a year earlier than Wait)—gadolinium, krypton, neon, radium, terbium, thulium, xenon. The atomic weights given in the short table on page 117 differ from those given on page 4—in some cases by two or three points. Chlorine is given as 53.2 (evidently a misprint for 35.2).

The Notes extend over fifty-seven pages. Though they are written, as the editor states, "with a view to meeting conditions as they are, and not as they should be," one might gravely doubt whether the notes of a science reader are expected to inform a student that *vom* = *von dem* (note to 1, 1), that Berlin is the capital of Germany (80, 11), that Chili and Peru are countries in South America (80, 14), that Siberia is a Russian territory in Northern Asia (29, 1). In a note to 2, 5, is explained the method of trans-

lating the participial phrase. References to this explanation occur throughout the notes more than a hundred times. The fifty-seven pages of Notes could have been compressed by omitting elementary grammatical and geographical notes, by limiting the number of times that the same reference is cited, and by relegating to the Vocabulary many of the definitions now found in the Notes.

Several features of the Notes are to be commended—the explanations concerning the correct reading in German of various formulæ, and the explanations (page 210) of the relation between German and English geological and mineralogical terms. The lists, at the end of each chapter, of the important German words and phrases, with their pronunciation and definition, serve a good purpose.

The Vocabulary, so far as the English definitions are concerned, leaves little to be desired. The anatomical terms give most trouble. It might have been well, therefore, to give in the Vocabulary not only the generally accepted English term for a particular bone or muscle (for instance, "ethmoid bone" for *Siebbein*, "sphenoid bone" for *Keilbein*, "sagittal suture" for *Pfeilnaht*, "coracoid process" for *Rabensechnabelfortsatz*), but, in addition, the direct English definition or cognate of the German term (thus, sieve bone, wedge bone, arrow suture, raven's-beak process). The student would thus get a fairly definite idea of the position, shape, or function of a particular bone or muscle. In some cases the editor has followed this plan (thus, *Baekenzahn*, cheek tooth, molar).

In citing verbs, the editor has generally given the vowel changes of the preterite and past participle, and, in the case of irregular verbs, has given the parts in full. It is to be regretted that this principle has not been carried out consistently. Objection might also be raised against the method of giving verbs with separable prefixes thus: *abgehen* (-ging, -gegangen). The insertion of the hyphen before the preterite is misleading. Dr. Meisnest's plan of omitting the hyphen altogether would be preferable.

A word about the practical utility of the two books will not be out of place. Neither is too bulky (Blochmann has 148 pages of text, Wait 179), nor too tedious for a class beginning scien-

tific German. Wait's *Reader* has the advantage of being printed in Roman type. Both books have given satisfaction in the class-room. Wait is a little too difficult as an introductory text; it should be preceded by a simpler book like Blochmann. If both are carefully translated, the student will have a good basis for independent reading in scientific German.

FREDERICK W. C. LIEDER.

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Studies in Victor Hugo's Dramatic Characters, by JAMES D. BRUNER, Ph. D., Professor of the Romance Languages in the University of North Carolina. With an Introduction by RICHARD GREEN MOULTON, Ph. D., Head of the Department of General Literature in the University of Chicago. Ginn and Company, 1908. Pages xx + 171.

There are some of us who, without being compelled by our tasks to do so, enjoy going back every few years to the drama of Hugo. Excepting Cromwell, the root of it, and The Burgraves, the seed of it, the whole plant is good eating, and renews itself perennially. The situations never fail to thrill, the bursts of lyricism are as poignant as ever, and the absurdities are, in the technical language of college girls, "simply lovely." The critical soul is beyond hope when it can no longer be stirred by melodramas which were able to set all Paris by the ears, and bring their author into court.

And now comes Professor Bruner, with four solid, honest, "inductive" studies to persuade us that the main characters in *Hernani*, *Ruy Blas*, and *Lucrezia* can each be harmonized into a unity of design. To do him justice, he sticks at *Lucrezia*, and in spite of the pathetic appeal of her maternity, declares her an impossibility. But in the case of *Ruy Blas*, it is remarkable with what thorough-going pains he collects his data, with what impetus he moves forward, and how far he actually carries us with him. He overlooks nothing. He piles up the facts, and will possibly convince even M. Doumic that *Ruy Blas*

is not utterly ridiculous. Perhaps Ruy Blas is no more of a Jekyll-Hyde than Victor Hugo was. At all events, the analysis is conducted with exactness and sympathy, and constitutes a warning against hasty impressionism.

By the very terms of his preface, we must not look to Professor Bruner for much psychological or historical criticism. But his work will steady and assist any student who takes his ideas chiefly, say, from Brunetière. Indirectly it throws considerable light upon Hugo and France. When half a nation is melodramatic, a great melodramatist finds a sympathetic audience, and can rouse them with pictures of other times for which it has deep and unsuspected affinities. Incongruous as are the characteristics of Hernani, the situations are not more stagey than the facts of Spanish chivalry. And it is pleasant to see Professor Moulton bringing this out in his admirably written introduction. After tracing the main course of Greek Drama through mediævalism to its divergence in France and England, and showing Hugo's own division of instinct between situation and character, he says: "It seems to me a somewhat perverse criticism that turns from dramatic development like this to inquire curiously into the exact degree of probability in the combination of elements imagined as basis of character." Professor Moulton has sometimes been suspected of despising historical criticism. In his well-known insistence on knowing "all the details of the play," he has sometimes been accused of thinking those details as interesting to one generation as to another. It is quite clear that he does not, in any such absurd sense, regard every masterpiece *sub specie æternitatis*. Science works with the category of time, and all that Professor Moulton insists on is knowing the facts before constructing a theory.

Professor Bruner makes free use of Shakespere for illustrative purposes. His use of Hamlet, indeed, is perhaps too free, since he seems to accept merely the conventional interpretation of the prince. This interpretation, however, would appear to be permanently qualified by such studies as that of Professor Charlton Lewis.

It may be in place to suggest that Professor Bruner should translate the nine plays, and that some publisher should bring them out in a cheap uniform series. The appeal of such studies would

be greatly widened if this important section of French literature were easily available in translation.

E. H. LEWIS.

Lewis Institute, Chicago.

ARNOLD's *Fritz auf Ferien*, edited with introduction, vocabulary and notes by A. W. SPANHOOFD, Director of German in the High Schools of Washington, D. C. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1906.

The presentation of every story of this character is to be welcomed by the teacher of German. The genuinely German sentiment, the delicate humor, the steady progress of the story to a natural and charming conclusion, are all points which make for interest on the part of the student and to a certain extent, help the text to read itself. From a pedagogical point of view, the story is valuable for the great amount of every-day German it contains. Indeed, there are so many idiomatic expressions in it that they can hardly all be mastered by an elementary class.

It is to be regretted that the present edition has been done so carelessly that the teacher has continually to check up the notes and the pupils complain constantly of omitted words in the vocabulary. The name of Dr. Spanhoofd upon a title-page should be a guarantee against slipshod work of this kind. The following have been noted. 1) Omissions in vocabulary: *demgemäss*, *Geschehene*, *dick*, *Haken*, *unbesorgt*, *aufsetzen*, *Stock*, *plötzlich*, *ergeben*, *Meerschwein* in the sense of 'porpoise,' to explain the joke on pages 32 and 33; 2) careless errors: the word *verwunden* is referred back to *überwinden*, which is not given at all. The only hint as to the meaning of *Herumstreifen* is to be found under *umherstreifen*. *Reihe* is given as meaning 'turn,' when the meaning (p. 26) is 'series.' Several times the spelling in the vocabulary differs from that of the text; e. g., *Spezies* and *Species*, *tödlieh*, *tödtlich*. Misprints are few. There is a dropt *e* in the word *Wagentür* in the vocabulary and in one or two places the plates have become worn. The spelling does not conform to the latest orthography.

Some of the notes need revision. Page 2, note 1: *mauskahl geschoren*. "Reference is made to a mouse as having very short hair; thus, *mauskahl*, as bald as a mouse." This is obviously wrong. The reference is to the hairless tail of the mouse, which like all rodents, has a bald tail. It might also refer to the condition of the young mice at time of birth. There is no note on the difficult passage on page 26 beginning, "Eine ganze Reihe von . . . Aufmerksamkeiten . . . schlangen sich . . ." Here it should be shown that the *Reihe* is singular, the verb is plural, due to the influence of the plural *Aufmerksamkeiten*. This same error of attraction often occurs in colloquial English. The passage as it stands without a note causes needless difficulty even to a good student.

It is axiomatic that a text for elementary pupils should be as free from error as human ingenuity can make it. At the beginning of the pupil's study of a language each unnecessary stumbling-block does incalculable harm, and so a text as carelessly edited as the present is unsafe to put in the hands of beginners. It is too bad that in this second imprint of the text these errors have not been eliminated, and it is only to be hoped that a speedy revision will obviate the mistakes which are now found.

G. H. DANTON.

Stanford University.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A NOTE ON SPENSER'S ARCHAISM AND CICERO.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In his letter to "the most excellent and learned both orator and poete, Mayster Gabriell Harvey", that busy-body friend of Spenser, whose desire to follow the example of his "Author" and remain "Immertô" has provided a wide field of conjecture in later times as to his identity, besides promising to furnish a "glosse" for the words in the poems to follow, which are "so auncient," "something hard, and of most men unused," desires to justify and warrant Spenser's

stylistic trick of archaizing. He declares as his own belief that "those auncient solemne wordes are a great ornament." Casting about for classical authority for the poet's practice, he lights upon Cicero. To quote the "glosser":

"For, if my memory faile not, Tullie, in that booke wherein he endevoureth to set forth the paterne of a perfect Oratour, sayth that oftentimes an auncient worde maketh the style seeme grave, and as it were reverend. . . . Yet nether every where must old words be stuffed in. . . ."

With this "E. K." seeks to leave the impression that Spenser's "immoderate and constant archaism" carried the authority of Cicero's approval. So far as a single passage in the *De Oratore*, to which he undoubtedly refers, is concerned, "E. K." has quoted Cicero correctly. In Book III, cap. 38, Crassus says:

"There are three qualities . . . in a simple word which the orator may employ to illustrate and adorn his language; he may choose either an unusual word (*inusitatum*), or one that is new or metaphorical. Unusual words are generally of ancient (*vetusta*) date or fashion, and such as have been out of use in daily conversation; these are allowed more freely to poetical licence than to ours [oratorical], . . . which if properly introduced, a speech assumes an air of greater grandeur (*grandior*)."¹

"E. K." has, however, told only half the truth in regard to Cicero's attitude towards the use of archaic words. With a single reference, taken out of its context, he makes Cicero an advocate of archaizing. Cicero's interest in questions of usage, as is generally known, was slight.² In the *De Oratore* there is no detailed treatment of diction as a quality of style. Cicero dismisses this subject as one of easy attainment. Yet where

¹ Translated by J. S. Watson, London, 1855, p. 375.

² Professor G. L. Hendrickson, "*De Analogia of Julius Caesar*," *Classical Philology*, 1, 2, recounts most clearly the trend of Cicero's stylistic studies. He says: "Cicero speaks almost contemptuously, certainly slightly, of that goal of effort, to the attainment of which the contemporary purists were bending all the efforts of their elaborate grammatical and literary studies. Against their grammar, with its worship of correctness and purity, he arrays the ancient mistress of emotional speech, rhetoric."

he has casually, here and there, touched upon the question of the use of obsolete words he has expressed an opinion contrary to that which "E. K." seems to desire to fasten upon him. The following quotations from the third Book of the *De Oratore* will show Cicero's attitude towards Spenser's mannerism :

"There is also a *fault* which some industriously strive to attain ; a rustic and rough pronunciation is agreeable to some, that their language, if it has that tone, may seem to partake more of antiquity (*antiquitatem*).'' Cap. xi.

"... an object [purity in the Latin tongue] which we shall doubtless effect, . . . adopting words in common use (*verbis usitatis*).'' Cap. xiii.

"There is such a jumble of strange words, that language which ought to throw light upon things, involves them in obscurity and darkness.'' Cap. xiii.

"For I do not imagine it to be expected of me that I should admonish you to beware that your language be not poor, or rude, or vulgar, or obsolete (*obsoleta*).'' Cap. xxv.

"In regard then to words taken in their own proper sense, it is a merit in the orator to avoid mean and obsolete (*obsoleta*) ones.'' Cap. xxxvii.

"If a word be antique (*vetustum*), but such, however, as usage (*consuetudo*) will tolerate, . . .'' Cap. xliii.

Among classical writers on style "E. K." might easily have found authority with which to bolster up his defence. Cicero, however, would never have given his approval to the archaic twist of Spenser's style.

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THE SECOND EDITION OF DRYDEN'S *Virgil*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—In *Modern Language Notes* for May, 1904 (vol. xix, p. 125), I stated, on the basis of a volume owned by the Yale University Library, that the second edition of Dryden's *Virgil* was printed in 1697, with the same title-page as the first edition of the same year. This account I have later found to be mistaken. The Harvard College Library now possesses a copy of the real second edition, which, as Malone states, was published in 1698. The book on which I based my earlier article proves to be a made-up volume ; it is a copy of the second edition (1698),

but the title-page has been removed, and replaced by one from a copy of the first edition (1697). In the Cambridge edition of Dryden's *Poetical Works*, now in press, I have attempted a collation of all significant variations between the first and second editions of his *Virgil*.

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KING JAMES' CLAIM TO RHYME ROYAL.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—Some years ago, in discussing the word *ballade*, the editors of the *New English Dictionary* perpetuated an error which seems to have gone uncorrected in print ;¹ since it not only remains uncorrected but is practically reaffirmed by them in a recent issue of the dictionary, under the word *rhyme*.² This is the statement, apparently a mere guess of some scholar of the nineteenth century, that *rhyme royal*, or *ballade royal*, owes its name to the fact that King James I of Scotland, a "royal" poet, wrote *The Kingis Quair* in that metre. May I present some evidence tending to set this matter right, and ask your readers for further information in regard to the origin of the terms ?

A famous form of Old French verse was the *Chant Royal*, a poetic structure of stanzas of eleven lines each, with a common refrain, concluded by an envoy of five or six lines. In the fourteenth century the Provençal *ballade* became a ruling form in Northern France, and was speedily conventionalized. It borrowed from the elder form its structure of stanzas with a common refrain, concluded by a short envoy. The stanzas were limited to three. At first but two rhymes were allowed ; afterwards it was merely the rule that each stanza should have the same rhymes as the others. These were frequently arranged as ababbce, or ababbcebe.³

¹ Volume I, p. 639c.

² Volume viii, p. 634c. Here the editors do not themselves repeat the statement, but after citing Latham, 1841, *Eng. Lang.*, by name only, they quote from "1873, H. Morley, *Eng. Lit.* v, Chaucer's own seven-lined stanza, which . . . has been called rhyme royall, because this particular disciple [*sc.* James I of Scotland] used it." This is the only statement as to origin that is made or cited, and it must be concluded that the editors are still of their old opinion, and desire to be held responsible for this restatement.

³ Cf. H. Chatelain, *Recherches sur le Vers français au xve Siècle*, Paris, 1908, chaps. x-xi, for further description of these forms.

When Chaucer used the word *ballade* he undoubtedly meant the first of these, for he calls one of his poems so written "made in *ballade*" (*Legend*, 539).

Gower used the same term when he wrote his French *Ballades*. Some of these are, however, of seven lines, some of eight.

Probably about 1402 (see *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, for March, 1908), Quixley translated Gower's *Traitié*, and says of it

"Gower it made in frensh with gret studie
In *ballades ryal*."

If the date be correct, this is probably the earliest extant use of the term in English. Quixley intended it to represent the structure of three stanzas of sevens, ababbce, having the same rhymes, and with a common refrain.

John Lydgate does not use the term *royal*, and he extends the word *ballade* to mean stanzas of sevens, with or without the same rhymes as others. When he said

"I took a penne and wroot in my maneer
The said *balladys* as they stondyn heere,"⁴

he proceeded in what we now call *rhyme royal*.

Not long after 1430, John Shirley wrote the famous MS. Trinity College Cambridge R. 3. 20. Three items in it have these titles:

Balade Ryale de saue counsyle.

Balade moult Bon et Ryale.

Balade Ryale made by oure laureat poete of Albyon (Chaucer).

These poems, two of them French and one English, show the Chaucerian use of the term *ballade*. But the same scribe uses the term *balade ryale* of poems transcribed twenty years later, in MS. Bodley Ashmole 59, where the stanzas do not have the same rhymes, but merely a common refrain.

When John Hardyng wrote his *Chronicle* (c. 1440), he says after censuring the use by earlier chroniclers of the short couplet,

"Into *balade* I wyll it now translate,"

and proceeds in the *Troilus* stanza. So Barelai in his *Ship of Fools*, 1509, speaks of "My *balade* bare of frute and eloquence."

The author of the *Summum Sapientie* (c. 1450) calls the same metre *staves seven*.

In his preface to his print of Burgh's *Cato*, 1483, Caxton calls the same metre *balades ryale*, and Fabyan, 1494, in his *Chronicle* also speaks

of "*baladde ryall*." Similarly Stephen Hawes, (c. 1510) calls Lydgate "the most duleet spring of famous rhetorie, with *ballade royale*."

The term *rhyme royal* appears first in George Gascoigne's *Instructions for Verse*, 1575, as *rhythm royal*.⁵ Gascoigne reserved the term *ballade* for the newer six-line stanza ababce.⁶ But King James VI of Scotland, in his remarks on verse, 1584, calls the eight-line stanza ababbce, *Ballat Royal*, and the seven-line stanza ababbce *Troilus stanza*.

It has remained for modern critics to fasten the term *rhyme royal* definitely upon the seven-line stanza, and then to justify it by a plausible legend of its kingly origin.

To sum up: it is probable that the term *royal* was attached in France to the *ballade* (though I can only judge by Shirley's French, and would ask for further light) by analogy with the earlier *Chant Royal*.⁷ With this it came to England, and the term *ballade* first, and afterwards *ballade royal*, were extended to signify the ballade's stanzaic structure regardless of refrain or community of rhyme. Gascoigne gives us the word *rhythm* in place of *ballade*, and assigns *ballade* to another form of verse, in which meaning it has not been kept. Not a hint of King James I as using this metre, or giving it its name, is made by any of the writers I have cited. His poem was certainly unknown to those who wrote before his day (1424), and probably to those who wrote after, preserved as it was in a single MS. It is time our lexicographers abandoned this nineteenth-century fiction.

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⁵ See the *New Oxford Dictionary* under *Rhythm*, sb. 1b. It should be noted that Gascoigne, while ignorant of King James' claim to the phrase, himself gives a wrong account of the term. *Cert. Notes, Instr. Eng. Verse* (Arb., 38): "Rythme royall is a verse of tenne sillables, and seven such verses make a staffe [etc.]. This hath bene called Rithme royall, and surely it is a *royall kinde of verse, serving best for grand discourses*." This use of the stanza, as in *The Mirror for Magistrates*, is a far cry from the *Ballade royal* of the French school of courtly love-poetry.

⁶ It is not in common use much before *Gorboduc* (c. 1561), though Lydgate used it at least once, in the envoy to *A Prayer to St. Katherine, St. Margaret, and St. Mawdeleyne* (c. 1430).

⁷ But cf. the term *arbaletrière royal*, Chatelain, *l. c.*, pp. 185, 190.

⁴ Ms. Harley 2255, f. 88b, *The Fifteen Joys of Our Lady*.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXIV.

BALTIMORE, FEBRUARY, 1909.

No. 2.

THE "FOREST HERMIT" IN COLERIDGE AND WORDSWORTH.

The romantic imagination, we are to understand, lays emphasis upon the part as against the whole; upon the poetic detail as against the large and unified poetical conception; upon the individual element in poetry—so Aristotle might put it—as against the universal; upon the individual man also as against the state in and for itself. Hence, in a measure, arises the phenomenon of the beautiful fragment, like *Christabel* or *Kubla Khan*, which its author is powerless to finish; for want of a dominant architectonic idea, for want of an original and compelling unity, he is unable to subordinate each separate phrase, each accretion of images, to the inexorable evolution of a complete and harmonious masterpiece. Hence also, if we may make such a leap, comes in part the romantic idealization of the solitary, the anchorite, the recluse; of the individual who withdraws from the social organism and tries to exist alone and for himself.

His retreat, of course, must be voluntary. If it is forced, or forcibly prolonged, he will shortly be heard lamenting with Cowper's Selkirk:

O Solitude! where are the charms
That sages have seen in thy face?

And even if it be altogether of his own volition, he can by no means deny himself the social joy of telling others about his preference. Thus in a dozen places De Quincey reveals the secret of his carefully nourished "passion" for solitude. His passion, of course, represents a mood that every one feels now and then. But undoubtedly the air was surcharged with the mood after the time of that natural man Rousseau. Even Charles Lamb, most affable and accessible of mortals, confesses to a like "passion," though his confession has the faintest aroma of literary inheritance. The mood was a part of the literary bequest from a generation preceding.

Undoubtedly, too, there is an element here of revived medievalism. The romantic solitary carries about him some reminder of the cloister or the staff and scrip. In any case, retire or wander as far as he will, he can never quite succeed in being a creature sundered from the generality, for after all there are many like him; and in spite of his cry, "I am myself, myself alone!" if we drag him and his nearest neighbor from their respective mossy cells, the sunlight may disclose similarities between them amounting to the fixed characteristics of a type.

In reading *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, the present writer long imagined that the Hermit who appears in Part VI to shrive the hero had an original in some real personage. And this may still be true. The moment the Mariner reaches shore, he enters a landscape, along the Somerset coast of the Severn Sea, with which Coleridge and his erstwhile collaborator, Wordsworth, were thoroughly familiar; it may be that somewhere in their ramblings among the Quantock Hills one or both of the poets had seen a recluse corresponding, after a fashion, to the Hermit of the Wood. At the same time, this Hermit has such first-class literary antecedents, and such clear and occasionally artificial parallels in Wordsworth and Coleridge themselves, as to shake one's belief that either poet necessarily had "his eye on the object" when the holy man of the *Rime* was taking shape. The hermits in English literature are numerous. It might be interesting to compare this one with a Spenserian character whom he greatly resembles (albeit the latter is a pious fraud); for it will be recalled that both Coleridge and Wordsworth were eagerly reading Spenser in Quantockian days. First, however, it may be well to compare him and his habitat with other hermits as conceived by the two modern poets; since, whatever his origin, he is without doubt a stereotyped figure in both, and for Wordsworth a stock poetical resource, not unlike several of the pseudo-classic devices which Wordsworth eschewed.

Save for a traditional slip in the printing,¹ the description of the "forest Hermit" in the final text of the *Ancient Mariner* (lines 508-541, 560-563, 570-577) is substantially the same as that first given in the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798. Coleridge had indeed introduced a touch of something similar in a poem which Dykes Campbell assigns to the year 1793, entitled *Lines to a Beautiful Spring in a Village*:

Nor thine unseen in cavern depths to dwell,
The Hermit-fountain of some dripping cell!²

—where the context savors of an influence from Virgil or even Theocritus. And it is believed that he had in mind the same scene as that just cited from the *Ancient Mariner*, when he put together certain lines in a "ballad-tale" for which Wordsworth gave him the subject in 1797, *The Three Graves*:

'Tis sweet to hear a brook, 'tis sweet
To hear the Sabbath-bell,
Deep in a woody dell.

His limbs along the moss, his head
Upon a mossy heap,
With shut-up senses, Edward lay;
That brook e'en on a working day
Might chatter one to sleep.³

Again, we may not be far from the holy Hermit's cushion plump, when we are taken in the midnight wood to watch Christabel praying under the traditional mossy oak:

The sighs she heaved were soft and low,
And nought was green upon the oak
But moss and rarest mistletoe:
She kneels beneath the huge oak tree,
And in silence prayeth she.⁴

¹ This slip is worth noting. In most of the recent versions, including the standard text of Dykes Campbell, lines 529-530 of the *Ancient Mariner* are made to run:

The planks looked warped! and see those sails,
How thin they are and sere!

Aside from the impossible past tense, *looked warped* is an odd bit of cacophony to foist upon the author of *Christabel*; it is about as melodious as the celebrated elegiac line composed—says De Quincey—by Coleridge's old pedagogue, Jemmy Boyer:

'Twas thou that smooth'd'st the rough-rugg'd bed of pain.

² Coleridge, *Poetical Works*, 1893, p. 24.

³ *The Three Graves* 492-500, *Poetical Works*, p. 92; see Hutchinson's edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, pp. 217, 258.

⁴ *Christabel* 32-36, *Poetical Works*, p. 116.

Finally, there is a direct reference to the traditional hermit, with a general reminiscence of his sylvan dwelling, in Coleridge's *Mad Monk*, a poem written about three years after the *Ancient Mariner*, and like the *Lines to a Beautiful Spring in a Village*, indebted to a bucolic source in the classics. The familiar oak has changed to a tree of equally good literary parentage, the Sicilian chestnut:

I heard a voice from Etna's side;
Where o'er a cavern's mouth
That fronted to the south
A chestnut spread its umbrage wide:
A hermit or a monk the man might be;
But him I could not see:
And thus the music flow'd along,
In melody most like to old Sicilian song:

"There was a time when earth, and sea, and skies,
The bright green vale, and forest's dark recess,
With all things, lay before mine eyes
In steady loveliness:
But now I feel, on earth's uneasy scene,
Such sorrows as will never cease;—
I only ask for peace;
If I must live to know that such a time has been!"

The rest is not now to the point. The tale closes abruptly, with a hint of the hermit's customary environment:

Here ceased the voice. In deep dismay,
Down through the forest I pursu'd my way.⁵

So much for sylvan hermits in Coleridge; now for a few in Wordsworth. The first that we come upon in the latter poet is scarcely typical—he is a man with a family; but he is fairly artificial. He dwells on the border of Lake Como, where Wordsworth with careful circumstantiality pictures him in the *Descriptive Sketches* of 1793:

Once did I pierce to where a cabin stood,
The red-breast peace had hurry'd it in wood,
There, by the door a hoary-headed sire
Touch'd with his wither'd hand an aged lyre;

⁵ *The Mad Monk* 1-16, 46-47. This poem, by the way, ought sometime to be compared with Wordsworth's *Intimations of Immortality* and Coleridge's *Dejection*; for the discovery will yet be made that they are all three

In melody most like to old Sicilian song.
The conventional turn, "There was a time . . . But now . . ." (cf. *Dejection*, Stanza 6, *Intimations of Immortality*, Stanza 1) is the same modulation that we find in *Lycidas*:
But O the heavy change, now thou art gon.

Beneath an old-grey oak as violets lie,
Stretch'd at his feet with stedfast, upward eye,
His children's children join'd the holy sound,
A hermit—with his family around.⁶

Whatever reality lay beneath this description, the artificial side of it becomes apparent the instant we examine Wordsworth's subsequent revision. For example, the Popian lyre gives place to a "rude viol," which may or may not have been a real element in the original "delicious scene":

But once I pierced the mazes of a wood
In which a cabin undeserted stood;
There an old man an olden measure scanned
On a rude viol touched with withered hand.
As lambs or fawns in April clustering lie
Under a hoary oak's thin canopy,
Stretched at his feet, with stedfast upward eye,
His children's children listened to the sound;
—A Hermit with his family around.⁷

However, so far as I have observed, the typical Hermit of the Wood does not appear in Wordsworth until after his emancipation from the general artificiality of *Descriptive Sketches*, or until his alliance with Coleridge in *Lyrical Ballads*. We have noted the type in the first of the *Ballads*, that is, in the *Ancient Mariner*; we may note it also in the poem with which the collection closes—in *Tintern Abbey*. Revisiting the sylvan Wye, the devotee of nature glances over a pastoral landscape, descrying here and there

wreaths of smoke
Sent up, in silence, from among the trees!
With some uncertain notice, as might seem,
Of vagrant dwellers in the houseless woods,
Or of some Hermit's cave, where by his fire
The Hermit sits alone.⁸

Here, one might fancy, is the identical holy man of the *Ancient Mariner*, dwelling, not along the sylvan Wye, but somewhere among the Quantock Hills, and transferred for the nonce to the neighborhood of Tintern Abbey. And in the following

⁶ *Descriptive Sketches*, 1793, lines 168–175, *Poetical Works*, ed. Dowden, 7. 285; cf. *An Evening Walk* 219, *Poetical Works* 7. 272.

⁷ *Descriptive Sketches* (final version) 145–153, *Poetical Works*, 1. 27.

⁸ *Lines Composed a few Miles above Tintern Abbey* 17–22, *Poetical Works*, 2. 146.

description one might be tempted to find the same holy man's woodland chapel; for the "sheltering cove" or recess in the mountains is almost certainly in the vicinity of Alfoxden or Nether Stowey:

A spot where, in a sheltering cove
A little chapel stands alone,
With greenest ivy overgrown,
And tufted with an ivy grove.⁹

—only this happens to be the chapel of Wordsworth's fervent Methodist in *Peter Bell*. Very likely it may be identified with the woodland chapel in *The Three Graves*.

Is there, then, no hermit in *Peter Bell*? Wordsworth himself seems to expect one. Having conducted his hero to a suitable glade in the very heart of the woods, he inquires:

And is there no one dwelling here,
No hermit with his beads and glass?¹⁰

No, there is no hermit; none, at least, in the ordinary sense. The sole inhabitant of this deep and quiet spot is—

A solitary Ass.

Peter himself is surprised. It was just the place for a real, *human* hermit. Wordsworth's query supplies one of the many points of contact between his poem and the *Ancient Mariner*; for *Peter Bell* is the ballad of the supernatural which Wordsworth was constrained to write when he found himself unable to proceed conjointly with Coleridge in making the *Rime*.

Still other poems of Wordsworth describe this character in terms that remind us of Coleridge. In both poets, of course, the really curious thing about these holy men is the fact that they always dwell in the woods. They do not perch on pillars; they are not enamored of the heath or the sandy waste. They are lovers of shade, of ivy, moss, and oak. They are amateurs in the contemplation of foliage. Thus the confessor of the *Ancient Mariner* likens those sails, so thin and

Brown skeletons of leaves that lag
My forest-brook along;

⁹ *Peter Bell* 352–355, *Poetical Works*, 2. 248.

¹⁰ *Peter Bell*, 376–377, *Poetical Works*, 2. 232.

and thus Wordsworth, rebelling against the complicated life of London, observes that

living men
Are oft-times to their fellow-men no more
Than to the forest Hermit are the leaves
That hang aloft in myriads.¹¹

These lines were written in the year 1800. No especial connection is to be traced between the thought in them and that in the familiar sonnet commencing:

Nuns fret not at their convent's narrow room;
And hermits are contented with their cells;¹²

—the date of which has not been ascertained. Nor does it seem possible to establish any precise relation between the *Inscriptions supposed to be found in and near a Hermit's Cell* (five of them composed in 1818) and the earlier material that we have been studying. The lines, again, *For the Spot where the Hermitage stood on St. Herbert's Island, Derwent-Water*, which belong to the earlier, Grasmere period, are contemporary with the *Recluse*; yet their atmosphere does not seem closely allied to that of the *Recluse* or *Tintern Abbey*. St. Herbert is interesting because he gives a local habitation and a name to one of Wordsworth's hermits, and because Wordsworth knew something of his history. But as yet I see no ground for imagining that either he or any other particular recluse of the middle ages underlies the general conception in Wordsworth and Coleridge. St. Herbert, for example, was not a forest type; he lived on an island.

The holy men of the type here examined appear in Coleridge and Wordsworth chiefly in poems written between 1797 and 1804. A final example, representing the latter date, might be taken from the *Prelude*, where Wordsworth is relating his experiences in France during the year 1792, when he walked along the Loire in company with Beaupuy:

From earliest dialogues I slipped in thought,
And let remembrance steal to other times,
When, o'er those interwoven roots, moss-clad,
And smooth as marble or a waveless sea,

¹¹ *Ancient Mariner* 533-534; *Recluse* 605-608, Wordsworth, *Poetical Works*, ed. Morley, p. 342. Cf. *Iliad* 6. 146-149; Dante, *Paradiso* 26. 137-138.

¹² Wordsworth, *Poetical Works*, ed. Dowden, 3. 3.

Some Hermit, from his cell forth-strayed, might pace
In sylvan meditation undisturbed.¹³

All these passages would gain in significance, if we set beside them several stanzas from Spenser, a few well-known lines from Milton, and a quotation from some eighteenth-century poet—say Parnell. The hermit of the nineteenth-century romantic poets is necessarily in large part the creature of tradition. How much of him is an inheritance, and how much is due to the originality of Wordsworth and Coleridge, may be learned as well, perhaps, by a brief as by an extended comparison. I would call particular attention to the similarity between the first two stanzas in Part VII of the *Ancient Mariner* and the following stanza from the *Faerie Queene*:

A little lowly Hermitage it was,
Down in a dale, hard by a forests side,
Far from resort of people that did pas
In travaill to and froe: a little wide
There was an holy chappell edifyde,
Wherein the Hermite dewly wont to say
His holy thinges each morne and eventyde:
Thereby a christall streame did gently play,
Which from a sacred fountaine welled forth alway.¹⁴

Were there space, two passages from Milton might be added: *Il Penseroso*, 167-172, *Comus*, 385-992. There are reminiscences from both in Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* XXI, XXII.

We may close our list with the first six lines of Parnell's *Hermit*, in many ways a fair example of what Wordsworth is supposed to have disliked in the age of Pope:

Far in a wild, unknown to public view,
From youth to age a reverend hermit grew;
The moss his bed, his drink the crystal well;
Remote from man, with God he pass'd the days,
Prayer all his business, all his pleasure praise.¹⁵

Here is artificiality with a vengeance. Yet, after all, is not the type in Wordsworth almost as conventional?

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¹³ *Prelude* 9. 438-443, *Poetical Works*, 7. 182.

¹⁴ *F. Q.* 1. 1. 34. Compare Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 8. 27, 28, 41, 42; Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 8. 29 ff.

¹⁵ Parnell, *Poetical Works*, Aldine Edition, p. 100.

TRISTAN ON THE CONTINENT BEFORE 1066.

It is now supposed that the story of Tristan was first made known to the French, and by them to the rest of the Continent, through the Norman conquest of England.¹ The reason for this opinion is a negative one, and is based on the absence of allusions to the legend, and of proper names peculiar to it, from documents antecedent to 1066. Yet in the records of the Norman invasion of Italy the name of Tristan occurs more than once during the eleventh century, and under circumstances which do not leave any doubt regarding its genuineness.

Towards 1075 the monk Amatus, of the convent of Monte Cassino, wrote a chronicle in Latin on the emigration of the Normans to Italy and their fortunes in that peninsula during the next half-century. This chronicle has disappeared, but a translation of it, done into French during the first quarter of the fourteenth century, has come down to modern times, and has been edited twice as *Ystoire de li Normant*.² In this French version we read that when Henry of Germany left lower Italy in 1022 he handed over to his allies, the nephews of the Greek rebel, Melos, a small body of Normans led by a certain "Trostayne."³ And twenty years later, when Apulia was divided among the twelve Norman chiefs who had united to seize it, this same leader, or a homonym, received as his share the district of Monte Peloso.⁴

Amatus' original has been lost, but other Latin chronicles of events in South Italy during the eleventh century have been saved. One of them was written by a contemporary of Amatus, the future bishop of Ostia, Leo de Marsico († 1115), and ends towards 1075, the year which saw Amatus at work. Leo's narrative forms a part of the general *Chronicon monasterii Casinensis*.⁵ In many details it closely resembles Amatus'. Leo also

mentions the band of Normans given to Melos' nephews by Emperor Henry. He names several, and among them is Trostayne.⁶ And when Apulia is apportioned among the twelve it is again Tristan who receives Monte Peloso.⁷ It is evident that Amatus and Leo are drawing on the same sources, and their very fidelity is manifested by their failure to reconcile the spellings of the name. Of course, the Trostayne of 1022 may not be the Tristan of 1042. Leo could hardly have thought he was, since he does not repeat his epithet of "balbus."

The Monte Cassino chronicle was taken up where Leo left it by Peter the Deacon, and was continued by him to the year 1139. Peter the Deacon was a full generation younger than Leo. He could have had little personal knowledge of events previous to 1100, and must have relied on written documents for the earlier part of his history. But whatever his means of information, they conveyed to him items connected with the name Tristan. Under date of 1096 he speaks of Robert, who was a son of Trosten, and again in 1109 of Robert, the son of Tristan,⁸ clearly the same person. And finally, in 1122, another Tristan appears.⁹

The evidence that among the Norman invaders of lower Italy was found a knight called Trostayn or Tristan seems indisputable. Indeed there may have been two of that name. We cannot tell. Nor do we know whether the Tristan of Monte Peloso is the father of the Robert of 1096 and 1109. Genealogists may eventually determine this point. But what we are warranted by the statements of both Amatus and Leo in assuming is, that a Norman, born not later than 1000, was given the name of the great Celtic hero. And we also see from their uncertain spelling, and from the variations of Peter the Deacon, that in

¹ See J. Bédier, *Roman de Tristan*, vol. II, p. 129; F. Lot, *Romania*, xxxv, pp. 596, 597.

² First, by the Société de l'Histoire de France, and, more recently, by the Société de l'Histoire de Normandie (1892).

³ "Trostayne avec .xxiiij. Normant." Book I, c. 30.

⁴ "Tristan Monte Pelouz." Book II, c. 30.

⁵ Published by Pertz: *Monumenta Germ. Hist.*, Scriptores VII, pp. 574 ff.

⁶ "Torstainum balbum." Pertz, VII, p. 655 (Book II, c. 41).

⁷ "Tristaino Montem pilosum." Pertz, VII, p. 676 (Book II, c. 66).

⁸ "Robbertus, filius Trosteni"—"Cum Robberto, filio Tristayni." Pertz, VII, p. 766 (Book IV, c. 11), and p. 778 (Book IV, c. 34). The editor adds in a note to the second citation (n. 43) that other documents of the day spell "Trostayni."

⁹ "Trostaynus cum familia sua." Pertz, VII, p. 799 (Book IV, c. 71).

Italy, at least, the pronunciation of that name wavered throughout the eleventh century between *Trostayn* and *Tristayn*, with the balance inclining towards the former. Since Peter the Deacon calls the last one of the family he mentions *Trostayn*, and since he is speaking of a contemporary (the date is of 1122), we may well believe that this pronunciation had become the established one. This view would be fortified by the testimony of other records, alluded to by the editor of Pertz.¹⁰ Now some twenty years ago or more Ferdinand Lot made the suggestion that the French poems on Tristan give that form only because of a fancied etymology with the adjective *triste*. This idea of Lot's receives its first confirmation from Amatus, Leo and especially from Peter the Deacon.¹¹

Still the presence of one (or two) Norman knights named Tristan before the middle of the eleventh century may not mean any more than that fact. The Normans knew the name, had known it since 1000 at the latest. They may have known nothing of the legend. It is probable that the name came to them through an intermarriage with some Breton in the tenth century, and as an isolated instance. Or the ancestor who gave the name may have crossed the Channel directly from Wales or Cornwall, without passing through Armorican territory. That is, a Northern Celt bearing a Celtic name would have emigrated to Normandy and have founded a family there. He may have brought the legend with him and he may not. And in the case of an intermarriage with a Breton, the legend may have gone with the name, and it may not. Amatus and Leo tell us that the Normans knew the name two generations at least before they conquered England. As to the story, they are silent.

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¹⁰ See note 8 above.

¹¹ That *Trostayn* (*Drostan*) and *Tristan* are the same word was established by H. Zimmer, in *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, xiii, pp. 58 ff.; cf. Bédier, *Roman de Tristan*, vol. II, pp. 106 ff. Did Chrétien de Troyes take advantage of the two pronunciations to create beside the hero *Tristan* (*Érec* 1248) another *Tristan*, "qui onques ne rist" (*Érec* 1713), or had popular etymology not yet completed its task, so that the sorrowful *Tristan*, begotten by the misfortunes of the Celtic *Tristan*, still enjoyed a shadowy existence, apart from his progenitor?

THE FIRST FOLIO OF SHAKESPEARE, AND THE NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

The First Folio edition of Shakespeare's Plays is, as Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps has said, the most interesting and valuable book in the whole range of English literature. It is the sole authority for twenty of the plays, and for the rest is still regarded by critics as, in the main, the most authentic text, the nearest approach, in spite of errors and imperfections, to what Shakespeare actually wrote. The editors, John Heminge and Henry Condell, were Shakespeare's friends and fellow-actors, whose names appear along with his in the printed list of actors. The Dedication, address "to William Earle of Pembroke and Philip Earle of Montgomery," is in the obsequious style of the time, which continued in vogue until 1755, when Dr. Johnson by his famous letter to the Earl of Chesterfield, on the publication of his dictionary, gave the death-blow to patronage. Here is a sample of "The Epistle Dedicatorie": "For, when we valed the places your H. H. (Highnesses) sustaine, we cannot but know their dignity greater, then to descend to the reading of these trifles; and, while we name them trifles, we have depriv'd our selves of the defence of our Dedication." In their address "To the great Variety of Readers" the editors say:

"It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to have bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liv'd to have set forth, and overseen his owne writings; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to have collected and publish'd them; and so to have publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diverse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors, that expos'd them; even those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: and what he thought, he uttered with that easinesse, that wee have scarce received from him a blot in his papers."

This would seem to imply that the plays in the First Folio were printed from Shakespeare's original manuscripts. It may possibly be true of some of the author's latest productions, such as *The Tempest*, tho Sidney Lee is of the opinion that the whole volume was printed from the acting versions in the possession of the manager of the company with which Shakespeare had been associated, and thinks it doubtful that any play was printed exactly as it came from his pen.

Halliwell-Phillipps names the plays in the First Folio, including *Hamlet*, *Lear*, *Othello*, and others, that were edited from stage copies, "playhouse transcripts." Mr. Churton Collins, in his recent *Studies in Shakespeare*, speaking of the manner in which the editors of the First Folio did their work, declares that Hunter scarcely exaggerated when he said that, in the whole annals of typography, there is no record of any book of importance having been dismissed from the press with less care and attention. Professor Dowden says, in his edition of *Hamlet*, it is unquestionable that the copy for the Quarto of 1603—and there is much evidence that the same thing may be said of later Quartos—was surreptitiously obtained by a short-hand writer who, according to a practice of the time, was employed to take notes during a theatrical performance.

With these preliminary remarks, I now proceed upon a comparison of the text of the Quartos with that of the First Folio, to point out (1) errors found in the First Folio text of *Hamlet*, which seem to be due to the failure of the short-hand writer to understand clearly what he heard, and (2) errors due to the incompetence or carelessness of copyists; in other words, errors of the ear, and errors of the eye. The following passages will illustrate some of the errors of the short-hand writer:

"And a most instant Tetter *bak'd* about,
Most Lazar-like, with vile and loathsome crust,
All my smooth Body." (I, 5, 76.)

All the Quartos have *bark'd*, which is, of course, the right word here. The mistake is easily accounted for when we recall that the sound of *a* in *bake* was the same as in *bark* (see Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*), and there is "much reason to suspect," according to Ellis, "a use of

vocal *r* similar to that now in vogue" (p. 974), but he admits there is no positive authority for such a conclusion.

A similar error occurs in II, 1, 68:

"Your bait of falshood, takes this *Cape* of truth," where the Quartos have *carp*; and another in III, 4, 190:

"That I essentially am not in madnesse,
But *made* in craft."

The Quartos and later Folios have *mad*. And again in II, 2, 220:

"And that they have a plentifull *locke* of
Wit, together with weake Hammes."

where the Quartos have *lack* and *most weak*. Compare with these Hamlet's pun in *mousetrap* (*trop*) and *tropically*. "*Sallied* flesh" of Quartos 1, 2, for *solid* of the Folio. "*No fairy takes*" of the Quartos, where the Folio has *talks*, *horrors* (*harrows*) and *totters* (*tatters*) of Q. 1, and so forth.

Other errors of the ear due to similarity of sound are seen in the following passages:

"No, let the Candied tongue, *like* absurd pompe,
And crooke the pregnant Hindges of the knee."
(III, 2, 64.)

The Quartos have "*tongue lick*" with which *like* coincided in sound (see Viëtor's *Shakespeare's Pronunciation*).

"With thoughts beyond *thee*; reaches of our Soules."
(I, 4, 39.)

where all the Quartos have "the reaches."

"Madam, it so fell out, that certain Players
We ore-wrought on the way." (III, 1, 20.)

The Quartos have *raught*, the old preterite of *reach*; *o'errought* meaning *overtook*.

"The censure of the which One, must in your allowance
o'reway a whole Theater of Others" (III, 2, 28).

for *o'erweigh* of the Quartos. This, however, may be a variant spelling.

"Your fat King, and your leane Begger is but variable
service to dishes, but to one Table" (IV, 3, 30).

The Quartos read: "variable service, *two* dishes, but to one table."

"I have bin *sixteene* heere, mau and Boy thirty yeares"
(v, 1, 163).

for "sexton" of the Quartos.

"I have some *rites* of memory in this kingdome"
(v, 2, 387).

for "rights" of the Quartos.

"In few, Ophelia,
Doe not beleeve his vowes; for they are Broakers,
Not of *the eye*, which their Investments show"
(I, 3, 133).

The Quartos have *that dye* (die). This, most likely, was caught by the ear of the short-hand writer as *that eye*, which in copying he changed to *the eye*. That *dye* is the right word will be shown later on where the whole passage is explained in the light of the *New English Dictionary*.

"I hold my dutie as I hold my Soule,
Both to my God, *one* to my gracious King"
(II, 2, 52).

All the Quartos have *and*, which, of course, is the right reading. Dr. Furness, in the *Variorum*, makes this comment: "Dyce truly says that the attempts to explain the error, *one*, of the Folio have proved unsuccessful." I venture to offer an explanation. The Elizabethan pronunciation of *one*, without the initial sound of *w*, might easily be mistaken for *and*, in which the *d* would be silent before *to* [an(d) to], leaving an(d) equal to on(e). Compare the Elizabethan similarity of sound also in the preposition *on*, as in "fell on sleep" (*Bible*, A. V. 1611), and *an*, as in "to stand *an* end" (*Hamlet*, I, 5, 24). Something like this old sound of *one* still survives in the speech of the illiterate, as in "young uns" (young ones) and "you uns" (you ones), Middle English, *ye ons*.

The mistakes of copyists and printers, mistakes of the eye, may be seen in the following examples selected out of a large number:

"The first rowe of the *Pons Chanson*" (II, 2, 447).

where the Quartos have *pious*, except the First, which has "godly ballet."

And in the same speech: "Thy face is *valiant*," where the Quartos have *valanced*.

"Now is he to *take Geulles*" (II, 2, 482).

for *total gules* (one red) of the Quartos.

"But who, O who, had seen the *inobled* Queen"
(II, 2, 525).

for *mobled* of the Quartos.

"'Tis too much prov'd, that with Devotions visage,
And pious Action, we do *surge* o're
The divell himselfe" (III, 1, 54).

The reading of the Quartos is *sugar*, which is, of course, what Shakespeare wrote.

"I have heard of your *prallings* too well enough.
God has given you one *pace*, and you make your selfe
another" (III, 1, 153),

for *paintings* and *face* of the Quartos.

"That neyther having the accent of Christians, nor the
gate of Christian, Pagan, or *Norman*" (III, 2, 33).

Quartos: *nor man*.

"Fixt on the *Somnet* of the highest Monnt" (III, 3, 21),
with which compare

"What if it tempt you toward the Floud my Lord?
Or to the dreadful *Sonnet* of the Cliffe" (I, 4, 57).

Rowe's emendation of *summit* in both places has been accepted by all later editors. For the very common practice of representing the *u* sound by *o*, before *m* and *n*, compare *woman*, *son*, *wont*, etc.

"And like the kinde Life-rend'ring *Politician*"
(IV, 5, 153).

a curious mistake for *pelican* of the Quartos and later Folios.

"A very *ribaud* in the cap of youth" (IV, 7, 85),
for *riband* of the Quartos.

"To keepe my name *ungorg'd*" (v, 2, 205),
for *ungored* of the Quartos.

"And where 'tis so, th' Offenders scourge is weigh'd
But *neerer* the offence" (IV, 3, 8).

All the Quartos have *never*.

"And there is *Paconcies*, that's for Thoughts" (IV, 5, 185)
for *pansies* of the Quartos. A common spelling of the word was *paunces*, as in the *Faerie Queen*, and so the mistake was not so wide of the mark as it seems.

Words are sometimes left out that are necessary to the sense or the metre: "and there is a kinde confession in your lookes" (II, 2, 309). Quartos: "kind of confession."

"But thou wouldest not thinke how *all heere* about my heart" (v, 2, 163).

Quartos: "How ill all's *heere* about my heart."

Most careless of all are the errors arising from the confusion of long *s* with *f*:

"A Villaine killes my Father, and for that I his *foule* Sonne, do this Villaine send to heaven" (III, 3, 84).

The reading of the Quartos is *sole son*. Other examples are: "But *sost*" (v, 1, 216), for *soft*; "to speake *sellingly* of him" (v, 2, 116), for *feelingly*. Inexcusable negligence is seen also in the following: "like *most*" (II, 2, 379), for *most like*; "his Mother *Clossets*" (IV, 1, 38), for *his mother's closet*; "That drop of blood, that *calmes*," for *that's calm*.

Similar examples of errors of all kinds might easily be multiplied, but these must suffice. The first four Quartos of *Hamlet* appeared in the following order: First (1603), Second (1604), Third (1605), Fourth (1611), and later a Fifth, undated. The question, why the First Folio *Hamlet* was printed by the editors from a text notably inferior to that of the Quartos, with the exception of the First, remains unanswered.

The First Folio is now being reprinted under the editorship of Miss Charlotte Porter and Miss Helen Clarke, the editors of *Poet Lore*. The publishers are Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. Nearly a dozen of the plays have already appeared. In this paper I shall confine my remarks to one of the later issues, *Hamlet*, which I have carefully examined. The least satisfactory part of the editorial work appears in "Literary Illustrations," in the interpretation of obscure or doubtful passages, where old blunders are repeated with amazing credulity, without one ray of light from the *New English Dictionary*. Now in the matter of interpretation which hinges upon the meaning of words in Elizabethan English, the scholarship of no one critic, however learned, can safely be set above the combined scholarship of the makers of this dictionary, the greatest work ever attempted in English philology. *Hamlet's* first speech is a play upon words: "A little more than kin, and less than kinde." The note on this is as follows: "More than uncle, less than child. The elder and the younger Booth and Forrest

showed in the suspicious and ironical tone of this retort upon the king's venturing to call him 'son' the peculiar double use of *kinde* in the sense of 'child' and 'kindness.' According to Kate Field, Fechter started at the king's *my sonne*. Wilson Barnett pronounced the word *kinde* with a short 'i' as in the German word for child, as it is still also pronounced in this sense in the provinces of England. The proverbial sense of kindness, here grimly punned on, is exemplified, also, in Lyly's 'Mother Bombie' (1594), quoted by Steevens: 'the greater the kindred is, the less the kindness must be'; and 'Gorboduc (1561): 'In kinde a father, but not kindlynesse.' According to report, the elder Booth sobbed audibly at the king's words, and made this answer with extreme bitterness."

It would be interesting to know what authority there is for the statement that *kind* is used in the sense of *child* in the provinces of England. What provinces? There is no hint in the *New English Dictionary* or in Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* that the word was ever so used. It was one of the wildest vagaries of Dr. Johnson that Shakespeare used here the German word *Kind* for *child*. *Kind* is etymologically allied to *kin*, and there is good authority for the statement that the vowel sound of the two words was similar, that is, *kind* had its older sound rhyming with *wind(n)*.¹ With "more than kin" compare "uncle-father" (II, 5, 405), and with "less than kind," "lecherous, kindless villain" (II, 2, 604). The perfection of Shakespeare's language is due, in a large measure, to the necessity of making it level to the comprehension of the general public, of little or no education, who made up mainly his audiences, and that he should have here used the German word for *child*, even if he himself were acquainted with it, is inconceivable. This side remark of *Hamlet's* is, I take it, a reflection on Claudius.

¹ See Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, Part I, (page 116): "Ben Jonson (1640), like Bullokar (1580), entirely ignores the diphthongal character of long *i*." And page 277: "Through the kindness of several gentlemen I am enabled to say that in South Shields, Kendal, Westmoreland, and Cumberland generally, and parts of Lancashire, the short vowel (*i*) is still heard in the words *bind*, *blind* *a*, *behind*, *hinder* *a*, *hindmost*, *find*, *grind*, *wind* *v*."

"In few, Ophelia,
Doe not beleve his vows ; for they are Broakers,
Not of the eye, which their Investments show ;
But mere implorators of unholy Sutes,
Breathing like sanctified and pious bonds,
The better to beguile" (I, 3, 137).

Here is the note on this passage :

"Hamlet's vows, says Polonius, are not like brokers who show their investments and put their money out before the eye, but like pleaders of crafty lawsuits who breathe out pious phrases like the religious formulas of their legal papers, the better to beguile. 'In the name of God, Amen,' was the common opening form of bonds. The figure is in the same vein as that already made by Polonius in his contrast between *true pay* in *starling* coin and *tenders*, or mere promises to pay."

The *N. E. D.*, under *Broker* gives :

"4. A go-between or intermediary in love affairs . . . Also a procurer, pimp, bawd ; a pander generally." Under *Investment* : "1. The act of putting clothes or vestments on ; clothing ; robes, vestments." The passage above is quoted, and another from *II Hen.* iv, 4, 1 :

"You Lord Archbishop,
Whose white Investments figure innocence."

Bonds is, presumably, for *marriage bonds*, as elsewhere.

The note on *mortall coile* (III, 1, 76) is as follows :

"That which winds us around, but is separable from us and subject to decay. It is necessarily conceived of as an incasing series of external spiral rings, *i. e.*, exactly the word used, *coil*, the noun, derived from the old French verb *coillir*, in its primary sense, to wind cylindrically, as a rope, a grape-tendril, or a snake, with its figurative suggestions of the serpent's coil and the skin it writhes from and shuffles off, like the encasement on all sides encircling and harassing the permanent inward being. So in *Mer. of Ven.*, v, 1, 73-5, the *muddy vesture of decay* *Doth grossly close in the harmonie that is in immortall soules.*"

Under *coil*,² the *N. E. D.* gives : "*Mortal coil* : The bustle or turmoil of this mortal life. A Shakespearian expression which has become a

current phrase." Compare Scott's *Lord of the Isles* :

"Where rest from mortal coil the mighty of the Isles."

"Of unknown origin" (*N. E. D.*).

"And (an) anchors *cheere* in prison be my scope" (III, 2, 238)—bracketed, with the line preceding, because not in the original Folio—is explained as "Anchorite's fare," a possible interpretation, but the *N. E. D.*, under *Anchor*, gives *cheere* = *chair*, which suits well with *scope*. Compare also Bishop Hall's *Satires* (iv, 2, 103) :

"Sit seaven yeares pining in an anchores cheyre."

The meaning, then, is "an anchorite's chair."

Strangely enough, errors both of ear and eye, already pointed out in this paper, are gravely treated as genuine and accepted text :—"Pons Chanson : Literally, a bridge song, *ponts neufs* being the phrase (see Larousse 'Nouveau Dictionnaire de la Langue Française') for popular songs on a familiar air, such as were sold in Paris on the bridge called the *Pont Neuf*."

"To take *Guelles* : 'Gules,' the term used in heraldry for red, meaning here blood-smeared. Possibly 'total,' adopted from the Quartos in the modernized text, may be a repetition of a misprint taken from the blundering Quarto of 1603, which also prints *total*, and to take may be what the poet meant ; that is, Pyrrhus, whose *Sable Armes* were *Blacke as his purpose*, is to take blood-red or gules for his colors now, a *Heraldry more dismall*, instead of black."

"*inobled* : The word *mobled*, adopted from the Quartos (including the untrustworthy 1 Q.) and given in the modernized text, labors under the disadvantage of meaning something definite, *i. e.*, veiled or wrapped up, as appears from the use of the word in Sandys's 'Travells' : 'Turkish womens heads and faces are so mobled in fine linnen that no more is seen of them then their eyes.' Hence the wonder of Hamlet is not called for and the approval of Polonius has no point, if *mobled* be substituted, and that might be the reason why the words of Polonius are left out in the Quartos (including 1 Q.). *Inobled* suggests 'un-nobled' or degraded in mien with enough uncertainty to make Hamlet wonder and Polonius approve although out of sheer emptiness, and to atone for his recent critical error (1, 521)."

"*Norman* : *Turke* is substituted in 1 Q. *Man* in 2 Q. seems pointless. The Northman or Norman of the Middle Ages, the next door neighbor of the Dane, might well seem to Hamlet to belong to a third class, if not Christianized, yet not a pagan, in the sense of belonging neither to the time before Christ nor to the Greek or Roman world."

"*foule* : To accuse himself as a *foule* son for such unfair requital of his father's murder is much more to the point here than to assert that he is a *sole* son."

I have reserved for the last the comments on the long speech of twenty lines immediately preceding the famous "dram of eale" crux, not in the original Folio, but inserted here from the Quartos, and hence bracketed :

"So oft it chaunces in particuler men,
That for some vicious mole of nature in them
As in their birth wherein they are not guilty,
. that these men
Carrying I say the stamp of one defect
Being Natures livery, or Fortunes starre,
His (their) vertues els be they as pure as grace,
As infinite as man may undergoe,
Shall in the general censure take corruption
From that particuler fault : the dram of eale
Doth all the noble substance of a doubt
To his owne scandle."

The editor's comments are :

"*Natures livery, or Fortunes Starre* : That is, men of virtue clothed in the uniform or livery of the race they are born into, who are, for example, born Danes, or fated by their star to be classed as Danes, are in the judgment of the world all blemished by this one defect, falling upon them in general by Nature or Fortune, not by their own characters as individuals."

Can "*Natures livery*" mean anything more than *heredity*? And in the plain prose of the present day would not "*heredity or environment*" cover the meaning of the more poetic "*Nature's livery or Fortune's star*?"

"*dram of eale . . . of a doubt* : Meaning the dram of eale (evil or reproach) doth (doeth or effecteth) the substance (substantialness or essentialness) of a doubt to all the noble (all those who are noble, or all that which is noble)."

"*his owne scandle* : *His* refers to *the noble*, and

may be equivalent to 'its,' the masculine form of the possessive pronoun being applied to the subject, whether masculine or not, before the impersonal possessive 'its' grew into common use. *Owne scandle* conveys the sense not only of slander because of this *particular fault*, but also abhorrence of it, scandalization at it."

With this compare Professor Dowden's lucid interpretation in his recent edition of *Hamlet* : "the dram of eale (evil) Doth all the noble substance of (out of) a (mere) doubt (or suspicion) To his (its) own (substance) scandal (degrade in reputation)." *Eale* is not recorded at all in the *N. E. D.*, but that it is for *evil* is made evident by *deale*, in the same Quartos for *devil*, with which compare *deil*. *Scandal* is so used, as a verb, in four other passages in the plays.

Now if for *of a doubt* we read *out o' doubt* (undoubtedly), a frequent Shakesperian locution, we have the sense complete, for "the stamp of one defect" is not a matter of doubt or suspicion. For *a = o'*, *of*, compare "out adores" (II, 1, 109), for *out of doors*, and "tickled a th' sere" (II, 2, 354), for *tickle o' the sere*. And surely at a time when such misprints as *one* for *and*, and for *as*, for for *our*, were common, *of* for *out* would be a small offense.

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FRANZ VON SICKINGEN'S APPEAL TO THE GERMAN NATION.

Sickingen addresses himself in this pamphlet¹ to all the members of the German nation from the princes down to the citizens and peasants to defend himself against the accusation of having attempted a general uprising of the lower classes, especially the peasants or as the German phrase used in those days has it: einen Buntschuh zu erregen. At the same time he gives his reasons for his feud with the archbishop of Trier who he thinks is responsible for all his troubles. He also

¹ Cp. E. Kück, *Schriftstellernde Adlige der Reformationszeit*. I. *Sickingen und Landschad*. Rostock, 1894.

explains why the League at London was formed at his instigation and under his leadership. He claims to have stood up for right and justice for all, even the lowest, and he protests against the attempt of the princes of Trier, Pfalz and Hessen to drive him out of his territory and to treat him like an outlaw.

The free knights of the Empire he asks whether they realize that it will mean certain ruin to all of them if the princes who united against him should succeed in crushing him, the strongest advocate of the rights and privileges of that once so honored and important class. In the struggle of the independent knights against the more powerful princes of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation this is, of course, one of the most interesting but also one of the very saddest chapters. The outcome of the struggle could easily be foreseen.

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AUSZ SCHREIBEN VND VERANNTWÜRTUNG FRANCISCUS VON SIGKINGEN / VFF RUGKLICH VERCLAGEN / ERDICT ANGEHEN VND VNBILICH VERUNGILPFUNG SEINER WIDERWERTIGEN VND MISZGÜNDER. 1522.

Allen vund yeden / Churfürsten Fürsten gaistlichen vund weltlichen Prelaten grauen Freyen heren Riter vund knechten / hauptleuten schultheissen Burgermaistern Richtern Ra^{ten} / Burgern gemeinden / vund sonst allen andern in was wurden stats oder wesens die seien / Denen diese geschrift für kumpt / sehen / oder ho^{ren} lesen / Embeüt ich Frantziscus vonn Sigkingen zu^{uor} mein vnterthenigen willigen vnd früntlichen dienst.

Mich langt gewisz vund glaublichen an / wie das merertail allenthalben im Reich von mir auszschell vund ingebildet werd / als ob ich sampt etlichen des willens vnd fürnemens ainenn Bundtschu^{ch} zu^u machen / vund zu^o erwegenn / Nw sag ich Frey vnuerdingt / welcher mir so^lichs zu^olegt / Redt oder auszgit / der selb sey was stands er wo^{ll} / das er es auff mich fa^lschlich verreterlich erdicht vnd leugt / kan nit gedengken was doch einichen dahin bewog so^lliche clare offenbare lu^ogen vszu^ogiessen / zu^o dem hoff ich mengelich aller meiner bekanten wissen / Das ich von meiner Jugend bis auff gegewirtigenn tag / einich vrsach argkwons oder verdachts zu^o so^llichem nie gegeben / Aber wo^lhin ich mu^osz beschehen lassen / es ist lecht yetz an mir / hasz neid vund anders seyn dessen vrsachenn / wie ich nachuolgend melden will.

Dann ob man mir darumb das ich den Ertzbischoff zu^o Trier / nach überflüssiger zeitlicher verwarung mit meinen herren / fründen vnd gesellen / von grauen herren Ritterschafft knechten kriegszleuten zu^o ros vund fu^osz / fast alle vmb ire besoldung überzogen / laster eins Bundtschu^{chs} zumessenn wolt / mag sich mit keinichem schein darzu^o vergleichen / dann ich gedachtem Ertzbischoff vmb ho^ocher beweglichen eins teils wider gott / Kay. Ma. hochait / allen Teutschen glauben vund erberkait zu^o üermindern / vund ander mer vrsachenn / meinn öffentlich verwarung zu^ogeschickt hon / Welcher inhalt so ich wie billich gewest vmb so^lche meine handlung Citiert worden were / dargethonn vnd bewiesen haben wo^lt / vund nochmals vor gleichmessigen onpartheylichen Richtern zu^othuⁿ erbiet.

Hab auch zu^o so^llichem meinem zu^ogk nit Bundtschu^{chs} gebo^ofels gsind oder das man dahin vermüten vnd achten mo^ocht / gebraucht / su^onder sollich Erlich von hochem auch gemeinem adel vund Kriegsuolgk denen ob ich schonn so vnteur wer / man ein solichs nit zu^olegen oder nachreden solt / darumb ab sollichem meinem thuⁿ kain vrsach nach verdacht einichs Bundtschu^{chs} genomen oder gescho^opft werden mag.

Wolt man aber ausz dem vrsach oder vermütung eins sollichen lasters nemen / das vergangen Sommers etlich von der Ritterschafft / sich zu^osamen beschriben mit einander vnderret / wie weg zu^ofinden / das wir vnns nachpewrlich vund früntlich aller Irrungen vund spaⁿn / Vergleichen vnd vertragen mo^ochten nit also inn weytleuffig vnentlich onerho^olich ongeleiche Rechtfertigung begeben müsten / auff das wir dester fridlicher vund eintrechtigtlicher / mit einander lebten / mag ye dasselbig dahin nit verstanden werden dann ich so^lichs zu^ouerantworten darzu^o oder daruon abzu^othun weder mindern noch meren will / Dann das alles on hel / offenbar geschehen / vnd in trugk ausz gangen / auch kainer gerechtigkeit billichkeit / noch einichem hohem oder nidern stand zu^o wider oder abbrüchlich sonder zu^o frid einigkeit vund früntlicher nachpauerschaft dienenn / wie das ausz verlesung seins inhalts erscheindt / dar auff ich michs ziehe / gantz vngezweyfelter zu^ouersicht / niemans verstendigs vnd erbers gemüets dasselbig schelten / In args

Aii

ausz legen oder versteenn mo^oge / Es weren dann die ihenigen so mit anderer leüt verderben / zengken / hadereyen / Vnd onentlichem des Rechten gebrauch sich zu^oreichen / auch ire gewaltig vnd vnbillich handel durchzu^odringen vermeinen vnd das mit der that vnderstenn.

Darumb mir ye so^lichs deszhalbenn nit zu^ogelegt werden mag / Es hat aber meins achtens vmb obgerürte meiner person beschuldigen vund Rugklich einbilden gar vil ein ander gestalt / Dan

mir so'llichs Bundtschu'chs laster auch ander übels von meinen vngnedigen herren vnd deren anhangern erdichtlich sonder grund einicher warhait zu'gelegt wirdet/vermeinende mich damit inn aller des Reichs steende/vngnad vnnnd widerwillen züfürn einig ausz hasz vnd neid/vnd nit das sy mich vmb etwas vnerbers noch vngerechts neiden/sonder das sie dardurch in andere ein so'llichen schregken vnnnd vorcht bringen/damit sie doster statlicher ir gewaltsam vnbillich beschwerden/die doch weder got noch menschen/in that dulden mo'gen gegen menigtlich dem sie mit der that überlegen es seyen grauen herren Ritter andere vom Adel/Stet/Burger/oder gepaurn/wie das yetz offenbar am tag erscheint/hin ausz bringen.

Wiewol ich nun vonn meinen uerstendigen tagen alweg ein gleichmessigs erbers vnd ausz-treglich Recht gern gesehen/vnd meins vermogens/darzu geholfen ha't/So das in meinem beuelch oder thun gewest were/onn wo'chs der friden nit bestendig/auch oft von armer ver-trückter vnd uergewaltigter wegen mein armu't leib vnd vermogen Inn fare gesetzt vnnnd dero etwan vielen zu'r billichait verhoffen/Das/das/das/ist einig die vrsach/hasz vnd neids/meiner vngnedigen herrn/welche vmb etlich vil ir heudel weder billichs ausztra'glichs oder enttlichs Recht leydenn mo'gen/sonder einig sich vndersteen irs selbs geursachten verderbens/mit newen aufsetzen vnd beschwerden als zoll vnnnd anders wider zu' erholen/darinn auch mit onwiderbringlichem schaden irer armen sich zu'reichen/Vnd in sollichem weder derselben noch auch irer ansto'sser ho'ches oder nidere stands/wen sie über-mo'gen/verschonen.

Ir eins tails haben auch ausz vnersetlichem gemüet in dem weder zyl noch masz/Sonder vndernemen sich Newer vnghe'orter Tirrannischen sachen/als nemlich Pfaltzgraf Ludwig Churfürst welcher yetzund wider alles erbar vnd billichait einig ausz vnuerschulden vngnadenn/so er gegen denen von der Ritterschafft tregkt etlich vil vom Adel deren vora'ldern vnd sie alzeit zu' der Pfalz ir leib sterben vnd verderben trüwlich vnd Eerlich dargestreckt/Darumb auch keinen gewin bgert/sunderlich in letzter Bayerischen Vhed da Pfaltz durch Bap'stliche vnnnd Kayserliche richtliche spruch in Bann vnd acht erkant/darzu den merentail aller stennd des Reichs ir mit kriegsaufru'r vnnnd tha'tlicher handlung entgegen gewest vnd sich deszmals kains gewins zu'uerhoffen/sonder sterbens vnnnd verderbens gwiszlich zu' uerschen was/haben aber doch Pfaltz durch ire gotrewe dienst bestendig vnd manlichs bleiben bey dem ihenigen so sie noch hat/behalten/vnder denen ich derzeit auch gewest/vnd gedachter Pfaltz halben ob die vier-tausend guldin mit Brand vnnnd nam schaden

empfangen/dessen ich doch nie pfening oder heller erstattung begert/Aber dis yetzig der Pfaltz fürnemen ist annderer vom Adel vnd mein dagegen belonung Wann sollichs unange-sehen/hat er ausz denselbigen vorgemelten/von der Ritterschafft vil eins tails meiner gesiepten fründ/auch ander gu't günder vnd gesellen vmb das er sich vermu'ttet sie mir zu' Eren vnnnd Recht gunst fruntschafft vnd gu'ten willen tragen eruordert/etlich sich züscha'tzen zu' uerbinden/mich vnnnd die meinen zu'uerloben/das ir zu'be-schwerenn/eins tails ire hab vnnnd gu'ter gewaltigtlich genomen auch eins tails ausz denen ir Aiiij

anerstorben ererbte gerechtigkeit vnnnd vor-drung/betregklich vor Pfaltz vnd dero Ra'ten/inn Recht hangend zu'begeben vnnnd daruon gentzlich abzu'steen gedrungen/ausz vrsachen das dieselbigen gerechtigkeiten Pfaltz zu' nu'tz vnnnd erweiterung irer oberkait dienen/vnder welchen doch der merentail als ich bey verlust meiner seclenn hail behalten mag/mir zu' so'llichem meinem fürnemen/weder hilff noch Rat gethon/sonder dero auch vil/als ich glaub dessen kain wissens noch einichen willen oder gefallens darab gehabt/ausz dem clarlich erscheint was fürstlichen gemu'ts Pfaltz gegen den getrewen vonn der Ritterschafft/die ime nie args oder leids erzaigt/sonder wie fornen gemelt trewlich ge-dient/vnd zu' was landtfridens Erberkait oder billichait er beflissen sey/Ist aber ein sollichs/die von der Ritterschafft vnuerschuldt zu'aigen vnd slauen zu'machen/das ir abzu'dringen/vnnnd die sachen dahin zu'ziehen das kainer was stands er sey/Dem andern zu'r billichait Rat hilff oder fürderung thun to'rfft/der Landfride schigk sich Pfaltz yetz nit übel demselben gemesz zu' halten/Euwer Churfürstliche gnad/gnad/vnnnd gunst konnenn auch ermesen vnnnd bewegen was durch der dreyer vereinten fürsten meiner vngnedigen herren/Nemlich Trier Pfaltz/vnnnd Hessen/vornemen vnnnd handlung gesu'cht würt/der fürhaben dahin gericht ist/mich onuerho'rt vnd onerlangt einichs Rechten/züueriagen/doch nit ausz Erbern vrsachen/noch zu' warem friden/vnd gerechtigkeit denenn wie obgehört/sunder einig Ir gewaltsam betranglich auff gelegte be-schwerden vnd ongerechts furnemen/Irs geual-lens desto statlicher durch zu'dringen vnnnd zu' beschutzens/das wil ich als ein armer Edelman got beuelhen/der schaff vnd wureck da ausz sein glori' vnd lob/vnd kan meniglich ab irer vnbil-lichen gewaltigen betranglichen handlung so sie gegen dem loblichen stiefft Meintz onu'erschen-lich vnd vnuerschuldt/wider alles hoehes mer dan vberflussigs genugsams züuerhorte vnd Recht er-bietten geubt clarlich abnemen/vnd versteen zu' was erbarem vnd billichem Ir gemute gericht seinn/Mit hochster vuderthenigster dienstlichen

vnd freuntlichen bitt .E. Chu^r. F. G. gnaden
vnd gunst / wellen sie ausz erzelten vrsachen /
durch meine widerwertigen mir zü keinen vngna-
den bewegen lassen / noch ob ich ye ausz notturft
irem gewalt souil gott gnad verleihe zu^obegegnen
vnd mich desselbigen zu^oentsetzen / Rat vnd weg
su^ochen wird / des kein vngnad noch miszfallens
zu^otragen vnd euch von der Ritterschafft bitt ich
zu^ohertzen zu^ofassen vnnd zu^obedencken / Wo sol-
lichs der obgemelten Fürsten / vnd deren anhan-
genden gewaltigs ongerechts vornemen durch
tringe vnnd sie iren fürgefasten willen erlangten /
was beschwerlichs vnnd vertrucklichs allem adel
daraus volg / auch zu^o was verderben so^ollich
reich / vnnd deszhalb inen wider die Ritterschafft
noch mich nit zu^o dienen sondern mir vnnd an-
dern meinen anhengern mit Rat vnnd that hilff-
lich vnnd forderlich zu^osein / auch E. Churstliche
Fürstliche gnsaden / gnaden / vnd goust sich der-
massen / angesehen die billicheit so gnediglich
gunstlich vnd fründtlich erzaigen / wie mein sonder
vertrawen zu^o denenn stett / Das will ich meins ver-
mo^ogens / vmb dieselben Euwer / Churfürstliche /
fürstlich gnaden / gnaden / Vnnd gonst vnder-
theniglich dienstlich vnnd fründtlich allzeit ver-
dienen denselben mich hiemit beuelchen mir
schaffen zu^ogepietenn / Dattum vnder meinem vff-
gedruckhten innsigeel Mitwochs nechst nach
Sannt Thomas des hailigen Apostels tag / da man
zalt tausent funfthundert vnnd zweyundzwentzig
iar.

Spuren des
Sigels.

LE SONGE VERT AND CHAUCER'S DREAM-POEMS.

Le Songe Vert, an old French love-vision which was edited by Professor L. Constans in *Romania* 33, offers some interesting resemblances, both in essential elements and details of expression, to Chaucer's dream-poems, especially to his first important work, the *Book of the Duchesse*. The poem was written about the middle of the fourteenth century,¹ and therefore might have been known to the English poet. It seems worth while to call attention to the several conventional motives of medieval love-vision poetry which are used in this Old French poem and in Chaucer's love-visions, and to a rather striking agreement between it and

Chaucer's *Duchesse*. For parallelisms in details of expression one must go to the poems themselves.

A brief summary of *Le Songe Vert* will be helpful. At the beginning occurs an allusion to the year of the Black Death. The author is in great distress; he is deprived of all joy. One morning at daybreak, he rises, and dressed in black, he takes a path leading along a stream into a garden. Here the sun shines brightly, the air is pure and clear, the birds are singing

"Motez, chansonetes et lais,
Chescun selonc son droit langage."

The lover, however, is in great grief. He weeps bitterly and bewails his fate. He falls flat on the ground. Full of melancholy, he hears a bell; it is from an "ordre de mendianz" where the body of his lady lies. He continues his complaint, which is so sad that every man who might hear it would have pity.

Now he falls asleep and dreams a wonderful dream. A beautiful lady comes to him. It is the Queen of Love. He upbraids the goddess because she has deceived him. The goddess speaks in her defense. The lover gives vent to his grief again:

"Et ja ne fais jo que plorer,
Plaindre, gemir et sospirer,
Sanz avoir respit ne sojour.
Jo sai bien que si tel dolor
En deüssiez avoir eüe,
Que ja cele descovenue, *de la mort*
Ne me fust faite a si grant tort
Par la fausse et desloial Mort,
Que m'a osté ma douce dame;"

(Ll. 291 ff.)

The lover now asks the goddess why his lady has been taken away. Wasn't she a loyal servant of love?

"Fortune is to blame," replies Venus:

"C'est Fortune la desloiaus,
Que est fontaine de toz maus:
Cele en doit bien estre blasmee,
Car ele l'a aproceuree,
La Mort, nuit et jor sans faintise,"

(Ll. 327 ff.)

The lover says that death is his only hope. Now Venus declares that she will give him a wonderful gift (ll. 493 ff.). He sees before him a beautiful lady (ll. 914 ff.). The attendants of

¹ See *Romania* 33, 499.

Venus remove his black robe and put on the green. Now he sees a beautiful flower, the *flor de lis* (ll. 1019 ff.). It is the symbol of his lady. The lover awakens by falling from the top of a tree and finds that the beautiful flower has disappeared. When he reaches the inn he wishes to put on again his black robe, but finds that it has disappeared.

The interesting elements of this love-poem from the point of view of a comparison with Chaucer are :

1. The dream as a literary device.
2. The dating of the poem.
3. The author in distress.
4. His rising early and going into a garden where the birds are singing their lays.
5. The complaint of the lover dressed in black.
6. The Queen of Love appearing to him in his dream ; his upbraiding of the goddess and her defense.
7. The cause of his grief : his lady has been taken away by death. Fortune is responsible for this calamity.
8. The worship of a flower which is the symbol of the lady whom the goddess of love will give to him.

The closest analogy that I have discovered to the conventional complaint in the *Duchesse* of the black knight over the death of his lady is this complaint in *Le Songe Vert* of the lover dressed in black for the loss of his mistress who has been taken away by death. In the *Duchesse*, the poet meets a knight dressed in black who bewails his loss. Fortune has played falsely with him. His lady is dead. The situation in *Le Songe Vert* is almost identical. The lover wandering in a garden utters his laments. He complains to Venus about his loss, and says that death has taken away his sweet lady. Thereupon Venus declares that Fortune is responsible for his loss.

Whether or no, in view of the striking similarity, in many respects, between this poem and Chaucer's love-vision this close resemblance is significant, I hesitate to say. However, if one demands a source for this situation in the *Duchesse*, one has here, surely, a more satisfactory answer than has heretofore been offered. A close study of this old French love-vision has impressed

upon the writer more strongly the danger in dogmatizing too strictly about the sources of Chaucer's dream-poems. Certainty, in many instances, must yield to probability, or better, possibility.

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ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

1. NHG. *Bild* is by some regarded as a compound (**bi-li-pi*) of OHG. *lid*, Goth. *lipus* 'Glied' (cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.*⁶, 44). But the byforms in OHG. : *piladi*, *pilothi*, *pilidi*, *bilidi*, make this connection improbable. Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordbog* I, 55 refer the word to a Germ. stem *bila-* denoting 'doubleness,' and compare ON. *billigr* 'twin,' *bil* 'interval,' OHG. *billich* 'billig.'

But these words hardly go back to that meaning, and *Bild* may be otherwise explained. This may be combined with Ir. *bil*, *bile*, Welsh *byl* 'Rand.' For meaning compare MHG. *brem* 'Rand': Lat. *forma* (cf. author, *AJP.*, XXI, 178; Walde, *Et. Wb.*, 237). As these are referred to the primary meaning 'cut, strike,' so also *Bild*, Ir. *bil*, etc., may be derived from *bhi-* in ChSl. *biti* 'schlagen,' Ir. *benim* 'schlage, schneide,' OE. *bile* 'beak, bill,' etc. (cf. Lexer, *Mhd. Wb.* I, 273 f.). Unrelated are probably NHG. *billig*, *Unbill*, etc. (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*² s. v. φίλος.).

2. Norw. dial. *flana* 'bli skamfuld eller nedslagen, bli flad i ansigtet,' 'be abasht, crestfallen,' *flanen* 'abasht, crestfallen,' primarily 'flat,' agree closely with Lat. *plānus* 'flat, level,' Gk. *πλανος* 'Opferkuchen,' Lith. *plōnė* 'Fladen, Kuchen,' *plōnas* 'dünn,' etc., base *pelā-*, whence many other derivatives (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.* 473 with references).

3. OE. *fnæs* 'fringe' (**pnosom*) is either a derivative of the base in OE. *fana* 'banner,' OHG. *fano* 'Zeug, Tuch,' Goth. *fana* 'Stück Zeug,' Lat. *pannus*, etc., or else a blend of these and OE. *fæs* 'fringe,' OHG. *faso*, *fasa* 'Faser, Franse, Einfassung, Saum des Gewandes,' which

have been compared with Gk. *ἔπασσε* 'wove' etc. (Walde, *Et. Wb.* 447).

4. OE. *fnæd* 'fringe, hem (of dress)' may likewise be connected with Goth. *fana* 'Stück Zeug.' Compare especially Gk. *πάτος* · *ἔνδυμα* *τῆς ἡρας* (Hes.), Ir. *ítim* 'kleide.' We have here the bases **pnot-*, **pnt-*, **pent-*.

5. Sw. *fnas* 'Sehalen (an Nusskernen), Fäden (an Bohnenhülsen),' *fnasa* 'abschälen, abziehen,' *fnask* 'Schmutz; Kleinigkeiten; Näschiereien,' Norw. *fnas* 'particels that scale off,' etc., are compared by Tamm, *Et. Ordbok* 161 f., and by Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordbog* I, 177 with Skt. *kiknasa-s* 'Schrot, Gries,' etc., assuming a root (s)*qnes-*. I should derive Sw. *fnas* etc. from a base **penes-* in Av. *pasnuš*, Skt. *pāśú-s* 'Staub, Sand,' *pāsana-s* 'besudelnd, verunehrend,' riming with *pin(e)s-*, *peis-* in Skt. *pināsti* 'zerreibt, zertampft,' Lat. *pinso*, *piso* 'pound, crush,' Lith. *paisyti* '(Gerste) abklopfen,' MDu. *visel* 'Mörser,' OHG. *fesa* 'Hülse des Getreides, Spreu,' etc.

6. Goth. *gailjan* 'erfreuen,' MHG. *geilen* 'übermütig, ausgelassen sein, froh werden; tr. froh machen; refl. sich freuen, erlustigen; lustig wachsen und wuchern,' *geil* 'von wilder Kraft, mutwillig, üppig; lustig, fröhlich,' *geil* 'Lustigkeit; lustiges Wachstum, Wucher,' *geile* 'Üppigkeit, fetter, fruchtbarer Boden; Lustigkeit, Übermut,' etc., may be related as usually given. But as the idea of growth, luxuriance is prominent in the Germ. words, we may also compare Gk. *χῆλος* 'green fodder, forage, grass.'

As the primary meaning was probably 'spring, spring up, about, be wanton,' we may refer all to the base in Skt. *jihīte* 'springt auf, fliegt,' *haya-s* 'Ross,' Lith. *žaidžiu* 'spielen; den Beischlaf vollziehen,' Lat. *haidus* 'kid,' Goth. *gaits* 'goat,' etc. If this connection is correct, *geil* must be separated from Lith. *gailūs* 'scharf, ätzend, jähzornig, mitleidig,' which has velar *gh-* and does not agree well in meaning with the former.

7. Goth. *gairu* 'Spitzpfahl, Stachel,' probably has *ai* rather than *ái*. Compare Norw. dial. *gare* 'peg, sharp stub,' *gara* 'stick, thrust; hurt oneself by stepping on a sharp stub.' These are perhaps from *gher-* 'branch out, grow, etc.' in Lett. *ja'rs* 'Zweig,' *ja'rūt* 'Äste treiben; Strah-

len werfen,' OE. *grōwan* 'grow,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 38, 62).

8. OE. *hæfern* 'crab' no doubt received its name from its crust-like shell. It may therefore be compared with Skt. *kapāla-m* 'Schale, Hirnschale, Schädel,' OE. *hafola* 'head,' Lat. *caput*, etc. Perhaps here also OHG. *hafan* 'Topf.' For meaning compare Lat. *testa* 'earthen pot, pitcher; potsherd; shell of a shell-fish; shell-fish itself; skull,' French *tête*.

9. OE. *hræfn*, *hrefn* 'crab' need not be regarded as the same as *hæfern*. The original meaning was doubtless the same. Compare Skt. *karpāra-s* 'Schale, Scherbe, Hirnschale,' ChSl. *črěpū* 'Scherbe,' Russ. *čerep* 'Scherbe, Schädel,' Pruss. *kerpetis* 'Schädel' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Al. Wb.* 46).

Here the underlying idea is hardness, stiffness: ChSl. *krěpū* 'fest, stark, starr,' Slov. *krěpen* 'erstarrt,' Slovak. *krpeněť* 'rigescere,' ON. *hréfa* 'ertragen.' Parallel to these are Skt. *karkara-s* 'hart,' Gk. *κάρκαρος* · *τραχύς*, Skt. *karkaśá-s* 'rauh, hart': *karka-s*, *kárkata-s* 'Krebs, Krabbe,' Gk. *καρκίνος* 'crab.'

10. OE. *crabba* 'crab,' ON. *krabbe*, MLG. *krabbe*, etc., may likewise come from the meaning 'hard, stiff': ON. *kráfr* 'stark, tapfer,' *kraptr* 'Kraft,' etc., Norw. *krav* 'Eisrinde,' 'crust of ice,' *krave* 'crust over with ice,' etc.

11. ME. *whelmen* 'turn,' *oferwhelmen* 'overwhelm' contain a Germ. base *hwaln-*, which is also in OSw. *hwelma*, Sw. *vålm*, dial. *hvålm*, *hvolm* 'Heuhaufen,' Norw. dial. *kvelm*. The primary meaning of this base *hwaln-* is 'turning, turned; rounded over,' and the earlier form **hwalbm-*, a derivative of the Germ. *hwelf-* in ON. *hofenn* 'gewölbt,' MDu. *omwolvern* 'bedeckt,' OEFries. *biwlvn* (for *-*wulven*) 'obrutus,' OE. *behwielfan* 'vault over, cover,' Sw. *hvälfva* 'wölben; (um)wälzen; (um)kippen, umschlagen,' ON. *huelfa* 'wölben,' etc.

12. Goth. *gairrus* 'sanftmütig,' ON. *kuirr*, *kyrr* 'ruhig,' MHG. *kürre* 'zahn, milde' may be compared both with Lith. *gėras* 'gut' (so Hirt, *PBB.* xxiii, 352) and with Lith. *gurūs* 'locker, bröckelig' (Bezenberger, *BB.* iii, 81). This would imply a base *g^uer-* 'crush,' whence 'crusht, crumbling' and 'mild, good.'

To the same base we may refer Goth. *-qairnus*, ON. *kuern*, OE. *eueorn* 'mill,' etc. For other related words see Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*² 17. Similarly to the base *mel-* 'crush, grind,' belong Lat. *mola* 'millstone,' Gk. *μύλη* 'mill,' *μαλακός* 'soft, gentle, mild,' OHG. *milli* 'mild, gütig, freundlich.'

13. MHG. *lip* 'Leib, Körper, Magen' I separate from *lip* 'Leben,' comparing the former with Lith. *lāibas* 'schlank,' ChSl. *libivŭ* 'gracilis' (cf. *Mod. Phil.* II, 475). To these I now add Lat. *libum* 'cake, pancake,' which was named from its thinness or flatness. For meaning compare Lith. *plonas* 'dünn': *plonė* 'Fladen, Kuchen'; Skt. *prāthati* 'breitet aus,' *prthā-s* 'flache Hand': OHG. *flado* 'Opferkuchen,' MHG. *vlade* 'breiter, dünner Kuchen, Fladen'; OHG. *flah* 'flach': Gk. *πλαγος* 'side'; Gk. *πλακός* 'flat': *πλακοῦς* 'a flat cake,' whence Lat. *placenta* 'cake,' NE. *placenta* 'Mutterkuchen'; Skt. *tanū-s* 'dünn, schlank': *tanū-s* 'Leib, Körper.'

These parallels show that MHG. *lip* 'Leib, Körper' meant primarily either 'side, flank,' whence 'body,' or else 'Mutterkuchen, Mutterleib,' and then 'stomach, body.'

To Lith. *lāibas*, MHG. *lip*, Lat. *libum* we can, of course, add MHG. *lebe-kuoche* 'Lebkuchen,' separating the last two words from Goth. *hlaifs* 'Brot,' etc. This may indeed be related to Gk. *κλῖβανος* 'a covered earthen vessel in which bread was baked,' *κλῖβάνη* 'bread or cake baked in such a vessel,' and may be referred to the base *klei-* 'cover' (cf. author, *Am. Germ.* III, 317 f., and Walde, *Et. Wb.* 337).

14. Goth. *insahts* 'Erzählung, Darstellung' is supposed to be a derivative of *insakan* 'darlegen, erörtern.' Tho this is quite possible, another explanation presents itself. OE. *insiht* 'narrative, epitome' is probably the same word, and this is better referred to the root of OE. *sagu* 'statement, report,' OHG. *saga* 'Rede, Aussage, Erzählung,' *sagēn* 'sagen,' etc.: Lat. *inscque* 'say, relate,' *inscetiōnes* 'narrationes,' etc. For other related words cf. Walde, *Lat. Et. Wb.* 303.

15. NE. dial. *storken* 'of sour disposition and cold manner' is in form an old pret. part., probably of Norse origin. Compare Sw. dial. *stórken*

'hoffärtig,' OSw. *storkin*, ON. *storkenn* 'erstarrt,' etc., Goth. *gastaurknan*, OHG. *kistorehanēn* 'erstarren,' ON. *storkna* 'gerinnen,' etc. For related words see the etymological dictionaries.

16. NE. dial. *storten*, *sturten* 'of sour disposition and cold manner' is either the same as the above or else a pp. from a synonymous base *sterd-*. Compare Norw. dial. *staartne*, *stürtne*, forms used in place of *storkna* (cf. Ross, *Ordbog* 765), and MHG. *gesturzin*, pp. of *sterzen* 'steif emporragen; starr aufwärts richten,' related to ON. *sterla* 'straff ziehen,' ME. *sterten*, *starten*, NE. *start*, etc. For other cognates see Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordbog* II, 300.

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THE DECLINE OF THE ENGLISH HEROIC DRAMA.

In an article published in Volume XX of *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*,¹ the statement is made that the English heroic drama extended from the production of *The Indian Queen* (1664) to that of Thomas Hughes' *Siege of Damascus* (1720). Just why this latter play was chosen for the pathetic rôle of last representative of a vanishing race is not quite clear, since it does not differ materially from numerous other plays of later date.² But what I wish particularly to emphasize is that by assigning a date as late as 1720 to the passing of the heroic drama one robs this type of its social and artistic significance. For the purposes of literary history the important moment is not the one which witnesses the appearance of the last straggling representative of a *genre*, but rather the one that marks its fall from literary supremacy. What we wish to discover is the point at which a particular form of literature ceased to satisfy the need of artistic expression.

In the case of the heroic drama it is possible to determine this point with more than ordinary

¹ "The Relation of the Heroic Play to the Romances of Beaumont and Fletcher," by James W. Tupper.

² Phillips' *Belisarius* or Trapp's *Abra-Mulé*, for example.

precision. I think no one will be inclined to modify the statement that practically all the new English tragedies which attracted much attention between 1663 and 1675 conformed in the main to the type under consideration. If this assumption be correct, the problem as to the decline of this type necessitates an examination of the tragedies produced within the period immediately following the latter date. At this time a distinguished trio, Dryden, Otway and Lee, dominated the tragic stage so completely that we may safely limit ourselves to the study of their works. If it appears that at any particular time these men deserted the heroic for something else, that will be sufficient to prove that our type has been generally despised and rejected.

So far as Dryden is concerned our work is already done to our hand. In numberless biographies, literary histories and monographs it has been recognized that when the author of *Aureng-Zebe* proclaimed in 1675 that he had "now another taste of wit," he was consciously leaving behind, not only rime, but the heroic ideal. *All for Love* (1678) is a noble imitation of Shakespeare, and *Ædipus* and *Troilus and Cressida*, so far as they exhibit anything more than slovenly workmanship, show classical and Shakespearean influence. All of Dryden's utterances between 1675 and 1680 indicate a thoro conversion to ideals approximating those of the Elizabethans, but tinged, or toned down, by the classical movement. It has been generally agreed, that Dryden ceased to pay devotion to the heroic muse about 1675. What has not been commonly recognized is the fact that in doing this he was the leader in a general movement which included all the important dramatists of his period.

In the work of Thomas Otway the heroic element lingered longer than in that of Dryden. At the time of the production of *Aureng-Zebe* the younger man stood just at the beginning of his career. The heroic play seemed still to be at its zenith. The significance of Dryden's prolog did not yet appear, and the triumph of *Settle's Empress of Morocco* was still fresh. More than this, one could hardly expect a playwright of twenty-four to be sufficiently in command of his powers to conform perfectly to demands of any particular type. So it is not surprising that we

find Otway following the Laureate but uncertainly and at a distance. His first play, *Alcibiades* (1675), seems to have been the result of an attempt at adaptation to an uncongenial environment. "Gentle Otway" knew best how to weep and sigh. But, as has been remarked, the heroic had not yet been ushered off the stage, and so naturally our author did his best to out-herod Herod. Thus it happens that we have in *Alcibiades* heroic rime and the characters and plot that go with it. Nevertheless, they have all been toned down. So unmistakably does the play bear the impress of Otway's sentimental nature that the form more than once belies the content. It is not strange that a play so compounded attained no abiding success.

In Otway's second tragedy, *Don Carlos* (1676), we have the same elements as in *Alcibiades*, but in a different proportion. This play is in rime, but the plot is genuinely tragic rather than heroic. The hero and heroine face an insurmountable obstacle; they struggle against it rather feebly, and finally the stage is cleared by promiscuous assassination. All thru the untangling of this plot the emphasis is laid on suffering. The author's purpose is evidently to arouse pity rather than admiration.

Otway's next work, a sadly bungled translation of Racine's *Berenice*, seemed to denote a change of heart. Rimed thruout, it is evident that the author endeavored to preserve in it the form and spirit of the original. From this it would appear that the author of *Don Carlos* felt uncertain of himself, was ready to try literary adventures. His next tragedy, *The History and Fall of Caius Marius* (1680), was an experiment in another direction. *Romeo and Juliet*, with no very large amount of alloy of Otway's own, furnished forth the material for this sad performance.

Soon after this, in 1680, came *The Orphan*, the first of Otway's dramatic triumphs. In this play it is evident that at last he had come into his own. It is a noble tragedy of domestic life written in blank verse and so genuinely moving that for more than a century it drew tears from London audiences. One of its characters may suggest the heroic, but as a whole the play takes us back to Elizabethan models. There is little about it to suggest the years of tumult and change that had

passed since the production of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy*.

It is unnecessary to examine Otway's later works. In 1680, the time of the production of *The Orphan*, he had left the heroic type definitely behind him. In attaining this point he had passed thru three stages. *Alcibiades* and *Don Carlos* (1675 and 1676) exhibit him attempting to adapt himself to the demands of the heroic type. The plays that followed these, the adaptations of Racine and Shakespeare, indicate that at the time of their composition he was casting about for material and models. By the time of the composition of *The Orphan* (1680) he had found himself; that is, he had hit upon a type of drama which at once satisfied his audience and permitted the free play of his powers. And this type showed little relation to the heroic.

Nathaniel Lee's reaction upon his social and artistic environment was hardly as definite as Otway's. Here was a man of tremendously energetic personality. His imagination was poetic rather than dramatic. So turbulent was his creative impulse that it was only bunglingly that he could conform to a pattern approved by popular vogue, and it is difficult to imagine his sitting down to study the taste of his audience. Nevertheless, so strong was the seventeenth century demand for conformity or so imperious Lee's need of finding a way to the generosity of patron or public that even in his work one can trace the decline of the heroic ideal. Lee's first play, *Nero* (1675), published when its author was about twenty-two, is chiefly remarkable as an indication of his type of mind. Neither outwardly nor inwardly has it any definite form. Rime, blank verse, and prose keep one guessing from beginning to end as to the author's artistic purpose. And as to the plot, there was jumbled into it everything connected with Nero that could add to the wild spectacularity of the confusion. Of course it would not have occurred to Lee to use rime had it not been for the popularity of the heroic drama, and the extravagances of *Nero* may be distantly related to those of *Almanzor*, but after all there is little to show that the author of this play was trying to write in the heroic style.

Gloriana (1676) and *Sophonisba* (1676) can for our purposes be treated together: they both

show us Lee trying to tone himself down, to write in the reigning style—and succeeding only partially. Both plays are entirely in rime; each contains one heroic character who storms magnificently; each is characterized by a sentimentally poetic element not strictly heroic; each has a plot made of two parts loosely hinged; in both cases the end is tragic. No matter which one you take up you feel that the form may be heroic, but the spirit is something new—or rather something old; for there is about it a sensuousness that takes us back once more to Beaumont and Fletcher.

The Rival Queens (1677) exhibits even fewer of the marks of the heroic than its forerunners. Except for a few short passages it is written in blank verse. That in 1677 Lee had developed beyond the heroic standard is proved by the fact that this play is generally interesting to a modern reader. In other words, it contains some genuinely human characters and more than one situation in which they can do more than display their powers of oratory. To be sure its plot is tripartite and nothing but the character of Alexander holds it together; still the whole thing is genuine enough to make one care about the outcome. Its extravagance, lack of unity, and dramatic crudeness keep it from being a good play, but even its faults are not those of the heroic type.

Mithradates, King of Pontus (1678) Lee advertised in his dedication as an imitation of Shakespeare and Fletcher with "something extraordinary" added by himself. The play exhibits more of the softness of Fletcher than of the dignity of Shakespeare; the "something extraordinary" must have been the unusual restraint in structure and conventionality in character development. This is the first of Lee's plays that can boast a unified plot. In the nature of its appeal it represents an approach to the tendencies of Otway. That is to say, it is a "weeping play"; the central theme of its plot is that sin brings down ruin on the heads of innocent and guilty alike. The motive of pity is worked to the limit.

Lee's later plays we need but to glance at. *Cesar Borgia* (1680) was a beastly, crude satire on the Catholics: its chief value lies in the fact that it shows us Lee in opposition to the court at the time of the Popish plots. *Theodosius* (1680) has a touch of the love-and-honor conflict, but on

the whole its interest is essentially human. *Lucius Junius Brutus* (1681) is a Whig play apparently written to furnish a vehicle for democratic sentiment. Except for prose passages all of these plays are in blank verse. It would take a sharp eye to discover in them resemblances to *The Conquest of Granada*.

Tho Lee was less subject to the movements of his time than Otway, what development we have discovered in him closely parallels that of his fellow dramatist. His first play was wildly incoherent; his second and third showed a tendency to work within the limits of the heroic form; his fourth marked a distinct leaving behind of the heroic and all it stood for.

It is now possible to suggest the approximate date of the passing of the heroic drama from its proud position on the English stage. Dryden's *Aureng-Zebe* (1675), Otway's *Don Carlos* (1676) and Lee's *Sophonisba* (1676) were the last important plays of the period under consideration in which the heroic ideal was dominant. The year 1676, then, marks the point, not when the heroic type passed out of existence, but when it ceased to be regarded as the fashionable dramatic form.

The meaning of this date becomes apparent the moment one considers the significance of our type in relation to the social conditions which created it. And what is this significance? From remarks of Pepys, Dryden, Boyle, and others it is evident that the playwrights of the Restoration soon discovered that the new king was to play the Apollo to the muses of his court. His taste—or at least what those about him thought was his taste—is explained in a letter by Roger Boyle concerning his *Black Prince*. Quite naively he admits: "I have now finished a play in the French manner; because I heard the king declare himself more in favor of their way of writing than ours; my poor attempt cannot please his majesty, but my example may excite others who can." Remarks like this have led more than one historian to lay the blame for the heroic drama at the door of the French and so make a end of the whole matter. Examination of the *Black Prince*, however, and of other plays which followed it shows that their relation to *Le Cid* and *Esther* was only of the most distant sort. All that we can safely infer from Boyle's

statement is that the heroic drama, whatever its foreign relationships, sprang up in response to the royal command.²

The heroic drama may be said to have been an artistic reflex of the life of the court. The court demanded two things: (1) a drama which, while conforming superficially to some of the French notions of propriety, furnished effects sufficiently spectacular to satisfy their jaded English appetites; (2) a drama which would emphasize the position of the courtiers as opposed to the citizen class. As to the latter point a word of explanation seems necessary. Charles II was from the beginning of his reign engaged in a life and death struggle for the traditions which he represented. Like his father before him he was striving to maintain the supremacy of the court. In earlier times, when the power of the king past unquestioned, those of noble blood did not have to insist ostentatiously on their privileges and virtues. But between 1660 and 1689 it behooved the great ones to make the most of their position, to seize upon every means of widening the gulf between themselves and the crowd.

The two-fold demand of the court the heroic drama was cleverly designed to satisfy. In the first place works of this type combined a pseudo-French form with a highly spectacular content. The riming verse, the thin-drawn characters, the conventional situations, the elevated diction, the talk of love and honor—all were calculated to flatter the courtiers of Charles into the notion that they were gentlemen of exquisite refinement. But at the same time the wild call of trumpets, the confusion of towns besieged and victories won, the overwrought eloquence of hero and villain, the

² It should be remembered in this connection that a good many of the prominent playwrights were partially maintained by the King or his courtiers. In 1670 Dryden became Poet-Laureate and Historiographer Royal, with a salary of two hundred pounds a year. John Crowne, in the dedication of his *Destruction of Jerusalem* (1677) to the *Duchess of Portsmouth*, mistress of the King, dwells fulsomely on that lady's favors to him; his "poetic garden" has been "warmed by the lustre" of her favor, and "watered by royal bounty," which she "caused to be showered upon it." In his dedications both to *Don Carlos* and *Titus and Berenice*, Otway recognized the Earl of Rochester, one of Charles' favorites, as the great patron of the arts. Cases of this sort might be multiplied indefinitely.

glamor of fantastic scenery and the surprises of marvelous machines—these would serve as the sauce demanded by blasé English temperaments.

In the second place, Charles and all those who took their cue from him might well take delight in the heroic drama because nothing could have been better calculated to exalt their station. In this play the governing class appeared gallant in action and refined in speech as it would have itself supposed to be.³ The citizen class, on the contrary, usually played the part of vulgar, mercenary fools,⁴ while the peasants were seldom given credit for more than the gregarious instincts of animals.⁵ There is abundance of evidence to show that this picture was drawn for the delight of the courtly beholder. No occasion was lost in dedication or prolog to insist upon the fact that the strutting hero on the stage fell far short of the beaux in the boxes, or that in point of beauty the heroine was to the ladies of the court but as a farthing rush-light to the sun.⁶ Small wonder that the King ordered plays of this sort or that Dryden thought no other form so suitable for "the entertainment of a noble audience." Small wonder, too, that it did not catch the eye or ear of the common people. In 1671 John Crowne explained the failure of his *Juliana, or the Princess of Poland* by writing: "It had the misfortune to be brought into the world in a time when the dog-star was near its reign . . . ; and which was the worst mishap, when the most candid, as well as the most illustrious judges, I mean the court, were absent, and, excepting the presence of some great and noble persons, this unhappy poem left, for the most part, to the mercy of a common audience." It will be remembered that

³ Witness the delicate casuistry in Orrery's *Black Prince*, Act IV, and Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*, Part I, Act V, Scene ii. As to superiority of kings, see Crown's *Charles VIII*.

⁴ See Crowne's *Destruction of Jerusalem*, Part I, Act II, and Payne's *Siege of Constantinople*, Act IV.

⁵ In the *Conquest of Granada*, Part I, Act I, Scene i, Almanzor cries out to the mob:

"Hence you unthinking crowd!
Empire, thou poor and despicable thing,
When such as these can make or unmake a king!"

⁶ See dedication of Settle's *Ibrahim* and Dryden's *Tyrannic Love* and *Conquest of Granada*; also the epilog to the last named play.

in the Duke of Buckingham's Rehearsal Smith and Johnson, the critics, were representatives of the plain people.

But if the heroic drama satisfied the court why should it decline as early as 1675-80? A glance at the political affairs of the period will answer the question. We are accustomed to think of Charles II as he was at the beginning of his reign, safe in the new enthusiasm of his people. He felt little need of spending weary hours at the council board; his days and nights were given to amusement and art,—above all to the delights of the theater. But all this was soon to change. The part of Louis XIV was a difficult one to play in England. The English Parliament had its own notions as to religious settlement and foreign affairs. More than this, by keeping the purse-strings tight it was bent on having its own way. By appearing to yield at this point or that Charles could now and again get an appropriation; but it was always too small and soon dissipated. To secure a degree of independence from his troublesome Parliament the King entered into league with Louis XIV. For restraining the English from war with France or aiding Louis against the Dutch he received from time to time considerable sums. But in trying to carry out his pledges to Louis he alienated his people, and by now and then giving in to Parliament he ever and anon found himself at outs with Louis. This went on until by 1678 he had lost all prestige both at home and abroad.

It goes without saying that under these circumstances the life of his court could not go on in its former brilliancy. Charles' tastes—especially in mistresses—were of the most expensive. In 1674 the Earl of Denby, then Lord Treasurer, found upon investigation that in every year except one the King had exceeded his revenues by a million. When Denby insisted that all salaries and pensions should be stopped it was naturally the literary dependents of the court who suffered first. The result of this policy echoed mournfully thru the prefaces and dedications of the time. Poets and playwrights, pitifully enough maintained all along, were now reduced to the direst shifts. And with every pang of their distress there was a notable decrease in their loyalty. Thomas Bruce has preserved for us a description of Charles' court in the days of its sad decline:

Thus have I seen a King at chess,
His rooks and Knights withdrawn,
His Queen and Bishops in distress,
Shifting about, growing less and less,
With here and there a pawn.

Meantime the Whigs were increasing in numbers and power. Both Anglicans and Non-conformists were arrayed against the court. Led by Shaftesbury, their opposition grew constantly bolder. England, the old England of Elizabeth and Cromwell, was waking again. More and more the country gentlemen and London cit came into their own. In theater as well as in Parliament they soon had the majority. And it was to the taste of these that our trio of dramatists consciously or unconsciously adapted their work.⁷

This, then, is the reason why the heroic drama declined between 1675 and 1680. The court was so poor it could not continue its bounty to playwrights, and its gay life had been so seriously interfered with that it could no longer set the pace for the dramatic world of the English capital. Another element in the nation was crowding into prominence and giving a new tone even to theatrical life. So it seems to me that by assigning a date as late as 1720 to the decline of the heroic drama one is robbing that type of its social and artistic significance.

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A SIMILE OF BROWNING'S.

Toward the close of *The Flight of the Duchess*, Browning thus describes the reversion of the old Gypsy to her ordinary condition :

I spoke to her, but she merely jabbered
In the old style ; both her eyes had slunk
Back to their pits ; her stature shrunk ;
In short, the soul in its body sunk
Like a blade sent home to its scabbard.

⁷ In this connection it is interesting to notice that about this time plays dedicated to private gentlemen became not infrequent, e. g., Illopkins' *Wives' Excuse* and *Sir Anthony Love*. Another fact not to be overlooked is that plays more or less democratic were received with applause, e. g., Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus*.

The word 'sheath,' or 'scabbard,' is used as a metaphor for 'body' as early as Dan. 7. 15, if the reading is correct. The AV. has : 'I Daniel was grieved in my spirit in the midst of my body,' where for 'body' the margin of the RV. has 'sheath,' the literal translation of the Aramaic. As Salmond says (*Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, p. 151, note) : 'The spirit of the prophet is compared to a sword, and his body to the scabbard in which it is laid.' In the lexicons of Buxtorf and of Levy, two examples of the word in later Hebrew are quoted, both referring to the return of souls to their bodies.

Pliny (*H. N.* 7. 52. 174) tells a story of Hermotimus, to the effect that his soul was wont, from time to time, to leave his body, and wander freely about, his body in the meantime lying only half alive, until on one occasion his enemies burnt the deserted body, 'remeanti animæ veluti vaginam ademerint.'

In modern times, Shelley has the figure in the *Adonais* (20. 6-8) :

Shall that alone which knows
Be as a sword consumed before the sheath
By sightless lightning ?

In his *Defense of Poetry* (ed. Cook), it is not the soul, but poetry, which is a sword.

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'NEVER LESS ALONE THAN WHEN ALONE.'

Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* (9th ed.) contains three expressions of this thought in nearly identical language :

- (1) Gibbon, *Memoirs* 1. 117 : 'I was never less alone than when by myself.'
- (2) Rogers, *Human Life* : 'Then never less alone than when alone.'
- (3) Byron, *Childe Harold* 3. 90. 843 : 'In solitude, where we are *least* alone.'¹

There is society, where none intrudes,
By the deep Sea, and music in its roar.

¹ Cf. 4. 178. 1596-7 :

But it occurs earlier in Browne's (1616) *Bri-
tannia's Pastorals* 2. 4. 170 :

'Or to be least alone when most alone.'

Then in Drummond of Hawthornden's *Urania* :

Though solitary, yet who is not alone,
But doth converse with that eternal love.

And in Milton, *P. L.* 9. 250 :

For solitude sometimes is best society,

with which Bowle compares Sidney, *Arcadia*,
Bk. 3 : 'Your excellencies have power to make
cities envy these woods, and *solitariness to be
accounted the sweetest company.*' Add *Arcadia*,
Bk. 1 (quoted by Bartlett, p. 34) : 'They are
never alone that are accompanied with noble
thoughts.'

All these are ultimately indebted to Cicero,
De Re Publ. 1. 17. 27, though, as the only known
ms. of this work was not discovered till the early
part of the nineteenth century, it was doubtless
through some intermediary. The passage runs :
'*Africanum avum meum scribit Cato solitum esse
dicere . . . numquam se plus agere quam nihil
cum ageret, numquam minus solum esse quam cum
solus esset.*' Epictetus has (chap. 14, quoted by
Bartlett, p. 743) : 'When you have shut your
doors, and darkened your room, remember never
to say that you are alone, for you are not alone ;
but God is within, and your genius is within.'

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MILTON, *COMUS* 598.

I do not find that any one has brought Job
26. 11 into relation with 'pillared firmament.'
Davidson says (*The Book of Job*, p. 185) : 'The
"pillars" of the heavens, if the conception be
not wholly ideal, may be the lofty mountains on
which the heavens seem to rest.'

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DON QUIXOTE I, PRÓLOGO : NON BENE PRO TOTO LIBERTAS VENDITUR AURO.

Clemencin, I (1833), I., has shown that the
apophthegm belongs to "el autor anónimo de las
fábulas llamadas Esópicas, libro 3.º, fábula 14
del Can y el Lobo."¹ He has also pointed out
the use made of it by Juan Ruiz (Ducamin) 206
*lybertat e ssoltura non es por oro conplado*² and
by Diego López de Haro (Depping, *Sammlung*,
1817, 194)³ :

El bien de la libertad
Por ningun oro es comprado.

Medina, *Frases literarias afortunadas*, Rev.
hispanique XVIII ('08), 177, copies Clemencin,
overlooks the reference to López de Haro, and
adduces another instance of the quotation from
"el editor . . . anónimo del Libro de los enxem-
plos," que cuenta la fábula del can y el lobo
(176)" [Gayangos 489 b]. He prints (with
unwarranted changes) the whole fable and the
Latin epimyth, but omits what seems to me of
greater interest : the Latin promyth and its trans-
lation and the translation of the epimyth. These
read according to the two extant mss.⁴ :

Libertas non potest auro comparari.
Non hay cosa que a libertad sea comparada ;
Por oro nin por plata non puede ser conprada.

Por todo el oro mal se uende la libertad ;
Mas que las rriquezas val este don celestial.

A further example of the sentence is *Corvacho*
(Pérez Pastor) 18 : *¿ Quién es tan loco e fuera de
seso que quiere su poderio dar a otro e su lybertad
someter a quien non deue . . . contra el dicho del
sabio, que dize : quien pudiere ser suyo, non sea*

¹ Not accessible to me. S. *Anonymus Neveleti* (Foer-
ster), LIII, 25.

² I defer the discussion of the lack of concord to a later
occasion.

³ Not accessible to me.

⁴ Since 1878 we know through Morel-Fatio, *Rom.* VII
481, the author : Climente Sanchez, arcediano de Val-
deras, en la iglesia de Leon. Among Spanish books,
Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela* I, CII, could
have told Medina so.

⁵ For copies of these passages I am indebted to the kind-
ness of Dr. M. A. Buchanan.

enagenado, que lybertad e franqueza non es por oro comprada? E un exemplo antiguo es, el qual puso el arçipreste de Fita en su tractado. As far back as 1779, Sanchez, *Col.* I 104, called attention to this passage, and again IV (1790), 39. Clemencin, who quotes from the latter page, must have seen the reference given there. It is strange that he did not profit by it.

But the saying was known in Spain long before Juan Ruiz. The *Primera Crónica General*, I 73 b 47, makes Petreo, in his speech to his countrymen (before Lérida) use the following words: *E la franqueza non se uende bien por tod ell oro del mundo, ca meior es que el et mas uale; et uos lidiad por ella et defendet la, ca sobrel defendimiento desta se espiende ell oro et la plata, et son preciados los buenos caualllos et guardados pora en las batallas, e ayuntadas las grandes flotas por mar et cercadas las cibdades, et fechos los fuertes cas, tiellos et las otras fortalezas por las tierras . . .* Page 74 a 20 "Lucan, que fizo est estoria" is given as the source. The verses of Lucan that come into question read (Hosius, 1892, iv 223):

Non chalybem gentes penitus fugiente metallo
Eruerent, nulli vallarent oppida muri,
Non sonipes in bella ferox, non iret in aequor
Turrigeras classis pelago sparsura earinas,
Si bene libertas umquam pro pace daretur.

It seems clear that the last line of Lucan recalled to the mind of the author of the *Prim. Crón. Gen.* the similar line of the *An. Nev.*, and that he preferred to use this. We have then probably here the earliest proof of Spanish acquaintance with the *An. Nev.*

K. PIETSCH.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

El Libro de los Gatos: A text with introduction and notes by G. T. NORTHUP. Reprinted from *Modern Philology*, Vol. v, No. 4. Chicago: 1908. 8vo., 78 pp.

In the Introduction to the above book, a Doctor's dissertation of the University of Chicago, the editor states clearly the salient facts regarding the

old Spanish *Libro de los Gatos* and discusses the important problems connected with its literary history. The *Gatos* is preserved to us in a single ms. of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, and forms part of the codex containing the *Libro de los Exenplos*; it had been published in 1860 by Gayangos and was greatly in need of a new and critical edition. The *Gatos* is a translation of the *Fabule* of the English monk, Odo of Cheriton, and these *Fabule* are preserved in more than two dozen Latin mss. Northup shows that allowing for the displacement of one or two leaves in a parent Spanish ms., the order of the fables of the *Gatos* corresponds to what is probably the best Latin ms., namely, Corpus Christi, 441; in other words, that published by Hervieux. The contents of the individual fables, likewise, resemble most closely this same Corpus Christi version. As it was impossible to collate the twenty-five extant Odo-mss., Northup has studied the relation of the *Gatos* to Odo by means of the twenty Odo-fables published by Voigt, who records the variant readings of eleven mss. The result of this study shows that in spite of the close relation of the *Gatos* to the Corpus Christi ms., the latter cannot be the immediate source of the extant Spanish version. This is evidenced by the various cases where the readings of the *Gatos*-ms. agree with other Latin mss. against the Corpus Christi; it is also shown by a list of instances where the Spanish ms. reveals a distinctly better reading than the Corpus Christi and this list is interesting and forceful. It should be noted, however, that on page nine we are told that *Tu nunca buelas* is a "distinctly better reading" than the Latin *Nichil uales*, in *exemplo* xxvi, 1, yet in the notes to the constructed text of the same passage, we find that "possibly it should read *nada uales*." Northup's final conclusion seems to be established beyond a doubt: The *Gatos*-ms. is derived from a Latin ms. earlier than any now extant and ancestor of both the Corpus Christi and those of Herlet's Groups I and II. It is evident also that the *Gatos*-ms. is not a direct translation of a Latin original, but is a copy of a previous Spanish translation; cf. such errors as *allas non* for *all asno*, *cosas* for *casas*, *comió* for *commo*, *yeruas* for *yras*, etc., "which appear to have arisen entirely within the Spanish" (pp. 11-12). It is true also that the Spanish trans-

lation of the *Gatos* is extremely well done and its purely literary merits entitle it to an important place in early Spanish literature.

In the matter of sources, Northup has justly refrained from going into the question of the fore-runners of Odo of Cheriton. There are two *exemplos* in the *Gatos*, however, that are not traceable to Odo. The first of these is Number XL, the story of the monk who, tempted by the Devil, is about to forsake his monastery, but is saved by claspings his arms around the crucifix. This story is not found in any of the Odo-mss., and Northup agrees with Hervieux in regarding it as a mere continuation of the moral of the preceding fable. This conclusion seems all the more probable in the light of a variant of the story preserved in the *Espejo de los legos*. This variant, though it has no equivalent in Odo-mss., contains a mention of its own source as "Odo de Sericon."

The second selection not found in Odo occurs in *exemplo xxv, De los dos compañeros*. After relating the story as found in Odo, the Spanish translator adds on a second part in which the truthful man, now known as *Buena Verdad*, regains his lost eyesight and *Mala Verdad* meets an ignominious death. Northup makes an interesting study of this story and adds several variants not found in Köhler and Bolte, including an Oriental version in the Pämîr dialect, that bears a striking resemblance to the *Gatos*-version.

In regard to the title, author, date and dialect of the *Gatos*, there still remain problems that are not settled definitely. The title, *Libro de los Gatos*, certainly seems to have no logical connection with the contents of the ms. After eliminating the various previous explanations and theories regarding the title, Northup concludes that the word *Gatos* is the result of a paleographic blunder, and he suggests a possible connection with the words *Magistri Odonis* or *Ottonis*—words that occur in nearly all the Odo-mss. A second suggestion is that the full title may be *Libro de los quentos*, since not only might the words *Quentos* and *Gatos* easily be confused, but "there is an instance of the use of *quentos* in this way (*i. e.*, for *exemplos*) at this same period where, in the *Espejo de los legos* mss., there are frequent references to a *Libro de los quentos*. . . . The title is, of course, the translation of some Latin title cited

by Hovenden." The editor offers these two explanations merely as suggestions, but his primary conclusion, namely, that the word *gatos* is a scribal error, is certainly the most acceptable explanation as yet presented on this difficult question.

The *Gatos* occurs in the same codex as the *Libro de los Exemplos* and, like the latter, shows not infrequent traces of Leonese dialect forms. The author of the *Exemplos* was Climente Sanchez of Valderas, and Morel-Fatio puts the date of composition 1400–1421, and the date of the Madrid ms. at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Northup thinks the paper and handwriting of the *Gatos* ms. show it to be of the same date, and concludes as follows:

"Now, Valderas is almost exactly on the border-line between León and Castile. We should expect a ms. written there to show traces of the eastern Leonese dialect. These peculiarities abound in the Madrid ms. of the *Exemplos*. Many of the same dialectic traces, the most important of which is the palatalization of initial *t*, occur in the *Gatos* ms. It is, therefore, a possibility that the *Gatos* may have been translated or copied at Valderas."

If the entire *Exemplos-Gatos* ms. was written at one period and in one locality, we have a valuable source of information in the five copyists who wrote the ms. A careful study of the individual scribal traits of these five copyists would surely throw more light on the date and dialect of the *Gatos*. Such a study is possible at the present time since a copy of the *Exemplos* portion of the codex is now in the possession of Professor Buchanan of the University of Toronto. The isolated example of the verbal termination *-ie* (*avrie*, LIV, 33), suggests at once a somewhat consistent modernization to *-ia* on the part of the *Gatos* scribe, especially since the *Exemplos*-ms. (in the Gayangos edition), shows numerous examples of *-ie*. Such a study of the scribal traits would produce either confirmation or additional suspicion in regard to the varying construction *parar mientes en* II, 19, *parar mientes al*, XIX, 5, and *parar mientes + object*, III, 22; the isolated enclitic forms *quel*, XXXII, 7, and *aquelos*, XXXVI, 8; etc.

The critical text has been constructed with care and good judgment, especially in the many passages which had been garbled by the Spanish

scribe. The Notes to the text contain the *ms.* variants, readings from the Hervieux edition of Odo where such readings can elucidate the Spanish text, linguistic commentary, and not infrequent additions to the literary history of Odo's *fables*. The individual *exemplos*, are accompanied, whenever possible, by bibliographical references to the studies of Herlet, Köhler and Chauvin, and to the parallels found in Old Spanish literature. In six instances we have inedited stories from the *Espejo de los legos*, or translation of the *Speculum Laicum* of the elusive Hovenden. In short, the work shows an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of Old Spanish, and sound critical method.

The text itself, based on a single faulty *ms.*, must, as a matter of course, contain occasional readings and explanations that are open to a difference of opinion. The dropping of an intervocalic *d* is a strong characteristic of the *Gatos* and Pietsch in his *Disticha Catonis*, has amply justified the Old Spanish form *pues* for *puedes*. Nevertheless, the isolated example of *pue* for *puede* in the *Gatos* occurs in the phrase *pue decir*, xv, 37, and suggests the possibility of a mere scribal error—the omission of one *de* of two consecutive and identical syllables; cf. *saboros[os]*, xxix, 12, *pues [es]*, vii, 11, and even *[corria] contra*, lix, 9. By this same principle of mental lapsus we can account for the missing syllable *co* in *o[co]men* xxxi, 17, if the conjunction *o* was preceded by the conventional *c*-curve. Going still further, by the same principle we may restore a possible *de* in the only two cases where *començar* takes a following infinitive directly: *començar dar*, xxxvii, 18, and *començar decir*, lvii, 22. While the construction *començar* + infinitive is not unknown in Old Spanish, its use can hardly be justified by a faulty verse of the *Apolonio*, cited by Meyer-Lübke (*Gram.*, iii, 429), nor by the misstatement of Fitz-Gerald (*Cuaderna Via*, p. 51), who fails to differentiate between *començar* and *empeçar*. Authoritative examples might have been found in Liljequist, *Infinitiv i det fornspanska lagspråket*, Lund, 1886, p. 18.

The apocopated form of the pronoun *un* in *dizole un* (vii, 2) is open to objection, and the citation of *grand* and *gran* as evidence is not conclusive. In the case of *grand*, the fall of final *e* shows the regular phonetic development, whereas

the fall of final *o* is dependent on atonic position of the word or its close syntactical relation to a following word or phrase; i. e., *un a otro, un dellos*, etc. Discussing the construction, *se entiende en, se entiende á, se entiende por* (i, n. 8), the editor states that "where an infinitive follows or a clause, the prepositional complement is omitted." Nevertheless, on page 56 we find two examples of the preposition *por* apparently governing a *que*-clause. Gayangos evidently saw the difficulty in these two passages, and his reading of the first (xxx, 14) seems preferable to Northup's, since it enables us to interpret *por que* as 'because.' In the second passage (xxx, 11), we might eliminate the doubtful construction by interpreting *por que* as 'although' and the subsequent *mas* as 'nevertheless.'

The following readings are suggested for other portions of the text: i, 2, *en alto* for *al alto*, cf. i, 10; or read (*al*) *alto*, cf. i, 3 and the scribe's weakness for reduplicating syllables.—iii, 13, omit *e*; Odo has "*quando caput [est] bene fricatum uino vel cervisia*."—iii, 15, Gayangos' reading or emendation "*despues [viene el] espanto*" seems preferable to Northup's abrupt "*despues espanto*."—xvi, 19, read [*a*] *aquellos que*, since the context exacts the meaning 'those to whom.'—xxiv, 27, the *que* of *e que* is superfluous; cf. the first occurrence of the theme in l. 2 of this same *ejemplo*. We probably have mere misprints in *boluieren* for *boluieron*, iii, 11; *guadase* for *guadasse*, viii, note 10; comma after *leongilo*, xv, 25; *el* for *al*, xix, 6; *pequeno*, xxiv, 57; 34 for 35, xxv, note; *deue* for *deuen*, xlviii, 8; *aconjenlos* for *acojenlos*, li, note 18. The editor himself has corrected an error on the title-page and so, to quote a famous writer of *exemplos*, *non murió el su nonbre*.

While the edition has no vocabulary, the editor calls attention, in his notes, to the various Old Spanish words that need special elucidation. The word *linda*, xxiv, 3, has escaped mention. The Latin of Hervieux shows no equivalent for this word, which in the *Gatos* occurs in the sentence: "E tanto andido fasta que fallo en vna tierra vna muger muy fermosa (Hervieux, *pulcherrimam*) e era linda e auia poco que muriera su marido." The meaning of *linda*, then, seems to be the authentic Old Spanish one of 'lawfully wedded,' in

which case the word furnishes additional evidence for the early date of the *Gatos*. A similar flavor of antiquity attaches to "tantos de pallos," XIV, 16, and "non veo nin punto," XXVIII, 8. In connection with the note on *enfinvir*, IX, 22, in the *Fuero Juzgo*, the vocabulary by Rodríguez y Rodríguez, Santiago, 1905, contains actual citations from the text and for this reason is preferable to the edition of the Spanish Academy.

The preceding notes and comments, often mere suggestions, must find their justification in the importance of both the text itself and the present edition. As a doctor's dissertation, Northup's work must hold high rank; regarded objectively, it is a contribution well able to stand on its own intrinsic merits.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

La Alegría del Capitán Ribot, by ARMANDO PALACIO VALDÉS. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by FREDERIC W. MORRISON and PHILIP H. CHURCHMAN. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. Second edition, 1907.

The appearance, within a year, of a second edition of *La Alegría del Capitán Ribot*, edited by Morrison and Churchman, calls attention to the excellencies of this text. The story itself has enough of what is usually called the human element, and sufficient movement and climax to hold a reader's attention to the end. With great delicacy and with refreshing if not oversubtle humor, the author tells of the love of the kindly, joyous sea-captain for his friend's wife, and of their final mutual renunciation after the death of the husband. The book has been regarded as a protest against the realistic novel of adultery after the French manner. The editors with good judgment in their excisions have reduced the text by one-fourth, filling the gaps with summaries in English.

The author's straightforward, simple, if at times rather trite language, prevents the work from offering any especial difficulties to the first year student. The vocabulary is about as large, pro-

portionally, as that of recently edited texts of Galdós, Alarcón, etc., but seems to contain less words of rare usage. Only occasionally there appears a far-fetched or mixed metaphor, such as the comparison of Sabas with his pipe to an electric motor (p. 140).

The introduction, though somewhat diffuse, furnishes a good exposition of the author's literary aims and accomplishment. Valdés is described as a writer of great powers of observation, simple and lightly ironical in his treatment of subjects, and broadly a realist, though not confining himself to the commonplaces of existence. In the new edition a note has been changed, indicating the publication in the past year of Valdés's novel, *Tristán ó el Pesimismo*.

The chief value of the edition is, however, the well executed notes and vocabulary. The grammatical observations are not excessive in number nor are they pedantic commonplaces. Many rules which in the ordinary grammars are obscurely phrased, or for various reasons are not sufficiently emphasized, are here explained with absolute clearness and often in an interesting manner. Exceptionally well worded are such notes as the following: time constructions with *hace* (p. 6, n. 3); the preposition introducing a subordinate clause (p. 7, n. 3); the use of the imperfect subjunctive in *-ra* for the pluperfect and preterit indicative (p. 11, n. 1); and the occasional relatively future idea in the imperfect as analogous to the future idea at times in the present (p. 28, n. 1). The note on *mientras . . . no* (p. 63, n. 2), should have appeared earlier, referring to the same construction on page 14, line 15.

The geographical explanations are attractively written and do not suggest too much the encyclopædia. The notes on *valencianas* (p. 10, n. 6), *Andalucía* (p. 11, n. 4), *Barcelona* (p. 12, n. 2), *gallego* (p. 42, n. 9), are models in their originality as well as in the exactness of information. Especially interesting in these notes is the characterization of the people of the several districts, and the brief description of their customs and language.

The vocabulary is complete, and in most cases furnishes a specific rendering as well as the generic meaning of the words. In the new edition, *propietario* (p. 243) has been corrected. In

fact, the half dozen misprints of the first edition have been rectified, leaving the book in that respect apparently flawless.

P. O. SKINNER.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

JAMES THOMSON AND MILTON.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Will the interest in the obligations of the earlier eighteenth century to Milton justify the printing of the following additions to G. C. Macaulay's lists (Eng. Men of Letters, *James Thomson*, pp. 141–5) of James Thomson's debts to Milton's Minor Poems?

The Morning in the Country is all reminiscent of *L'Allegro*, 41–68. Cp. 1–4 with *L'Allegro*, 59–62, and *in thousand liveries drest with in thousand liveries dight*, Cp. in each (1) the lark's early song; (2) the rising of the persons; (3) the cock and the hens; (4) the end, the shepherd telling his tale.

On Beauty, 9–23, 28–9, 35–7, has

This happy place with all delights abounds,
And plenty broods upon the fertile grounds.
Here verdant grass their waving . . .
And hills and vales in sweet confusion lie;
The nibbling flock stray[s] ¹ o'er the rising hills,
And all around with bleating music fills:
High on their fronts tall blooming forests nod,²
Of sylvan deities the blest abode³:
The feather'd minstrels hop from spray to spray,
And chant their gladsome carols all the day;
Till dusky night, advancing in *her car*,⁴
Makes with declining light successful war.
Then *Philomel*⁵ her mournful lay repeats,
And through her throat breathes *melancholy sweets*.⁶
Still higher yet wild *rugged*⁷ rocks arise,

Increasing brooks⁸ roll down the mountain's side,
And as they pass the opposing pebbles chide.⁸

The way that to this stately palace⁹ goes
Of myrtle trees, lies 'twixt two even rows,
Which, *towering high*, with outstretch'd arms display'd,⁹
. . . .

Cp. *L'Allegro*, 71–80:

Russet lawns and fallows grey,
Where the *nibbling flocks do stray*¹;
Mountains on whose barren breast
The labouring clouds do often rest;
Meadows trim with daisies pied,
*Shallow brooks*² and rivers wide;
Towers and battlements³ it sees
Bosomed *high*⁴ in tufted trees,²
Where perhaps *some beauty lies*,³
The cynosure of neighbouring eyes.

Cp. also *Il Penseroso*, 56–9:

'Less *Philomel*⁵ will deign a song,
In her *sweetest saddest* plight,⁶
Smoothing the *rugged*⁷ brow of Night,⁴
While Cynthia checks her dragon yoke⁴ . . .

and 121:

Thus, Night, oft see me in thy pale career⁴ . . .

On Happiness, 88–93, with its midnight, moonlight dance on the *margent of some limpid flood*, of fairies from *Stygian caves*, reminds of Comus's utterance (115–121) at midnight (102, 128, 131–3) concerning the dance of the finny droves and fairies by streams in the moonlight. Cf. Comus's same speech for *Stygian darkness*, 132; *L'Allegro* 3, *Stygian cave*; Comus 232, *margent*.

With *To the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton*, 46, our *wandering Queen of Night*, compare the *wandering moon* of *Il Penseroso*, 67.

Autumn, 1145 ff, reads:

Drear is the state of the benighted wretch,
Who then, bewilder'd, wanders through the dark,
Full of pale fancies, and *chimeras* huge;
Nor visited by one *directive ray*,
From cottage *streaming*, or from airy hall.
Perhaps impatient he stumbles on,
Struck from the root of slimy *rushes*, blue,
The Wildfire scatters round, or gather'd trails
A length of flame deceitful o'er the moss:
Whither decoy'd by the fantastic blaze,
Now lost and now renew'd, he sinks absorb'd,
Rider and horse, amid the miry gulf: . . .

Cp. *Comus*, 195–205, the state of the Lady, a *misled and lonely traveller* at night in the *blind mazes of a tangled wood*, and her utterance:

A thousand fantasies
Begin to throng into my memory,
Of calling shapes, and beckoning shadows dire,
And airy tongues that syllable men's names
On sands and shores and desert wildernesses.

The Elder Brother in the same state, exclaims,
336 :

Or if your influence be quite dammed up
With black usurping mists, some gentle taper,
Though a rush-candle from the wicker hole
Of some *clay habitation*, visit us
With thy long levelled rule of *streaming light*,
And thou shalt be our *star of Arcady*,
Or *Tyrian Cynosure*.

Just a moment before (323-6) the Lady had occasion to compare *tapestry halls* (which the Brother's *Though* would mark as preferable to him) and *lowly sheds* as places of refuge.—Note that the Spirit refers to *dire Chimeras* and enchanted isles, 517 ; and that in *L' Allegro* the misleading by a false light is alluded to, 104.

With *Spring*, 441 ff., compare *Il Penseroso*, 131-50. Compare the flower matter, the lily, the cowslips that *hang the dewy head, with all the lowly children of the shade*; and the flower passage of *Lycidas* (132 ff.), the *valleys low on which the swart star sparely looks, all your quaint enamelled eyes, With cowslips wan that hang the pensive head, And every flower that sad embroidery wears*.

Compare *Spring*, 1022 ff., where Professor Beers says (*Eng. Rom. in the 18th Century*, p. 116) "romantic love once more comes back into poetry," with *Il Penseroso*, 130-46; 56-72; 85 ff.; 121-2.

The two cantos of *The Castle of Indolence* deal with Inclination versus Duty, as does *Lycidas*, 64–84. The summing up of the argument for Inclination (*C. of I.*, i. 19),

O grievous folly ! to heap up estate,
Losing the days you see beneath the sun ;
When sudden comes blind unrelenting fate,
And gives the untasted portion you have won. . . .

is the concluding of the argument for Inclination in *Lycidas* (70 ff.) :

Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
To scorn delights and live laborious days ;
But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,
Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears
And slits the thin-spun life.

Compare with the *Lycidas* passages, st. 12 (the opening of the argument) also :

but as the furthest steep
 You trust to gain, and put an end to strife,
 Down thunders back the stone with mighty sweep,
 And hurls your labours to the valley deep,
 For ever vain :

JOHN EDWIN WELLS.

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AN EVENING WITH COLERIDGE.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRs :—Through the courtesy of my friend, Dr. Georg Herzfeld, of Berlin, I am enabled to call attention to a recent discovery of his. It is a book of literary sketches, apparently hitherto neglected, by a German visitor to England about 1830, and is particularly noteworthy for its description of one of the famous Highgate evenings with Coleridge. There are, of course, Carlyle's classic description of Coleridge on the brow of Highgate Hill, and the annoyingly inadequate entries in Crabb Robinson's *Diary*. We have also accounts of sporadic visits to Highgate by Landor, Emerson, Miss Martineau, and others. The present discovery is of sufficient importance to rank with the latter, and is particularly interesting as an evidence of early German appreciation of Coleridge's fame.

The book in question is entitled *Skizzen Eng-
lischer Charaktere und Englischer gesellschaftlicher
Zustände* von Anton Langerhanns (Leipzig, Koll-
man, 1839). There is in the British Museum a
second part dated 1840, which I have not seen.
Langerhanns, upon his arrival in England, pre-
sented a letter of introduction to a Mr. M——, who received him cordially, entertained him re-
peatedly and arranged for the visit to Coleridge
at Highgate. When they arrived on the ap-
pointed evening they found a group of gentlemen
assembled about the poet, but unfortunately Lan-
gerhanns records no names. He does, however,
report the gist of the conversation, which was
principally upon matters dramatic—the art of
Miss Kemble, a good anecdote of the actor George
Frederick Cooke, related by Coleridge himself,
and remarks on Mrs. Siddons, Miss Farren, and
David Garrick. Coleridge gave his explanation
of the difference between genius and talent, using

Sheridan's comedies in illustration. The party broke up at eleven o'clock, and Langerhanns was pressed warmly by Coleridge to call again. He records his regret that circumstances prevented his seeing the poet again. Like virtually every other participant in these symposia at Highgate, he deplores his inability to convey any adequate impression of the brilliant conversation of his host. The thirty pages of Langerhanns' book devoted to the evening with Coleridge are an interesting addition to the scanty material illustrating the poet's later years.

JOHN LOUIS HANEY.

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AN ALLUSION IN LOPE DE VEGA.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In Lope de Vega's play, entitled *El Dómine Lucas*, there is a passage which seems to me to contain a personal allusion. Fabricio has been betrayed by his friend Rosardo. The latter has apparently been successful in his suit for the hand of Lucrecia with whom Fabricio is also in love. As a matter of fact, Lucrecia's consent has been only a trick. In reality, she loves neither of the two; but Fabricio fancies himself to be aggrieved by both Rosardo and Lucrecia. Addressing the former, he says:

*Vendido me has; que á todos es notorio;
Mas primero verás tu muerte dura
Que el clandestino y falso desposorio.
Ni gozarás, si puedo, la perjurá,
Infame rama del linaje Osorio,
Porque esta espada vengará mi agravio.¹*

Is there not here an allusion to that Elena Osorio, who was for four years Lope's mistress, the Filis of his early verse? The discoveries of Pérez Pastor² have revealed the fact that Lope's ten year sentence of banishment from Madrid was the punishment for having libelled the actor, Jerónimo Velázquez, the latter's wife, Inés Osorio,

and his daughter, Elena Osorio. *El Dómine Lucas* was written previous to 1595, when Lope left Alba de Tormes.³ Lope's period of exile began in 1588. The play, therefore, must have been written while Lope was still in banishment and bitterly resentful toward his former mistress and her family. Furthermore, the play was produced by Melchor de Villalba, who had formerly belonged to the troupe of the actor, Jerónimo Velázquez. The allusion, then, would have been intelligible to the actors and probably to many of the audience who must have known the reasons for Lope's banishment. If I am right in my conjecture, the passage quoted is interesting as showing that Lope continued his malicious attacks on the Osorios even during the time that he was undergoing punishment for previous lampoons.

G. T. NORTHUP.

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ENGLISH *rasher*: SPANISH *raja*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—According to the *Diccionario* of the Spanish Academy (Madrid, 1899), the word *raja* has the following meanings: (1) *una de las partes de un leño que resultan de abrirlo al hilo con hacha, cuña ú otro instrumento*; (2) *hendedura, abertura ó quiebra de una cosa*; (3) *pedazo que se corta á lo largo ó á lo ancho de un fruto, ó de algunos otros comestibles, como melón, sandía, queso, etc.* The last of these, "a piece cut lengthwise or crosswise from fruit or certain other edibles, as squash, melon, cheese," seems to be nearly the same as English *rasher* "slice." It is not clear whether *raja* is used of meat; but it certainly might have been so used, for its diminutive *rajita* is applied to a slice of sausage: *una rajita de salchichón*, Palacio Valdés, *La alegría del Capitán Ribot*, cap. x (page 161, Madrid, 1899).

In modern Castilian, *j* is like *ch* in German or Dutch *acht*; but formerly Spanish *j* and *x* had

¹ *Comedias de Lope de Vega* (ed. Hartzenbuseh, Madrid, 1859), Vol. I, p. 55.

² Pérez Pastor, *Proceso de Lope de Vega por libelos contra unos cómicos*, Madrid, 1901.

³ Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 100. Rennert, *Spanish Actors and Actresses*, *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XVI, p. 531.

the sound of English *sh*. This older sound is kept in Asturian and Galician (see *Modern Philology*, vol. 4, p. 279, October, 1906); also in E. *sherry* and French *Quichotte Chimène*, from *Xerez Quixote Ximena*, now written *Jerez Quijote Jimena*.

As English *a* was like Spanish *a* until the sixteenth century, there would have then been no great difference between *rasher* and the etymon *raja*, aside from the endings. Since native words do not have the ending *a* in modern English, it is not strange that the final vowel should have become *er*. Vulgar English nowadays often avoids final *a* (ə) by giving it the sound of *er* or of *y*: *extry idear*. If any further explanation of the added *r* is needed, it may be found in the phonetic development of *bridegroom philosopher participle syllable*, French *perdre escandre*, Italian *balestra scheletro*, Spanish *estrella rastrillo*: namely, the tendency to insert *l* or *r* in a word already containing one of these two sounds.

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VOLTAIRE AND DUMAS.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The plot in fiction seems to be increasing every day, as the mass of studies in comparative literature grows. A striking example of this fact is evident when we make a *rapprochement* of two scenes in fiction, one taken from Voltaire's "Ingénu," the other from Dumas' "Monte-Cristo."

The Ingénu, an unsophisticated Indian, has been imprisoned in the Bastille for no fault of his own. There he meets an old Jansenist who welcomes him with open arms. Then follows an account of the education of the Indian by the Jansenist. The pupil quickly learns all that the Jansenist has to teach him of literature, history, and philosophy, and surprises his teacher by the brilliancy of his intellect. In return for the Jansenist's good services, the Ingénu solaces him for his misfortunes by the love and reverence he bestows upon the old man.

Compare this situation with the major portion

of the Chateau d'If (the first part of Monte-Cristo). Edmond Dantès is unjustly cast into prison, and there meets the wise Abbé Faria. Edmond, like the Ingénu, is a simple, ignorant fellow, but under the tutelage of the Abbé Faria he makes marvellous progress in the study of history, philosophy, and science.

Except for the didacticism in the story of Voltaire, the episodes are almost identical in the characterization of the personages, in the situations, and in many of the ideas developed. Dumas undoubtedly knew his Voltaire: did he borrow his scene from the "Ingénu"?

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DANCE MACABRE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The etymology of the word *Macabre*, in the phrase *Dance Macabre*, has long been disputed; the *Oxford English Dictionary* sanctions only the possible corruption of *Maccabæus*, from the Macabees, heroes and martyrs of Christian legend. The late Gaston Paris, in a note printed *Romania*, 24, 130, suggested that Le Fèvre, whose allusion "Je fis de macabre la dance" dates from 1376, may have been referring to his verse by the name of the painter whose work he used; he adds "Il est donc très possible qu'un Français du xiv^e siècle se soit appelé Macabre."

May I say that in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ix, p. 672, I find, in a list of French clergy paying homage to Henry V, the name of a capellanus of Reville, Laurentius Machabre, and that the cleric who heads this body of parochial clergy is capellanus "de Dez Innocens." As the fresco of the *Dance Macabre*, the verses of which Lydgate translated into English, was painted in 1424 in the Church of the Innocents at Paris, the collocation is suggestive. The submission of the clergy above mentioned was made in 1419, forty years later than Le Fèvre; but the confirmation of one part of Paris' suggestion raises interesting possibilities concerning the rest of it.

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A NOTE ON *Paradise Lost*, 1, 351-5.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In the passage of which the lines in question are a part, Milton has been describing the followers of Satan as they rise from off the burning lake, and then he says of them, beginning with line 351 :

A multitude like which the *populous* North
 Poured never from her frozen loins to pass
 Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
 Came like a deluge on the South, and spread
 Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan sands.

The commentators from Todd to Mr. Verity agree that this is a reference to the Teutonic invasions of Southern Europe ; but they quote no early authorities for the epithet *populous*. Is it absurd to ask if Milton may not have had in mind passages like the following : Habet quoque ipse inmensus pelagus in parte arctoa, id est septentrionali, amplam insulam nomine Scandzam, unde nobis sermo, si dominus iuvaverit, est adsumendus, quia gens, cuius originem flagitas, ab huius insulae gremio velut examen apium erumpens, in terram Europæ advenit. Jordanis, *De Origine Actibusque Getarum*, 1. Septentrionalis plaga quanto magis ab æstu solis remota est et nivali frigore gelida, tanto salubrior corporibus hominum et propagandis est gentibus coaptata ; sicut econtra omnis meridiana regio, quo solis est fervori vicinior, eo semper morbis habundat et educandis minus est apta mortalibus. Unde fit, ut tantæ populorum multitudines aretoo sub axe oriantur, ut non inmerito universa illa regio Tanai tenus usque ad occidentum, licet et propriis loca in ea singula nuncupentur nominibus, generali tamen vocabulo Germania vocitetur ; Ab hac ergo *populosa* Germania sæpe innumerabiles captivorum turmæ abductæ meridianis populis pretio distrahuntur. Multæ quoque ex ea, pro eo quod tantos mortalium *germinat*, quantos alere vix sufficit, sæpe gentes egressæ sunt, quæ nihilominus et partes Asiæ, sed maxime sibi contiguam Europam adflixerunt. Testantur hoc ubique urbes erutæ per totam Illiricum Galliamque, sed maxime miseræ Italiæ, quæ pene omnium illarum est gentium experta sævitiam. Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* 1. 1. (Attention is called especially to the expressions in italics.)

Todd, quoting Newton, says that Sir William Temple called Germany *the Northern hive*. Waitz in the *Monumenta* edition of Paulus cites Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, xiv, 4. 4, where the name *Germania* is derived from *germinare*.

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A CORRECTION.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—My suggestion, *MLN.*, xxiv, 10, that certain lines of Alexander Barclay refer to Boccaccio, is quite wrong. They refer to the contest between 'Alithia' and 'Pseustis,' in the *Ecloga Theoduli*. See Professor Skeat's note, *Athenæum*, Mar. 1, 1902.

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

Jan. 20, 1909.

BRIEF MENTION.

OLD PORTUGUESE TEXTS.

Textos Archaicos para uso da aula de philologia portuguesa estabelecida na Bibliotheca Nacional de Lisboa por portaria de 31 de Dezembro de 1903, coordenados, anotados e providos de um glossario pelo Dr. J. LEITE DE VASCONCELOS. 2ª edição (ampliada). Lisboa: A. M. Teixeira e C^{ia}; 1908. 8vo., 160 pp.

In this book the well-known scholar, and editor of the *Revista Lusitana*, publishes a series of Portuguese texts ranging from the earliest Latin-Portuguese legal documents to selections of lyric poetry of the sixteenth century, and including a chapter on Galician legal prose of XIII-XIV centuries. The critical apparatus embraces an all too brief summary of the salient features of Old-Portuguese phonology, morphology and syntax ; an "historia externa do idioma gallego" ; vocabulary of both common and proper nouns, in which the Latin, Portuguese and Galician forms are conveniently differentiated by means of different types. This scholarly little book is a valuable manual for the beginner in Old Portuguese, and contains, furthermore, a mass of important and suggestive material for the mature worker in Romance philology.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXIV.

BALTIMORE, MARCH, 1909.

No. 3.

CRISEIDA.¹

I.

No autograph MS. of the *Filostrato* is known to exist. The following MS. readings for the name of the heroine have been reported: Florence, Laur. xli, 27 (fifteenth cent.), in the title of Part I, *Cryseyda*²; xli, 29 (early fifteenth cent.), in the title, *Criseida*³; Biblioteca Nazionale, Palat. 354 (fourteenth cent.), in the title, *Criseida*⁴; London, British Museum, Addit. 21246 (early fifteenth cent.), *Griseyda* throughout⁵; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Reserv. 6a-4 (fifteenth cent.), in the title of Part I, *Criseyda*.⁶ I owe to the kindness of Miss Jackson the information that the *Filostrato* MS. of the Plimpton collection at Wellesley (which she has identified, as she will show in a forthcoming publication, as a MS. assigned by D'Ancona to the fourteenth century) reads *Griseida* throughout. The following readings of editions have been reported or are accessible to me: 1st ed. (Venice), Luca Veneto (about 1480-1483), in the title, *griseida*⁶; 2d, Bologna, 1498, in the title, *Gryseida*⁶; 3rd, Milan, Ulderich Scinzenzeler, 1499,

in the title, *Gryseida*⁶; 6th, ed. by L. Baroni, Paris, 1789, *Griseida* throughout; 7th and last, ed. by I. Moutier (= Boccaccio, *Opere volgari*, vol. 13), Florence, 1831, *Griseida* throughout. W. Herzberg states, without reference, that the name appears as *Cryseida* "in den älteren Drucken."⁷

Chaucer, in the *Troilus and Criseyde*,⁸ and Louis of Beauvau, in his translation of the *Filostrato* (about 1442-1445),⁹ wrote the name with a C.

The same name appears in the *Decameron*, in the introduction to the 6th *giornata*, in the sentence: "E Dioneo insieme con Lauretta di Trólo e di Criseida cominciarono a cantare."¹⁰ The reference is evidently to the *Filostrato*. The Berlin MS. Hamilton 90 (1384 or earlier), the most authoritative MS. of the *Decameron*,¹¹ reads *criseida*.¹² In view of the unusual excellence of this MS. its reading has particular weight. The same spelling reappears in the Florentine MS.

⁶ F. Zambrini, *Le opere volgari a stampa dei secoli xiii e xiv*, Bologna, 1878, p. 175. Palermo (*op. cit.*, p. 626) mentions a copy of the 3rd ed. in the Palatine collection in which the name appears in the title as *Bryseida*. The 4th and 5th editions were published at Venice, in 1501 and 1528 respectively.

⁷ *Die Quellen der Troilus-Sage in ihrem Verhältniss zu Shakespeare's 'Troilus und Cressida,' in Jahrb. d. deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, vi (1871), 197.

⁸ W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, vol. II, Oxford, 1894, pp. lxiy-lxv.

⁹ H. Hauvette, *Les plus anciennes traductions françaises de Boccace*, in *Bulletin italien*, vii (1907), pp. 298-308. In some MSS. a B replaces the C.

¹⁰ Ed. P. Fanfani, vol. II, Florence, 1904, p. 81.

¹¹ A. Tobler, *Die Berliner Handschrift des Decameron*, in *Sitzungsber. d. K. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1887, p. 375; L. Biadene, *Il codice Berlinese del Decameron*, in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, x (1887), 296; O. Hecker, *Die Berliner Decameron-Handschrift und ihr Verhältniss zum Codice Munnelli*, Berlin (1892), reviewed by Hauvette in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, xxi (1893), 407; Hecker, *Della parentela esistente fra il manoscritto berlinese del Decameron ed il codice Munnelli*, in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, xxvi (1895), 162.

¹² Tobler, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

¹ The writing of this paper was occasioned by a request from Professor J. L. Lowes for information as to the MS. readings of the *Decameron* for the name in question, and by a statement from him of the bearing of Boccaccio's spelling of the name upon the argument as to the date of the *Troilus and Criseyde*. I owe several suggestions to the kindness of Professor Kittredge.

² A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae medicae laurentianae*, vol. v, Florence, 1778, col. 134.

³ F. Palermo, *I manoscritti palatini di Firenze*, vol. I, Florence, 1853, p. 625.

⁴ Except for three occurrences of *Briseyda* at the beginning. J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works* (= *Chaucer Society's Publications*, 2d series, no. 37), 1907, p. 31, n. 4.

⁵ M. Schiff, *La bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane* (= *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 153), Paris, 1905, p. 328.

Laur. XLII, 1 (the Mannelli MS., copied from the Berlin MS. in 1384).¹³

The heroine of the *Filostrato* is referred to as *Grisaida* in the *Cœur d'amour espris* (1457) of René of Anjou,¹⁴ and as *Griseyda* in *Tirant lo Blanch* (late fifteenth cent.).¹⁵ A *Griseide* appears in the *Comedieta de Ponza* (shortly after 1434) of the Marquis of Santillana.¹⁵ Under the influence, evidently, of the *Filostrato*, the forms *Criseida*, *Griseida* appear in three Florentine MSS. of Guido's *Hystoria troiana*: Gadd. 45 (fifteenth cent.), Palat. 89-44 (fifteenth cent.), and 154 (1374).¹⁶

There is a phonetic tendency in Italian, not, however, consistently carried through, to change initial *cr* to *gr*.¹⁷ As a result of this tendency there are in the language about a score of *cr*- = *gr*- doublets, the *cr*- form being always relatively learned, the *gr*- form relatively popular. Among the score are *crisantemo* = *grisantemo*, the *gr*- form being vulgar; *crisolito* = *grisolito*, the two forms being equally common; and *Crisostomo* = *Grisostomo*, the *Gr*- form being the more common.

Scribal interchange of *cr*- and *gr*- is therefore natural. Change of *cr*- to *gr*- is more natural than the reverse change. Familiarity with the name *Griselda* might have furthered scribal change from *Criscida* to *Griseida* or prevented change from *Griseida* to *Criseida*.

The name is certainly a deliberately formed representative of the classic name *Chryseis*.

The only works containing the name *Chryseis* known to Boccaccio at the time of the composition of the *Filostrato* were, in all probability, Ovid's *Remedia amoris*, in which the name occurs in line 469, and *Tristia*, in which, in the majority of MSS., the name occurs erroneously, instead of *Briseis*, in book II, line 373. I owe to the kind-

ness of Mr. W. H. Freeman, who is studying the MSS. of the *Remedia*, the information that of ten MSS. eight have *criseida*, one has *chriseida*, and one *Briseida*. In the *Tristia*, fourteen MSS. have the correct reading, *Briseidos*, six have *Chryseidos*, seventeen have *criseidos*, and one has *crisesidos*.¹⁸

Boccaccio's autograph *Rubriche dantesche* show "grafia alla latina."¹⁹ His early literary habits, in general, were learned. It is inherently probable that he would have retained the spelling of his Latin model, very improbable that he would deliberately have constructed a more popular form.

From the evidence adduced it follows that the initial of the name, as Boccaccio first wrote it, was, in all probability, *C*.

The fact that no *h* appears in any of the *Filostrato* or *Decameron* readings reported and that the name *Chrysostom* is spelled *crisostomum* in the autograph MS. of the *Genologia deorum*²⁰ affords strong evidence that Boccaccio wrote the name without an *h*.

The evidence as to whether the first and third vowels were *i* or *y* is too extensive and unsatisfactory to deserve presentation here. The balance of probability seems to favor the *i* in both cases.

II.

The classic works known to Boccaccio at the time of the composition of the *Filostrato* afforded him ample acquaintance with the rôle of *Briseis* as the love of Achilles; of *Chryseis* he had, in all probability, no classic source of knowledge other than the passages in the *Remedia* and the *Tristia* in which the name occurs. These passages are as follows:

- Rem.* 467 Vidit ut Atrides (quid enim non ille videret,
Cuius in arbitrio Græcia tota fuit?)
Marte suo captam Chryseida, victor amabat,
470 At senior stulte flebat ubique pater;
Quid lacrimas, odiose senex? bene convenit
illis:
Officio natam lædis, inepte, tuo.

¹³ *Il Decameron di M. Gio. Boccaccio Tratto dall' Ottimo Testo Scritto da Franco D'Amaretto Mannelli Sull' Originale dell' Autore* (Luca), 1761, p. 211.

¹⁴ Hauvette, *Les plus anciennes traductions*, p. 307, n. 16.

¹⁵ A. Farinelli, *Note sul Boccaccio in Ispagna nell' Età Media*, in *Archiv f. d. Studium d. neu. Sprachen u. Literaturen*, CXVII (1906), 116-119. In certain other early Spanish works the initial is *B*.

¹⁶ H. Morf, review of Gorra, *Testi inediti di storia troiana*, in *Romania*, XXI (1892), 101, n. 1.

¹⁷ S. Pieri, *I riflessi italiani delle esplosive sorde tra vocali*, in *Archivio glott. ital.*, xv (1901), 388.

¹⁸ *Tristium libri V*, ed. S. G. Owen, Oxford, 1889, p. 71.

¹⁹ G. Vandelli, *Rubriche dantesche di Giovanni Boccaccio pubblicate di su l'autografo Chigiano*, Florence, Landi, 1908 (wedding publication). Cf. *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, LII (1908), 456.

²⁰ Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, Braunschweig, 1902, p. 255.

473 Quam postquam reddi Calchas ope tutus
Achillis

Iusserat, et patriast illa recepta domo,
'Est' ait Atrides 'illius proxima forma,
Et, si prima sinat syllaba, nomen idem :
Hanc mihi, si sapiat, perse concedat Achilles ;
Si minus, imperium sentiat ille meum !
. . . ' ²¹

Trist. II 371 Ilias ipsa quid est aliud, nisi adultera, de qua
inter amatorem pugna uirumque fuit ?
quid prius est illi flamma Chryseidos, utque
fecerit iratos rapta puella duces ? ²²

In the *Roman de Troie* Boccaccio found Briseis playing a part very different from that assigned her by the ancients. He found there, too, in the last part of the poem, as Professor Kittredge has pointed out to me, a detailed narrative representing the classic version of the Chryseis-Briseis story, in which, however, the names *Chryseis* and *Briseis* do not appear, Chryseis being called *Astrinome* and Briseis *Ypodomia*. Their fathers appear as *Crises* and *Brises*. ²³

Comparison of these very different accounts must have produced, in the mind of Boccaccio, certainty that Benoit was wrong in making Briseis the lady of Troilus, and perplexity as to the real identity of that lady. His acceptance of the Ovidian Briseis is evidenced by his own references to her, as *Briseida*, in other early works. ²⁴

He was led to the hypothesis that Chryseis was the lady of Troilus, I believe, by a misinterpretation of the passage of the *Remedia* quoted above, consisting in the identification of the unnamed, entreating *pater* of line 470 with the prevailing Calchas of line 473. Such identification might have been furthered by this parallelism between the Ovidian *pater* and the Calchas of Benoit : each requests of Agamemnon that his daughter, from whom he has been separated, be allowed to join him. ²⁵ Benoit's Briseis was daughter to Calchas : here in the *Remedia*, apparently, was a

daughter of Calchas not Briseis,—consequently, the proper person to replace Briseis in the Troilus romance. ²⁶

When, in later life, Boccaccio studied the first pages of his Homer, he found the authoritative account, an account with which his own Criseida story was as much at variance as the Briseida story of Benoit had been. In the *Genologia deorum*, XII, 52, he summarizes the Homeric account, and in so doing refrains from naming either the priest of Apollo or his daughter : “. . . plures ciuitates hostium cœpit [*sc.* Achilles], ægitque predam ingentem, et inter alia uirginem sacerdotis Apollinis filiam, quam Agamemnoni concessit, et Briseidam, quam æque ceperat sibi reseruauit. Sane cum iam iussu deorum oportuisset Agamemnonem sacerdoti natam restituere, Briseidam illi surripuit. Quamobrem indignatus Achilles diu stetit. . . ” ²⁷

The silence seems to indicate either some lingering of the old perplexity, or else unwillingness to admit the erroneousness of having made Chryseis the lady of Troilus.

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POEMS IN THE STANZA OF *IN* *MEMORIAM*.¹

Since *In Memoriam* was first published, there have been many misstatements about prior instances of the stanza, and many conjectures about

²⁶ Skeat (*op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*) suggests that Chaucer's change of the initial from *G* to *C* was due to acquaintance with this passage of the *Remedia*. Professor Kittredge, in an essay prepared before this paper and now in process of publication by the Chaucer Society, suggests that this passage of the *Remedia* influenced Boccaccio in changing the initial from *B* to *G*, points out Boccaccio's necessary dissatisfaction with the assignment of Briseis to the part she plays in the *Roman de Troie*, and makes with regard to Armannino (cf. Gorra, *op. cit.*, p. 555) practically the same suggestion as to the misinterpretation of the *Remedia* passage which I make with regard to Boccaccio. My conclusion was reached before I knew of Professor Kittredge's essay.

²⁷ Ed. I. Micellus, Basle, 1532, p. 308.

¹ See *Mod. Lang. Notes* for December, 1906, for a discussion of the technique of the stanza, with reasons why it has been so little used.

²¹ Ovid, ed. R. Merkel and R. Ehwald, Leipzig, 1888, vol. I, pp. 259-260.

²² *Ed. cit.*, *loc. cit.* I substitute, after the majority of mss., the reading *Chryseidos* for the correct reading *Briseidos*.

²³ Ed. A. Joly, vol. II, Paris, 1871, II. 26747-26907.

²⁴ K. Young, *The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde* (= *Chaucer Society's Publications*, 2d series, no. 40), 1908, p. 1, n. 1.

²⁵ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. L. Constans, vol. II, Paris, 1906, II. 13986-13129.

Tennyson's indebtedness to others. Tennyson's debt to his predecessors may easily be disposed of, for he said himself (*Memoir*, I, 305):

"And as for the metre of 'In Memoriam' I had no notion until 1880 that Lord Herbert of Cherbury had written his occasional verses in the same metre. I believed myself the originator of the metre, until after 'In Memoriam' came out, when some one told me that Ben Jonson and Sir Philip Sidney had used it."

Sir Philip Sidney, it may be said at once, did not use the stanza of *In Memoriam*, tho he did use the rhyme-scheme with seven-syllable lines, as did also Shakespeare, Carew, and Marvell. Indeed, the *abba* rhyme-scheme has been used in English with nearly thirty different combinations of line-length. The *abba* stanza with pentameter lines, however, is the only one which has been often used.

Tennyson's own statement, quoted above, is clear and positive; but there is another account which I have not seen in print. My friend, Mr. Harry L. Koopman, tells me that Dr. Shepherd of Charleston College reported a tradition that Tennyson got the first suggestion of his stanza from Wm. Hewell, who, in a lecture to his class, which included Tennyson, happened to say, with great emphasis and accidental rhyme and rhythm, that:

"There is no power however great
Can stretch a cord, however fine,
Into a horizontal line,
And draw it accurately straight."

The various misstatements about prior instances of the stanza need not be quoted here, as the following list is a collection of facts which many have known, but which no one has hitherto taken the trouble to put together:

1611. Ben Jonson, Chorus at end of Act II, of *Catiline*, 11 sts. No one, I think, has thus far noticed either that this chorus is in the stanza of *In Memoriam*, or that it appeared, with some changes, in a broadside, dated (in ink) 'March 31, 1660,' altho a correspondent printed the broadside in the *Athenæum* for March 14, 1857, with the following comment:

"Suppose these lines, with a few obvious alterations, to make their appearance in to-days' journals, who would doubt that the Laureate had

been expressing his hopes and prayers as to the constitution of the new Parliament? How appropriate to the conjuncture they would appear!—how distinctly would the friends of Lord Palmerston discover a compliment to their leader's firmness in the last line but one! ["Nor did they leave the helm in storms."] Amazing, however, as is the resemblance to one of the most marked of the many styles of the poet of our time, it is needless to say that he is very guiltless of having had anything to do with the piece, which is one of the Luttrell collection of broadsides. . . . There is no indication of date or authorship; but the general tone of the composition, the allusion to the national desire for a *free* parliament, the mention of a commonwealth, and the absence of any reference to royalty, show that it must have been written by a Republican in the spring of 1660, during the temporary dictatorship of General Monk."

The only important changes from Jonson are in the first nine lines, which in the broadside read as follows:

"Great God of Nations, and their Right,
By whose high Auspice Brittain stands
So long, though first 'twas built on Sands;
And oft had sunk but for thy might.

In her own Mainland-storms and Seas;
Be present to her now as then,
And let not proud and factious men
Oppose thy will with what they please.

Our free full Senate's to be made."

1616. Ben Jonson, Elegy "*Though beauty be the mark of praise*," 9 sts. Commonly supposed to be Jonson's only poem in this form.

Ante 1619. Francis Davison (editor of the (*Poetical Rhapsody*), Psalm cxxv, 6 sts. Published from ms. by Farr in 1845, and, I think, by Brydges in 1814-17.

1636. George Sandys, 5 Psalms, 58 sts.

1640. Christopher Harvey, *The Epiphany, or Twelfth Day*, 8 sts.

Ante 1648. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, two poems, 44 sts., first published in 1664-5. The longest of them, *An Ode upon a question moved whether love should continue forever*, 35 sts., has been often cited since Mr. Churton Collins pointed out that Herbert anticipated Tennyson in "some of its most beautiful effects." Lord Herbert also wrote three poems, 16 sts., with the enclosed rhymes, but pentameter lines.

(George Herbert's *The Temper*, 4 sts., has been said to have the stanza of *In Memoriam*; its first

and fourth lines, however, are pentameters, and its effect hardly the same, as the first two stanzas will show :

"It cannot be. Where is that mighty joy
Which just now took up all my heart?
Lord, if thou must needs use this dart,
Save that, and me ; or sin for both destroy.

The grosser world stands to thy word and art :
But thy diviner world of grace
Thou suddenly doest raise and raze,
And every day a new creator art."

1649. John Smith, Horace, Bk. I, Ode XXII,
'To Aristius Fuscus. That integritie of life is
always safe, which he proves by his example.
To Sir Philip Parker.' As this has not, so far as
I am aware, been noticed before, I quote it :

"Whose life is just, and from sins pure,
No *Maurian* darts, nor bow needs bear,
O *Fuscus*, nor no quiver wear,
Of poisoned shafts, from harms secure.

Whether by searching sands he takes
His journey, or through *Caucase* cold,
Or through those places where with gold,
Hydaspes slides, his way he makes.

For whilst in *Sabine* woods I sung,
My *Lalage* from all cares free,
Passing my bounds ; a Wolfe did flee
From me unarm'd, and did no wrong.

None such doth warlike *Daunia* feed,
In her vast Lawns of monstrous kind,
Nor *Jubas* purch'd soil doth find,
Though Nurce of Lions such can breed.

Now place me under that cold Clime,
Where trees refresh'd with no sweet gale,
Where constant storms of snow and hail,
Where always winter, never prime.

Or underneath *Sols* flaming rayes,
Where never mortals yet did dwell,
For smiling and for speaking well,
There *Lalage* I'll love and praise."

1687. Philip Ayres, *His Heart, into a Bird*,
3 sts.

1692. Matthew Prior's *Verses to Charles Montague*, afterwards Lord Halifax, have been said to be in the *In Memoriam* stanza, entirely because Thackeray, in his *English Humorists*, quoted two stanzas with enclosed rhymes. The passage in Thackeray's *Lecture on "Prior, Gay, and Pope"* runs as follows :

"In his verses addressed to Halifax, he says, writing of that endless theme to poets, the vanity of human wishes—

'So whilst in fevered dreams we sink,
And waking, taste what we desire,
The real draught but feeds the fire,
The dream is better than the drink.

Our hopes like towering falcons aim
At objects in an airy height :
To stand aloof and view the flight,
Is all the pleasure of the game.'

Would you not fancy that a poet of our own days was singing?"

These stanzas are the first and the sixth in early editions of Prior's poem, tho the first stanza disappeared from later editions. In all editions of the poem that I have been able to find, including one of 1693, and various copies of an edition of 1692, the stanzas rhyme *abab*, so it is likely that Thackeray shifted the lines himself in order to emphasize the resemblance between Prior and Tennyson. In one copy of an edition of 1692, the stanzas run :

"So, whilst in feverish sleeps we think
We taste what waking we desire,
The dream is better than the drink,
Which only feeds the sickly fire.

Our hopes like tow'ring falcons aim
At objects in an airy height.
The little pleasure of the game
Is from afar to view the flight."

Ante 1720. John Hughes (d. 1720 ; the editor of Spenser), a *Dialogue from the French of M. De la Motte*, 6 sts. The original French was also in this stanza.

1727?. Wm. Somerville, Fable VIII, *The Oyster*, 7 sts.

1743. Charles Jennens, a single stanza in the oratorio of *Belsazzar*, the music by Handel.

1755, March. Tobias Smollett, two unconnected stanzas in his translation of *Don Quixote*, II, iii, 6. The original Spanish is in the same stanza.

1762. John Hall Stevenson, *Don Prinzello's Tale: The fellowship of the Holy Nuns; or the Monk's wise judgment*, 18 sts. This, the eighth of his *Crazy Tales*, is as flippant in its metre as in its substance, for half of its stanzas contain feminine rhymes.

1766. John Langhorne, *Ode to the Genius of*

Westmoreland, 6 sts. In 1771, the first stanza of Langhorne's *Fable III, The Laurel and the Reed*, is in enclosed rhymes, altho the rest of the poem, like most of his other Fables, rhymes *abab*.

1793. Boscawen, Horace, *Odes*, I, 5: "What youth bedewed with moist perfume," 4 sts.

1795. Wm. Wordsworth, one stanza in the *Birth of Love*, a poem in ten stanzas, irregular in rhyme-scheme, in number of lines, and in length of line.

1806. P. L. Courtier, two stanzas, apparently his own, in an anthology which he called *The Lyre of Love*:

"I wonder if her heart be still!

The same that once I fondly met.

Will she her plighted faith forget?

Or she my dearest hopes fulfill?

I fear to pen the wish'd request,

To ask if all within be so?

I almost dread the truth to know:

So changeful seems the human breast!"

Ante 1811. John Leyden, M. D. (d. 1811), *The Fight of Praya. A Malay Dirge*, 8 sts.

1820. Robt. Anderson, *The Poor Prude*, 4 sts.

(According to J. M. Dixon, in an article on Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, in *Queen's Quarterly*, III, No. 2 (October, 1895), Walter Savage Landor wrote in this stanza a poem called *The French Villagers*, but I have been unable to find it. In *Dry Sticks*, 1858, Landor published three stanzas *Written in Sickness*, in which pentameter lines rhyme *abba*.)

1833. Alfred Tennyson, *You ask me why*, 7 sts., and *Love thou thy land*, 24 sts., both first published in 1842.

(1834. A. H. Hallam is said to have written a poem in this stanza, which presumably appeared in the first edition of his poems. I have not been able to find a copy of that edition, but no such poem is in the editions of 1853 or 1863, or in the reprints by Richard LeGallienne or Mr. Gollancz.)

1847. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *My Sister's Sleep*, 15 sts. Published early in 1850. In his *Poems*, 1870, Rossetti records (p. 169):

"This little poem, written in 1847, was printed in a periodical at the outset of 1850. The metre, which is used by several old English writers, became celebrated a month or two later on the publication of *In Memoriam*."

1849. Arthur Hugh Clough, *Peschiera*, 10 sts., and *Alteram Partem*, 5 sts. In 1850, Clough also wrote 5 stanzas in the measure in Scene III of *Dipsychus*.

1850, June. Alfred Tennyson, *In Memoriam*.

Omitting Tennyson, this list comprises 25 poems by 17 poets (only four of whom—Jonson, Sandys, Lord Herbert, and Clough—used the stanza in more than one poem), and single stanzas by three other poets. These instances of the use of single stanzas are interesting, like the shorter poems, because they show how some poets chanced upon the stanza, and passed on, without recognising its possibilities. Before Tennyson, no one but Lord Herbert of Cherbury made any use of the stanza that could by any possibility be called extensive, and in the other cases its use was certainly desultory and experimental.

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NOTES ON THE SPANISH *YSOPO* OF 1496.

The following results are based upon an examination of the copy of the *Ysopo* of Burgos, 1496 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Y. 6108, at present on display in Exposition VII, 153), to which Morel-Fatio has devoted an article in the *Romania*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 561-575. The text is rightly considered to be a Spanish version of Stainhöwel's well-known collection, and is probably a reprint of the Saragossa edition of 1489. The fables, however, that are added to the original Stainhöwel collection, as mentioned by Morel-Fatio, are found for the first time in the Burgos text. Hervieux, *Fabulistes latins*, Vol. I², p. 423, gives the number of fables in the last division of the Saragossa edition as 22, while the later edition has 26. But further light is thrown upon this difference in number by a passage in the *explicit* of the two texts: the Saragossa edition reads: "cō otras extravagantes. el qual fue sacado de latin, etc."; while the Burgos edition refers to its added fables thus: "con otras extravagantes 7 añadidas." The Burgos text is there-

fore more than a mere reprint, for it adds some fables on its own account.

A careful examination shows that certain statements of the above-mentioned article must be revised. To quote: "Jusqu'au dernier groupe de fables, le texte espagnol suit exactement le texte de l'édition de Steinhöwel; mais il y a quelques changements dans les 'collectes.' Le traducteur espagnol a omis les nos. XVIII (De ypocrita et muliere vidua), XIX (De iuvenula impotentiam mariti accusante), XXI (De monstros aliquibus) et XXIII (De vulpe et gallo et canibus), ce qui réduit à dix-neuf ses emprunts au Steinhöwel. En revanche, il ajoute sept contes qu'il a pris ailleurs." As a matter of fact, besides a minor change in Book I, No. XI (where the Latin has "Ass and Boar," while the Spanish fable is entitled "Lion and Ass"), there is an important variation in Book III, No. VIII of the Spanish. Here occurs the fable "Dela raposa 7 del gallo 7 delos perros," replacing the Latin "De Junone et Fenere et aliis feminis," which has in its turn been placed at the end of the Spanish edition, under the title: "Dela diosa uenus 7 su gallina." It is no longer necessary, therefore, to derive the latter from Phædrus; nor did the Spanish omit No. XXIII (De vulpe et gallo et canibus). The Burgos edition takes twenty of the fables in its last book from Steinhöwel, and adds only six from other sources.¹

The word "Ysopete" found in the *explicit* is unusual in most Spanish collections. It may, therefore, be of interest to note that the earliest use of it known to the Romance Seminary of Johns Hopkins University is in an inventory of 1460: "Otro librete que es quesopete en papel, etc."²

GUSTAV G. LAUBSCHER.

ON THE DATE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF MARLOWE'S *EDWARD II*.

The modern texts of *Edward II* are all based on the edition published by William Jones in

¹The parallel fable "Del padre e fijo que yvan a vender el asno," given by Morel-Fatio as No. XXIV in the "Conde Lucanor" is No. II in the Birch-Hirschfeld edition.

²Cf. G. C. Keidel, *ZRP*, xxv, 727.

1598, with occasional reference to the relatively valueless versions of 1612 and 1622. But it has been generally known for more than a generation that a copy of an earlier edition of the play, dated 1594, is preserved in the *Landesbibliothek* of Kassel, Germany, and that this edition corrects the later ones in a considerable number of minor details. During the last few years a second copy of this 1594 edition has come to light in the municipal library of Zürich.

It is not, however, with the edition of 1594—so far regarded as the *editio princeps* of the play—that I wish to deal, but with the possibility that there existed during the middle of the eighteenth century, and may still exist in some private English library, a copy of a yet earlier edition, published in 1593, the year of the author's death and probably the very year in which the play was completed. The only definite evidence on the question is a copy of the play preserved in the Dyce library, South Kensington Museum (shelf-mark 6209). The printed portion of this book is of no particular consequence; it is certainly a defective copy of the 1598 edition. The title-page and first leaf of the text (signature A₂), containing lines 1-70 of the play, are, however, missing and have been supplied in manuscript. Of the date and author of the ms. insertions we are informed by an entry on the back of the title: 'Mary Clarke her Book and Writting. October the third One Thousand Seven hundred and Fifty One.' The title-page itself is given in the ms. as follows: 'THE / troublesome Raigne and / lamentable death of Edward / the second King of England; / with the tragicall fall of proude / Mortimer. / As it was sondry times publicly acted in the honorable Cittie of / London, By the right honorable / the Earle of Pembroke his / Sernants. / Written by Chri: Mar: Gent. / Imprinted at London for William Iones / dwelling neere Holborne Conduit at / the Signe of y^e Guñe. 1593.'

Now the most natural inference on seeing this title-page is that the transcriber has made the easy mistake of reading '1593' instead of '1598,' and that the ms. pages were taken from a copy of the same edition to which the printed leaves certainly belong. This, or something like it, must be the general impression, for though the book is catalogued under date of 1593, previous editors

and bibliographers of Marlowe have almost entirely ignored its existence. I have had the opportunity, however, during the past year of comparing the title-page and the 70 ms. lines with a photographic facsimile of the Kassel 1594 edition and with copies of the three other early editions. From this examination it seems clear, first of all, that the manuscript part of the Dyce book could not possibly have been copied from either of the 1598, 1612, or 1622 texts. These last have a clause of additional advertisement on the title-page of which the 1594 edition and the transcript know nothing. It follows the words 'proude Mortimer,' and runs thus: 'And also the life and death of Peirs Gaueston, the great Earle of Cornewall, and mighty favorite of king Edward the second.' There is a difference, also, in the way the next sentence of the title-page is phrased. On the other hand, the texts of 1598-1622 omit the heading which the 1594 edition and the ms. insert at the top of the first page of text. In the body of the play (ll. 1-70) I have found, disregarding mere variations of spelling and accidental mistakes, that ed. 1594 and the ms. differ from the later editions in the following cases:

- L. 28. horses 1594, *MS.*: horse 1598-1622.
- L. 40. Porpentine (Porpentine) 1594, *MS.*: Porcupine 1598-1622.
- L. 60. an antick 1594, *MS.*: the antick 1598-1622.

These differences, particularly those which consist in the omission of a sentence in one place and the insertion of one in another are hardly such as can be explained by any theory of hasty or ignorant transcription, and when we find the transcript agreeing in all the cases indicated with the earlier edition of 1594, we may be sure that it has no connexion with any of the three later editions.

The resemblance to the text of 1594 is certainly closer, but here, too, the divergences are sufficiently great to make copying unlikely, even when we allow for the maximum of carelessness and stupidity on the part of the copyist. In the seventy lines contained in the manuscript, and in the accompanying stage directions, I have counted fifteen variations from the edition of 1594. In six of these the ms. reading is inferior

and may be due to inaccurate transcription. The cases are:

- L. 6. these *MS.*: these these 1594.
- L. 20. Its *MS.*: As 1594.
- L. 21. bakt *MS.*: Rakt 1594.
- L. 22. tantum *MS.*: Tanti 1594.
- L. 41. eate *MS.*: dart 1594.
- L. 59. gasing *MS.*: grazing 1594.

In six other cases of difference there is little to choose between the two versions, viz.:

- S. D. reading of *MS.*: reading on 1594.
- L. 43. them *MS.*: these 1594.
- L. 49. I *MS.*: We 1594.
- L. 54. are *MS.*: is 1594.
- L. 60. Goates *MS.*: Goate 1594.
- L. 65. as *MS.*: which 1594.

Finally, in three cases the reading of the ms. seems preferable:

- L. 9. thine *MS.*: thy 1594. The only instance where the ms. and the later editions agree as against ed. 1594.
- L. 31. dinner *MS.*: dinner time 1594.
- L. 58. Syluan *MS.*: Siluian 1594.

If, moreover, the ms. were based on the edition of 1594, we should have very great difficulty in explaining how that date, clearly printed on the title-page, could be misread or otherwise corrupted into '1593.' So, too, it is hard to understand any reason for which the poet's name, printed 'Chri. Marlow' on the title-page of 1594 should be contracted by an eighteenth century scribe into 'Chri: Mar:', whereas the abbreviation of the author's name on the title of the first edition of one of his works is a very common Elizabethan practice.

Apart from this special evidence, there is great inherent probability that an edition of *Edward II* was published in 1593. On July 6th of that year William Jones—the same who is mentioned on all the title-pages prior to 1612—registered the play at Stationers' Hall under the name of 'A booke Intituled The troublesom Reign and Lamentable Death of Edward the Second, king of England, with the tragicall fall of proud Mortimer.' At this date the year 1593, according to Elizabethan reckoning, had nearly nine months to run, and we know that the ceremony of registration

was normally followed by immediate publication. Accidental causes, of course, might and sometimes apparently did postpone such publication, but in the present instance such a thing is most unlikely. On July 6th, 1593, Marlowe had been just one month in his grave, and contemporary allusions show London to have been agog with stories of his life, his opinions, and the manner of his death. In such circumstances it would be surprising in the highest degree for a publisher to withhold the issue of the dead poet's masterpiece until nine months or more after it had been officially licensed.

It is, therefore, my belief that Mary Clarke had before her on October 3rd, 1751 a copy of a first edition of *Edward II*, otherwise unknown. It would be interesting and important to ascertain whether it has since disappeared beyond recovery. So far my searches have been fruitless, but there appears still ground for hope that inquiry among the obscurer private libraries of England may lead to a very valuable literary and bibliographical discovery.

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A PARALLEL TO AUCASSIN ET NICOLETTE VI, 26.

To the parallels to the interesting passage in *Aucassin et Nicolette* (VI, 26, ed. Suchier), in which Aucassin declares his preference of hell to heaven, there should be added the following story about Niccolò Machiavelli, quoted by Bayle (*Dictionnaire* [sic] *historique et critique*, ed. Des Maizeaux, Amsterdam, 1734, vol. iv, p. 14, n. L) from the Jesuit Etienne Binet (*Du Salut d'Origène*, Paris, 1629, pp. 359-361): "On arriue à ce detestable point d'honneur, où arriua Machiauel sur la fin de sa vie : car il eut cette illusion peu deuant que rendre son esprit. Il vit vn tas de pauures gens, comme coquins, deschirez, affamez, contrefaits, fort mal en ordre, & en assez petit nombre, on luy dit que c'estoit ceux de Paradis, desquels il estoit escrit, *Beati pauperes, quoniam ipsorum est regnum cælorum*. Ceux-cy estans retirez, on fit paroistre vn nombre innombrable de personnages

pleins de grauité & de majesté, on les voyoit comme vn Senat, où on traitoit d'affaires d'estat, & fort serieuses, il entrevit Platon, Aristote, Seneque, Plutarque, Tacite, & d'autres de cette qualité. Il demanda qui estoient ces Messieurs-là si venerables, on luy dit que c'estoient les damnez, & que c'estoient des ames reprouuées du Ciel, *Sapientia huius sæculi, inimica est Dei*. Cela estant passé, on luy demanda desquels il vouloit estre. Il respondit, qu'il ayroit beaucoup mieux estre en enfer avec ces grands esprits, pour deuiser avec eux des affaires d'Estat, que d'estre avec cette vermine de ces belistres qu'on luy auoit fait voir. Et à tant il mourut, & alla voir comme vont les affaires d'Estat de l'autre monde."

Another form of the story is mentioned by Bayle as occurring in the *Epistole* of François and Jean Hotman. It is as follows: "Wolphius nuper Augustæ mortuus, in suis *Commentariis in Tuscul.* quas anno superiore mihi donavit, Machiavellum scelerum, impietatum et flagitiorum magistrum appellat, ac testatur illum quodam loco scripsisse, sibi multo optabilius esse post mortem ad Inferos et diabolo detrudi, quàm in cælum ascendere. Nam hic nullos reperturum, nisi mendiculos et misellos quosdam Monachos, Heremitas, Apostolos; illic victurum se cum Cardinalibus, cum Papis, Regibus et Principibus" [Letter of François Hotman, December 28, 1580, in *Francisci et Joannis Hotomanorum . . . Epistole*, Amstelædami, 1700].

Villari, in discussing the story in his well-known work, *Niccolò Machiavelli e I suoi Tempi* (2d edition, vol. III, p. 368 ff., Milan, 1897), says that he has been unable to find the book cited by Hotman as his authority, and does not know whether it was ever published. This statement is strange, inasmuch as the commentary, which is by the celebrated German humanist Hieronymus Wolf, is mentioned in so common a reference-book as Pökel's *Philologisches Schriftsteller-Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1882). The book seems to be rare, however, as neither the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, nor the Cambridge University Library possesses a copy of it, and Johann Caspar Orelli states in his edition of the *Tusculans* (Oxford, 1834, p. 365) that he has never seen it, and would "feel greatly obliged" for the loan of it. Copies of it are to be found in

the Library of All Souls College at Oxford, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and in the Royal Public Library at Dresden (for the last see Ebert, *Allgemeines Bibliographisches Lexikon*, Leipzig, 1821, No. 4505). The title-page reads: *M. T. C. Tusculanarum Questionum Aphorismi . . . cum explicatione Hieronymi Wolffi . . . Basileæ . . . per Eusebium Episcopium, M. D. LXXX.*

Villari concludes that the story of the dream, although nowhere mentioned in Machiavelli's writings, was suggested by various daring passages in the works of the author of the *Principe*, and may even have been related in jest by him, though not when he was lying at the point of death. This view he thinks supported by Hotman's statement that Machiavelli had expressed in his works a preference for the infernal regions. The original text of Wolf, which I have consulted at Oxford, indicates clearly, however, that Hotman was quoting from memory, and erred in saying that the idea was to be found in Machiavelli's writings. In an account of various "*Voces blasphemæ*," to illustrate the passage "*Non enim temere nec fortuito sati et creati sumus . . .*" (I, 49), he says (vol. I, p. 594, under the marginal heading "*Machiauellii cœlum*"): "*Nec tamen desunt belli (si Diis placet) et faceti homunculi: qui Machiauellum, scelerum magistrum, et perniciosum principum assentatorem, secuti, se Inferos cœlis antepone, ioco scilicet, dicant: quod cœlum non nisi pauculos vetulos monachos, et supersticiosas aniculas habeat: apud Inferos uerò maxima frequentia degant pontifices, reges, Cæsares, principes, et infiniti bellissimi homunculi, et mulierculæ elegantissimæ.*" The fact that the same idea had been expressed by Teofilo Folengo in 1521 (see Suchier's note to the passage quoted) makes it seem likely that Machiavelli's enemies, perhaps shortly after his death in 1527, fathered this ancient witticism upon him in order to blacken his reputation. It thus appears probable that "*quel celebrato sogno*," referred to by Busini in his letter to Varchi in 1549 (see Villari, *l. c.*, p. 368), was substantially the same as that narrated by Binet a century after Machiavelli's death.

For courteous assistance in connection with the preceding note I am indebted to Mr. Edgar Goodman, of Baltimore, formerly of the Histor-

ical Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, to Mr. Falconer Madan, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and to Mr. A. Whitaker, of All Souls College Library, Oxford.

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A NOTE ON THE "SCHEIRER RHYTHMUS."

Among the versions of the allegory of the *Four Daughters of God* discussed by Miss Traver in her excellent dissertation on this subject,¹ the so-called "*Scheirer Rythmus*," a thirteenth century Latin poem edited from a codex in the Bavarian cloister at Scheiren, by August Hartmann,² occupies a somewhat exceptional position. The use of the popular Goliardic stanza and the introduction into the allegory of a new motive, that of a dispute between Faith and Reason, are found, so far as I know, only here. It has apparently escaped the notice of those who have had occasion to mention the *Rhythmus* that the poem bears a close relation to a Latin "debate" in the same measure, the work, probably, of Philippe de Grève, Chancellor of the University of Paris and writer of theological works and verse at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The poem is entitled in the unique manuscript which preserves it "*Dyalogus fidei et rationis compositus a Phylippo Cancellario Parisense . . .*"; it is edited with other poetry of Philippe's by R. Peiper.³

In the "*Scheirer Rhythmus*" the contention between the daughters, in which Justice and Mercy (*Pietas*) alone take part, is followed by an account of the marriage of the Virgin. While the heavenly hosts are singing the nuptial hymn, Reason appears and disturbs their harmony with philosophic objections. She is represented by five heretics, Arrius, Marcion, Plato, Nestor, and Jovinianus, who set forth their arguments one after another in a single stanza each. Reason

¹ *The Four Daughters of God* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs), 1907.

² Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, xxiii, 173-189.

³ *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, vii, 409 ff.

herself stands by to support them; but Faith puts scepticism to silence by rebuking Reason and expounding the mysteries of the incarnation and virgin birth. In the "*Dyalogus fidei et rationis*" this dispute is not an incident but the main theme. The author has risen from his bed at daybreak and is perplexing himself with philosophic questions when he overhears a contention between Faith and Reason. The two debate in short, alternate speeches; their arguments are much the same as those which appear in the *Rhythmus*, but here Reason speaks for herself and the dispute is much more extended. The two poems are definitely connected, however, by the fact that of the fourteen stanzas which compose the reason and faith debate in the *Rhythmus*, at least four are found in almost identical form in the *Dyalogus*. The following citations will illustrate the correspondence between the two texts:

'R. "Quenam te presumptio facit disputare
Contra naturalia? nam vis deliare,
Dum vel partum virginis audes predicare,
Vel in tribus unicum deum adorare.'"'
Dyalogus, stanza 5.

'Arrius. "Quas laudatis nuptiae quenam sunt aut quare?
Contra naturalia vultis disputare
Presumentes virginis partum predicare
Vel in tribus unicum deum adorare.'"'
Rhythmus, 38.

The first stanza quoted is the beginning of Reason's argument in the *Dyalogus*; the second is the first argument on the side of Reason in the *Rhythmus*. Faith's opening stanza is identical in both poems except that the *Dyalogus* has "Fides *ad* hec retulit," and "Procul a sacrario nostro *es* remota"; where the *Rhythmus* has "Fides *ergo* retulit," and "Procul a sacrario nostro *sis* remota." Similarly stanzas 27 and 28 in the *Dyalogus* correspond to 48 and 49 of the *Rhythmus*; the last two lines of 25 are related to the last two of 43, and the last two of 30 identical with those of 42.

That one of these poems is indebted to the other is obvious. So far as our knowledge of the dates of the two is concerned, either might be the original. The *Rhythmus* was formerly ascribed to Konrad, a monk of the cloister of Scheiren, whom we know to have written the manuscript containing it some time during the abbacy of

Heinrich (1226-59); but Hartmann, reasoning from inaccuracies in the text is inclined to believe that he was only the copyist. The *Dyalogus* must have been written before 1233, the year, according to a contemporary chronicle, of Philippe's death.⁴ But if we have no external indication of the relative date of the *Dyalogus* and the *Rhythmus*, the poems themselves furnish clear evidence that the author of the latter was the borrower. The presence of the Reason and Faith dispute in the *Rhythmus* is certainly strange. There was nothing in the original allegory which would easily have suggested it, and Hartmann's explanation of its significance—that it is intended as a human parallel to the divine contest of Justice and Mercy—is hardly borne out by the poem itself. In any case the introduction of this new element is a striking innovation. As the subject of an independent poem, on the other hand, the dispute is natural enough. The *Dyalogus* belongs to the familiar and well-defined literary type of the *conflictus* or debate, a form which enjoyed a great degree of popularity in the Latin literature of the period in which the *Dyalogus* must have been composed; the poem bears a close resemblance in form to the dialogues printed by Wright in *The Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes*. The opposition of faith and reason must have been familiar indeed to a theologian, and the idea of expressing this contrast in a debate would easily occur to Philippe, whom we know to have written at least one other poem of the kind.⁵ It seems more probable, therefore, that the *Dyalogus* was written before the *Rhythmus* and used by the author of the latter, than that the Reason and Faith incident was picked out of its setting by Philippe and used as the subject of an independent work.

This conclusion is established beyond a doubt by a consideration of the parallel passages as they appear in the two poems. In almost every case there is some indication that the material has been adjusted to a new setting in the *Rhythmus*. In at least one instance the borrowed lines are obviously out of place. The author of the *Dyalogus* represents the contestants as already engaged

⁴Peiper, pp. 409-10.

⁵Cf. Peiper, pp. 424 and 418.

in their dispute when he begins to report it; and so Reason says to her opponent:

"Quenam te presumptio facit disputare
contra naturalia?" etc.

In the *Rhythmus* the corresponding remark with which Arrius opens the discussion is wholly *inapropos*:

"Quas laudatis nuptiae quenam sunt aut quare?
Contra naturalia vultis disputare," etc.

They have indeed been praising the nuptials but they have not been disputing. In adapting the stanza to a new context the writer of the *Rhythmus* was forced by the rime to keep this one meaningless word. The evidence furnished by the other passages is slighter but hardly less conclusive. The line "Fides ad hec (ergo) retulit paulisper commota," for example, has a very definite meaning in the *Dyalogus*, for the author has previously described her calmness; in the *Rhythmus* it is not particularly significant. The change to the imperative in the third line of the same stanza interrupts the course of the thought. The verb *predicare* ("assert," "affirm"), in the first and second stanzas quoted above, is more natural in the *Dyalogus* than in the *Rhythmus*, for in the latter poem the event referred to has not yet taken place, and we should naturally expect *predicere* ("predict").

If, then, it is reasonably certain that the borrowing is on the side of the author of the *Rhythmus*, we may, I think, assume that the idea of employing the reason-faith motive in the allegory was first suggested to him by the *Dyalogus*. I am prepared to go further and say that the form of the "Scheirer Rhythmus" as a whole was largely determined by Philippe de Grève's debate. So far as I know, the *Rhythmus* is the only version of the allegory written in this measure. It is to be noted also that by using only Justice and Mercy instead of all four of the Daughters of God and by condensing the introductory narrative into a single stanza, the author has brought the poem nearer to a disputation than the versions of this allegory usually are. Both the choice of measure and this tendency to reduce the elaborate allegory to a mere dispute might perhaps be attributed to the influence of the debate in general, but, as we have seen, the author of the *Rhythmus* had a par-

ticular debate very freshly in mind when he composed his poem, and it is natural to think of this as his chief model.

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ONE OF THE SOURCES OF THE QUEEN OF CORINTH.

That the *Gesta Romanorum* was known to the Elizabethans is attested by the fact that there are several allusions to it in the plays of the period. It has not, however, been pointed out that Fletcher, Massinger, and Field are indebted to one of the tales for the denouement of the *Queen of Corinth*. I have appended Wynkyn de Worde's version of the tale (E. E. T. S.: Extra Series 33, p. 440) and enough of Act v, sc. 4 of the *Queen of Corinth* to reveal the indebtedness.

"In Rome dwelled somtyme a myghty Emperour and a wyse, named Edfenne / the whiche ordeyned for lawe, y^e who somever rauysshed a mayde, sholde be at her wyll / whether she wolde put hym to deth, or that she wolde have hym to her husbände. It befelle after on a daye, that a man rauyshed upon a nyght two maydens / the first damoysell desyred that he sholde dye, & the seconde desyred weddyng. The rauyssher was taken, and ledde before the Iuge, that sholde satysfye bothe these damoysels thurgh his wysdome and ryghtfulnesse. The fyrst mayde ever desyred the dethe, accordyng to the law. And than sayd the seconde, "And I desyre hym for to be my husbände / for lyke wyse as thou haste the lawe for the / in lyke wyse I have it for me. And neuerthelesse my petycion is more and better than yours, for it is more charytable / therfore me thynketh in my reason, that the Iustyce sholde gyue sentence with me." Than y^e Iustyce understandyng the grete mercy of the seconde mayden, aue Iugement, that he sholde wedde her; and soo it was done."

"Queen. . . . Read the law.

Clerk (Reading). Lycurgus the nineteenth against rapes: It is provided, and publicly enacted and confirmed, That any man of what degree soever, offering violence to the chastity of a virgin shall, ipso facto, be liable to her accusation, and according to the said law be censured; ever provided, that it shall be in the choice of the said virgin so abused, either to compel the offen-

der to marry her without a dower, if so she will be satisfied, or demanding his head for the offence, to have that accordingly performed.

Queen. You hear this: what do you demand?

Merione. The benefit
The law allows me.

Beliza. For the injury
Done to mine honour, I require his head.

Merione. I likewise have an eye upon mine honour;
But knowing that his death cannot restore it,

I ask him for my husband.

Beliza. I was ravish'd
And will have justice.

Merione. I was ravish'd too;
I kneel for mercy.

Beliza. I demand but what
The law allows me.

Merione. That which I desire
Is by the same law warranted."

The extract given above suffices to show the indebtedness but it does not indicate the amplifications made by the Elizabethan adapters. The contention of the two women is in the play expanded considerably and a few modifications are made which in some ways intensify the dramatic effect. In the first place, the queen who sits in judgment is made the mother of the offender. Then an element of suspense is added in that the royal culprit is condemned to death. This sentence is, however, in turn revoked when it is shown that the contention of the two ladies was feigned, that only Merione has suffered violation, and that the bloody demand of Beliza was actuated by the hope that the offender might thus be brought to repent.

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ON THE TEXT OF THE PROSE PORTION OF THE 'PARIS PSALTER.'

Under the title here employed a Mr. J. H. G. Grattan has contributed an article to the last number of *The Modern Language Review* (January, 1909). This new contributor has unfortunately

introduced himself to his colleagues as one who by temperament is disposed to convert disappointment into grievance, and to betray personal annoyance in connection with matters of impersonal science. Such a disposition of mind is, however, usually allowed to pass without severe censure. Culpability sets in with the steps that are sometimes taken next in retaliation of the imagined offence; of this there cannot be the least doubt when those steps are somewhat oblique.

The editors of the recent edition of *The West-Saxon Psalms*¹ are glad to acknowledge indebtedness to Mr. Grattan for several corrections of their text and for further suggestions that will be duly considered. It is an advantage to have the benefit of Mr. Grattan's scrutiny of the ms., for even the slightest gain in accuracy is desirable. Thus, he reports the ms. reading *ge*, x, 1 (overlooked by Thorpe, Tanger, and Bright), and *mægen*, xxxi, 3 (for *mægn* of the printed texts; also overlooked by Tanger); and he properly calls attention to the reading noticed by Tanger at xx, 4, and improperly comments thus: "Th. by an oversight has omitted *þe*, and Br. again reprints him faithfully." This exhausts Mr. Grattan's list of readings in which the new text misrepresents the ms. It looks like an act of sympathy for human frailty when Mr. Grattan himself contributes an error. He reports that "the initials are lacking in both cases" of *py* and *þa* at xii, 5. My collocation marks with special distinctness a rubricated initial for the second word.

In the larger number of Mr. Grattan notes he suggests emendations of the text. Several of these will, I am sure, be accepted, and others deserve careful consideration. He is, however, in error, as I think, in accepting Thorpe's *him* at xxxiv, 13. I construe *hī* (referring to *heora*) as object of *sende*: 'for the judge to whom (*þe* . . . *tō*) I offered (*sende*) them (*hī*) would not receive them' (*heora*, referring to *gebedo*).

As to xxiii, 9, I should now retain the ms. reading *ēow gē*, and attribute the variation from

¹ *The West-Saxon Psalms, being the Prose Portion, or the 'First Fifty,' of the so-called Paris Psalter. Edited from the Manuscript, with an Introduction and an Appendix. [Advanced edition, without the Introduction.] By James Wilson Bright and Robert Lee Ramsay. Boston and London: D. C. Heath & Co., 1907.*

this construction in the preceding verse 7 to the ambiguous case-ending of *postes*. It is also plainly reasonable to retain *geürige* of xxxix, 15, as Thorpe suggested. In this instance Mr. Grattan is unfair even to Thorpe. The evidence of verse 21 in the same psalm is of course inconclusive, because of the capricious use and disuse of the prefix *ge*. To cite one more instance of disagreement with Mr. Grattan, it must be admitted that conservative editing favors the retention of *Iudas* at xxxv *Arg.*, since this reading is supported by the second ms.

Mr. Grattan's grievance has manifestly engendered in him a determination to convey an unfavorable impression of the book that appeared when he himself had in preparation an edition of these Psalms.² He has therefore, it would seem, purposely refrained from noticing the new features of the book, and, what is seriously reprehensible, has by wanton indirections and by unwarranted expressions labored skilfully to convey the false notion that the new edition of the text is unduly dependent upon Thorpe's edition, and at a disadvantage in a comparison with Tanger's collation. It is in protest against such petty maliciousness that I have in this manner called attention to Mr. Grattan's contribution.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

ON A PASSAGE OF FRIEDRICH RÜCKERT.

In a comparatively recent volume of selected German poems, issued by a well-known American publishing house, I came across a footnote the other day which, I believe, calls for correction. At any rate, I should like to put myself on record as dissenting from the position taken by the editor. The editor's note in question has reference to an expression in Rückert's poem entitled "Wunsch." The poem being short, it may as well be given

²Mr. Grattan may be told that I collated the Paris ms. in July of 1905, and that my text was ready for the printer at the close of the summer of 1906. Dr. Ramsay also studied the Paris ms. in the summer of 1905, and worked with me in libraries of England, collecting material for the study of problems relating to these Psalms.

here in full ; this will conduce to clearness in our discussion.

WUNSCH.

Etwas wünschen und verlangen,
Etwas hoffen muss das Herz,
Etwas zu verlieren bangen
Und um etwas fühlen Schmerz.

Deine Lust und deine Wonne
Musst du an *was immer* sehn,
Soll vergeblich Mond und Sonne
Nicht an dir vorübergehn.

Gleich von unbegrenztem Sehnen
Wie entfernt von träger Ruh,
Müsse sich mein Leben dehnen
Wie ein Strom dem Meere zu.

I have italicized the two words which constitute the subject of my contention. The editor, referring to this passage, adds the surprising footnote : *was* = *etwas*. In a similar collection of German poems prepared in England, I find that the editor fails to comment on the passage at all ; from this I infer that he too assigns to *was* the meaning of *etwas*. Now we all know, of course, that very frequently the German *was* has the force of *etwas*, but the question arises : does it hold true in this case? I shall say at once that the combination *was immer*, in the editor's acceptance, is to my mind *einfach kein Deutsch*. In accordance with ordinary German usage the order would have to be *immer* [an] *was*, provided that were the poet's meaning. Moreover, the metrical demands would by no means forbid the one order any more than the other, since the line

Musst du *immer* an *was* sehn

would surely be quite as smooth as the poet's order

Musst du an *was immer* sehn.

The common expression *immer was* offers no difficulties, so far as I can see, being, of course, a colloquial form for *immer etwas*. But is Rückert's order *was immer* identical in meaning with this *immer was* or the equivalent *immer etwas*, as, indeed, the editor seems to contend? In my judgment the meaning of the poet's form *was immer* may very well be rendered by the common English expression *no matter what*, and has absolutely nothing whatever to do with *always something* (*immer [et]was*), as the editor would have us

believe. The poet's expression is simply equivalent to *was es immer sei*. This use of *immer*, with the generalizing force that we are defending in this connection, is, of course, very well known in German, and, I daresay, is not new to the editor. Cf. Goethe (*Hermann und Dorothea*) :

Ich tadle nicht gerne, was immer dem Menschen
Für unschädliche Triebe die gute Mutter Natur gab.

Frequently, too, we add the word *auch*, and in this connection use the verb *mögen*, as in the expression : *was es auch immer sein mag*. Cf. Muret-Sanders, *Encyclopädisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin, under the entry *immer*.

On the same point I quote from Paul's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Halle a. S., 1897 : "Die andere [Verwendungsweise], noch jetzt gewöhnlich, in verallgemeinernden Relativsätzen, zum schärferen Ausdruck der Verallgemeinerung, häufig mit *auch* verbunden : wer es auch immer sein mag ; entsprechend in Sätzen mit *wo*, *wann*, *wie*, so u. s. w."

I close with a quotation from Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* : "Frag- und andere Pronomina werden durch *immer* zu unbestimmten : wer immer, was immer, wo immer ; was du immer hörst, schweige ; doch dem sei, wie ihm immer sei. LESSING." From the poet Logau the Grimms also cite the following :

Wer Tugend hat und Kunst, wird immer nie vertrieben,
Ist, wo er immer ist, als wie zu Hause blieben.

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A MODERN VERSION OF CUPID AND PSYCHE.

Certain parallels to Apuleius' story at once occur to the mind, as the account of Zeus and Semele, and our own Beauty and the Beast. Nor is the ancient Hindoo version unfamiliar, as told in *R. V.*, x, 95, and in the Brāhmaṇa of the Yajur Veda, as also in longer and more artistic shape in Kālidāsa's play *Vikramorvaśī*. The story appears again in modern times in India, with a woodcutter's daughter as heroine,¹ and there are

in fact some thirty parallels in Indo-European literature, of which a comprehensive list is given in Friedländer.²

The general outline to which the tales must conform in order to admit of their being included in this group is, as given by the Brothers Grimm, substantially as follows : A good and innocent, and usually youngest, daughter is promised by her father to a monster, under pressure of some sort ; or it may be that the girl voluntarily sacrifices herself. She bears her fate patiently at first, then yields to outside influences, and must pay a bitter penalty for the resulting disobedience. Finally, because of the love which she comes to feel for the monster, his hideous form disappears, leaving him disclosed as a youth of great beauty and charm.

In many examples of the fairy-tale, the woman's wrongdoing consists in her yielding to an impulse of curiosity concerning something forbidden. She is usually punished by being separated from her lover, and must work out her atonement alone. The story of Lohengrin and Elsa, though not mentioned by Kuhn, at once occurs as an illustration of this idea. In the classical Sanskrit version it is the woman who must leave her husband, instead of his going from her, the fault, however, being still that of the woman, who in this case is a superhuman being, an *apsaras*. In Kālidāsa's play not curiosity, but jealousy, is the cause of the enforced separation. In her anger Urvaśī had inadvertently entered the forest sacred to the god of war, and the inevitable consequence of such an act on the part of a woman was that she became invisible. There are many figurative and symbolic explanations of the myth.³ In any case, the fault is the woman's, and when we recall that in some versions the monster appears as a serpent, and that Sappho called love γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον ἐρπετόν, it is amusing to note the similarity to the Hebrew tale of the woman tempted by the serpent and in turn causing the man to sin.

An echo of this widespread myth may be found in Ibsen's *Doll's House*. This play is in itself no enigma, and its simple lesson that woman has a right to be considered as an independent being, is plain. It is possible, however, to go farther, and

² *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, 1, 553-5.

³ Cf. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, 81, Friedländer, *ibid.*, 535 ff., etc.

¹ Brockhaus, *Die Märchensammlung des Somadeva Bhatta aus Kaschmir*, II, 191.

regard Helmer and Nora as the modern Cupid and Psyche. Helmer is the monster, in that his really upright and honorable character is warped and hidden by the ugly veneer of an attitude all too frequent, and outlined thus by Macfall: "Nora must be his toy, his utter slave; pander to all his whims; live only for him; think only what he thinks; believe only what he believes." Nora, the impersonation of Psyche, lives patiently and uncomplainingly in subjection to this idea, until the disclosure of her forgery arouses discord. As the flash of lightning showed to Urvaśi Purūravas, bare of his royal robes, in the Brāhmana version, so the attitude of Helmer toward his wife's blind attempt to aid him discloses him to her unmistakably. Nora realizes at once that separation is necessary and inevitable, and prepares for her departure unmoved by the anger of Helmer. Here Ibsen pauses, and the critics ask impatiently, "Does Nora return?" It may be that the answer is given by the Cupid and Psyche myth. After the tests are successfully passed, and the tasks accomplished, the hero and heroine grow to be finally worthy of each other, and are at last reunited.

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GOETHE'S QUOTATION FROM HUTTEN IN *DICHTUNG UND WAHRHEIT*. I.

The extract from Ulrich von Hutten's famous letter to Pirkheimer which Goethe inserted toward the end of the seventeenth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* deserves more attention than has hitherto been accorded it. The extract should be read in its entirety to get the full impression of its tone, but, as it would take too much space to print the whole of it, only enough will be cited here to indicate the character of the part to be discussed.

"... es besitzt mich ein heftiger Durst nach dem Ruhm, dass ich so viel als möglich geadelt zu sein wünsche. Es würde schlecht mit mir stehen, teurer Billibald, wenn ich mich schon jetzt für einen Edelmann hielte, ob ich gleich in diesem Rang, dieser Familie, von solchen Eltern geboren worden, wenn ich mich nicht durch

eigenes Bestreben geadelt hätte. Ein so grosses Werk hab' ich im Sinn! ich denke höher! nicht etwa dass ich mich in einen vornehmeren, glänzenden Stand versetzt sehen möchte, sondern anderwärts möcht' ich eine Quelle suchen, aus der ich einen besondern Adel schöpfte und nicht unter die wahnhaften Edelleute gezählt würde, zufrieden mit dem, was ich von meinen Voreltern empfangen. . . . Daher ich denn mit meinen Studien und Bemühungen mich dahin wende und bestrebe, entgegengesetzt in Meinung denenjenigen, die alles das, was ist, für genug achten; denn mir ist nichts dergleichen genug . . . und hier bin ich mit den Männern meines Standes keineswegs übereinkommend, welche Personen eines niedrigen Ursprungs, die sich durch Tüchtigkeit hervorgetan haben, zu schimpfen pflegen, . . . Denn was, bei Gott! heisst es, den beneiden, der das besitzt, was wir vernachlässigten? . . . Ganz rechtmässig hat das Erbteil des Adels, das wir verschmähten, ein jeder Gewandter, Fleissiger, in Besitz nehmen und durch Tätigkeit benutzen können. . . . Mag doch jedem Stand seine eigene Ehre bleiben, ihm eine eigene Zierde gewährt sein! Jene Ahnenbilder will ich nicht verachten, so wenig als die wohl ausgestatteten Stammbäume; aber was auch deren Wert sei, ist nicht unser eigen, wenn wir es nicht durch Verdienste erst eigen machen. . . . Vergebens wird ein fetter und beleibter jener Hausväter die Standbilder seiner Vorfahren dir aufzeigen, indess er selbst untätig eher einem Klotz ähnlich, als dass er jenen, die ihm mit Tüchtigkeit voranleuchten, zu vergleichen wäre."¹

Before offering any suggestions as to the significance of this letter to Goethe, and its possible reflection in his writings, the field must first be cleared of certain errors that have found acceptance with the commentators on *D. u. W.* For example, it is the accepted opinion that Goethe did not make his own translation from the Latin original, though his failure to name the translator of the passage might lead us to believe he did. It is asserted that he used Wagner's translation, but changed the phraseology rather freely. He is even said to have used a copy of Wagner which he borrowed from the Weimar Library. However, he is neither praised nor blamed for the appropriation.

The following notes concern us here:

Loeper, in the Hempel edition of Goethe, xxiii, 169, says: "Im Anschlusse an seine Beschäfti-

¹ *Werke* (Weimar ed.), xxix, 74 ff.

gung mit der bezeichneten Periode teilt der Verfasser hier einen Auszug aus dem ursprünglich lateinisch abgefassten und gedruckten Briefe Hutten an seinen Nürnberger Freund Pirkheimer vom 25. October 1518 nach einer i. J. 1801 erschienenen Übersetzung mit." In his note on the revision of the text (p. 122), speaking of the spelling of the name Pirkheimer, he says that Wagner spells it Pirkheimer "in *Ulrichs von Hutten Fünf Reden gegen Herzog Ulrich von Württemberg nebst seinem Briefe an Pirkheimer* 1801, welche Übersetzung Goethe 'anmutig benützt hat.'"

Düntzer's *Erläuterungen* (p. 281) has this statement: "Goethe benutzte neben der Urschrift die von der Bibliothek geliehene Übersetzung Wagners." His note in the DNL. edition of *D. u. W.* (xx, 73) runs: "Auf der Weimarschen Bibliothek fand er Wagners 1801 erschienene Übersetzung von *Hutten Fünf Reden*, denen der Brief an Pirkheimer beigegeben war."

In the Weimar edition of *D. u. W.* (xxix, 223) Baechtold puts it: "Goethe hat im folgenden die deutsche Übersetzung von G. A. Wagner (1801) benutzt, dieselbe jedoch frei umgeschrieben."

R. M. Meyer's note in the Jubilee edition (xxv, 294) reads: "Der hier im Auszug mitgeteilte Brief stammt vom 25. Okt. 1518; Goethe benutzte Wagners 1801 erschienene Übersetzung des lateinischen Originals."

In the edition of the Bibliographic Institute (xiii, 441) Heinemann says: "Am 10. Aug. 1824 u. 22. Dez. 1830 hat Goethe Hutten's Brief aus der Weimarschen Bibliothek entliehen. Er hat die deutsche Übersetzung von Wagner (1801) frei benutzt."

Now all of these assertions with regard to Goethe's use of Wagner's translation are absolutely without foundation. The erroneous opinion that he used Wagner started with Loeper, and is fully accounted for by the latter's misunderstanding of the passage in Böcking, *Ulrichs von Hutten Schriften* (1859, I, 33*), to which he refers as the authority for his statement. His reference is to that portion of Böcking in which is given a bibliography of the letter to Pirkheimer. Böcking numbers the various titles and gives as No. 6 Münch's edition of Hutten. Number 6a is Wag-

ner's translation. Number 6b reads: "Die Stelle § 73. *med.* bis § 82. a. A. hat Goethe in 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' 17. Buch a. E. anmutig benützt." One's first impression on reading 6b is that Böcking here refers to sections in Wagner. If Loeper had sought to verify the reference he would have found that Wagner's translation is not divided into numbered sections, and that would have led him to question his first impression. Further investigation would have made it clear to him that Böcking means his own critical text (further over in the book), which is divided into numbered sections for convenient reference. Böcking merely says, then: The passage from the middle of § 73 to and including the beginning of § 82, according to the numbering of my text, "hat Goethe . . . anmutig benützt." No implication that Goethe used Wagner's translation. If Böcking had been more consistent and had called his reference to Münch No. 6, that to Wagner No. 7, and that to Goethe No. 8, there would have been no excuse for Loeper's quoting "hat anmutig benützt," as referring to Wagner.

All the other commentators have very naturally looked upon Loeper's statement, seemingly supported by the authority of Böcking, as correct, and thus his error has come to be generally accepted as the truth. Düntzer, not to be outdone by a predecessor, added the other detail, that Goethe used a copy of Wagner which he borrowed from the Weimar Library. That clinched the error; for who would question such a statement? When Baechtold wrote his notes he had before him not only Loeper and Düntzer, but also a copy of Wagner, for he points out a few verbal differences between Goethe and Wagner. He evidently did not question the tradition, though he felt called upon to add: "dieselbe jedoch frei umgeschrieben." Meyer's note gives as much of the tradition as he considered necessary. Heinemann gives evidence of having read Carl Alt's *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Goethes D. u. W.* (1898), where he may have found the dates which he includes in his notes, though he may have secured them from some other quarter.

It was really Alt's duty, considering the nature of his investigations, to verify or contradict Düntzer's assertion that Goethe borrowed Wagner from the Weimar Library, just as it was his duty to

prove or disprove the earlier statement of Loeper that Goethe used Wagner's translation. His failure to make any mention at all of Wagner should have been taken by Heinemann as an indication that Goethe might not have used Wagner.

Let us now investigate the evidence as to whether or not Goethe borrowed Wagner from the Weimar Library.

It is not an arduous task to find out what books he had out of the Library on any particular date. He was given a number of consecutive pages in each new loan book, and the first entries in each were those carried over of all the books and other articles he had not yet returned from former years.

In his diary, under the date of Aug. 10, 1824, we read: "Verschiedene neue Bücher von der Bibliothek." In the Library's loan book for 1824 the only work of Hutten's charged to Goethe is, on the 10th of August: *Equitis Ulrichi de Hutten ad Pirkheimer Epist.* ("Ist für Se. Excellenz geholt worden"). The diary goes on to say that that day and the following day Goethe read Hutten's epistle to Pirkheimer. Feb. 25, 1825, his diary again indicates his study of Hutten. March 24th he returned the book to the Library.

In Dec., 1830, we find the following entries in the *Tagebücher*: 21st.—"Mundum des 4. Bandes *Aus meinem Leben*." (The seventeenth book is in the fourth volume.) 22d.—"Las die Epistel Ulrichs von Hutten bis zur Hälfte." 23.—"Gedachte Epistel durchgelesen." 24th.—"Uebersetzung aus Huttens Epistel an Pirkheimer." 25th.—"Supplirte das gestern Zurückgelassene in Huttens Brief an Pirkheimer."

So he made the translation for *D. u. W.* on the 24th and 25th, and Baechtold's assertion that the end of book seventeen was written in the summer of 1824 (*l. c.*, p. 195) needs revision, as Alt also surmises (p. 74).²

Now the only edition of Hutten's works charged to Goethe at the Library in 1830 is the following, on the 22d of December (the day on which he began to prepare himself for the translation): *v. Huttens Briefe, Latein, 2 Bde.* An examination of the works of Hutten in the Library at that time revealed the fact that "Latein" can be inter-

preted only as meaning Burekhard's edition of 1717, which is the same that Goethe had borrowed and read in 1824 and 1825.³ I have no explanation to offer for Düntzer's erroneous assertion. Goethe returned the books to the Library June 21, 1831.

The loan books of the University of Jena Library have no record of Goethe's having borrowed Wagner there, and Dr. Schüddekopf, who is publishing a catalogue of the books in Goethe's library, assures me that the library contained no copy of Wagner at the time of the poet's death. I find no reference to Wagner in the *Briefe* thus far published or in press, and none in Biedermann's *Gespräche*. Unfortunately we have still to look forward to an index to the *Tagebücher*. There is, therefore, no external evidence that Goethe ever saw a copy of Wagner, unless it be found in some out-of-the-way place in the *Tagebücher* or in some of the unpublished volumes of the *Briefe*. That these will furnish no such evidence seems practically certain from the internal evidence that Goethe did not use Wagner's translation.

The extracts of Wagner's rendering corresponding to those above quoted from *D. u. W.* read: "Dann habe ich einen brennenden Durst nach Ruhm, ich möchte so edel werden als möglich. Nicht ehrlich will ich sein, wenn ich mich für einen edlen Mann halte, weil ich ein Edelmann aus dieser Familie, von diesen Eltern geboren bin, und nicht durch mich es geworden bin. O ich habe etwas weit grösseres vor. Ich denke weiter hinauf; nicht in eine angesehnere Familie zu kommen, sondern anders wo den Quell des Adels aufzusuchen, aus dem ich zur Gnüge schöpfen kann, damit ich nicht blos zu dem eingebildeten Adel gehöre, oder mir mit dem gnügen lasse, was mir meine Ahnen hinterlassen haben. . . . Und darauf wende ich allen Fleiss, alle Mühe, und bin freilich darin verschiedner Meinung von andern, die mit dem vorlieb nehmen, was sie finden. Ich kann das durchaus nicht. . . . Ich denke hierüber nicht wie die meisten meines Standes, die jeden von niedrer Herkunft, der sich durch Verdienste gehoben hat, verachten. . . . Wie töricht ist es aber einen um das zu beneiden, was man selbst vernachlässigte! . . . Es geschieht uns ganz

² An entry in Goethe's diary on Sept. 16, 1831, may mean that on that date he discussed his translation with Riemer.

³ This edition is recommended in the *Merkur*, p. 17.

recht, dass, was wir eigentlich nicht verscherzen sollten, jeder Unverdrossne ergreift und für sich verwendet. . . . Zwar auch eine Geburt aus edlem Stamme hat ihr Rühmliches und Ehrenvolles, und man darf die Ahnen nicht so ganz verachten, diese Stammtafeln ohne weitere eigne Verdienste : nur unser eigen ist das nicht, was wir von dieser erhalten, wenn wir es uns nicht durch eignes Verdienst erwerben. . . . Umsonst zeigt uns ein feister, gemästeter Hausvater die Standbilder seiner Vorfahren, wenn er indessen träge die Hände in den Schoos legt, und eher mit einem Klotz, als mit seinen rühmlichen Vorgängern zu vergleichen wäre." 4

A comparison of this version with Goethe's reveals difference rather than similarity wherever there is a possibility for a difference, and if Loeper had not misconstrued Böcking nobody would ever have thought of suggesting that Goethe used Wagner. Let us take three short passages which show clearly that Goethe made his own translation from the Latin.

(1) Burckhard : "me tenet non minima gloriae sitis."

Wagner : "Dann habe ich einen brennenden Durst nach Ruhm."

Goethe : "es besitzt mich ein heftiger Durst nach dem Ruhm."

Düntzer remarks that "es besitzt mich ein Durst" is not German, and his view will hardly be disputed.

(2) Burckhard : "At quae per Christum invidia est, haec habere aliquem, nos quae negleximus?"

Wagner : "Wie töricht ist es aber einen um das zu beneiden, was man selbst vernachlässigte!"

Goethe : "Denn was, bei Gott ! heisst es, den beneiden, der das besitzt, was wir vernachlässigten?"

(3) Burckhard : "Quare frustra pinguem aliquem et crassum ex illis patremfamilias, Maiorum tibi suorum statuas ostentantem, videas, quum ipse desideat interim ; magis trunco similis, quam, ut cum illorum, qui praeluxerunt virtute, confendus veniat."

Wagner : "Umsonst zeigt uns ein feister gemästeter Hausvater die Standbilder seiner Vor-

fahren, wenn er indessen träge die Hände in den Schoos legt, und eher mit einem Klotz, als mit seinen rühmlichen Vorgängern zu vergleichen wäre."

Goethe : "Vergebens wird ein fetter und beleibter jener Hausväter die Standbilder seiner Vorfahren dir aufzeigen, indess er selbst untätig eher einem Klotz ähnlich, als dass er jenen, die ihm mit Tüchtigkeit voranleuchteten, zu vergleichen wäre."

If Goethe consulted Wagner at all it was to avoid his rendering, even where it was better German than his own.

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OLD SPANISH LANGUAGE.

R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Cantar de Mio Cid : Texto, Gramática y Vocabulario*. Madrid : Bailly-Baillière é Hijos, 1908. I. 8°, ix + 420 pp.

After a delay of more than a decade, during which it has been recast again and again to accord with the results of the researches made by this or that scholar, Señor Menéndez Pidal's critical and grammatical study of the Old Spanish *Cantar de Mio Cid*, familiarly known as the *Poema del Cid*, has now appeared. With good reason did it receive in 1895 the prize of the Real Academia Española, of which its author has since become one of the most brilliant members. In its revised form the book deserves a hearty welcome. For such sanity and thoroughness of scholarship as it exhibits no praise can be excessive. Hardly any important detail seems to have escaped the notice of the indefatigable Professor of the University of Madrid, who, with this new work, adds one more to the list of his justly landed publications, among which there stand forth his study of the Legend of the Infantes of Lara, his Old Spanish Grammar, and his editions of the text of the *Cid* and of the first *General Chronicle*.

Naturally, Menéndez Pidal's own edition of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, as the preliminary to the present volume, furnishes the basis for all his

⁴Wagner, *Ulrichs von Hutten fünf Reden*, etc., 432 ff.

investigations, in the course of which he takes cognizance of the various corrections and modifications introduced by contemporaneous and later hands into the script of Per Abbat. More than this, he seeks to go back of Per Abbat's fourteenth century forms and in certain cases arrive at a knowledge of the twelfth century forms used by the poet. Thus it is that he boldly rejects the diphthong *ue*, which appears strangely in *ó* assonances, and proposes to substitute therefor an earlier stage of *uó*, as something which was closer to the original Latin accented *ō* (*förtem* > *fuorte* > *fuerte*) and was still current in the twelfth century, and thus also he admits for the language of the poet an intervocalic spirant *d* (*ð*, with a value like that of the Old French intervocalic spirant *d* and harking back to Latin intervocalic *d*) which he finds generally ignored in Per Abbat's fourteenth century notation.

The Vocabulary announced by the title is to appear later and will doubtless be etymological in its nature. The study before us is in two parts, of which the first, covering 136 pages, is devoted to a criticism of the text, while the second, extending over 284 pages, discusses minutely matters of phonology, morphology and syntax.

The First Part opens with an account of the fortunes of the unique manuscript of the *Cantar*, as traceable since Ulibarri had it in hand and copied it in the sixteenth century, and then proceeds to discuss its date, its present aspect and its probable affiliations. No new fact of striking importance is brought forward here, but some interesting views are expressed. The manuscript is certainly of the fourteenth century and in the sixteenth it suffered greatly from the reagents that were applied to it. The date in the explicit of Per Abbat, already made clear in Menéndez Pidal's edition of the poem, is to be interpreted as 1307, and the manuscript thus dated "derives, through an uninterrupted series of copies, from the original written about the year 1140" (page 33). But this series Menéndez Pidal deems a brief one: the retention by Per Abbat of many archaisms of language inclines him to believe that only two copies intervened between the original and the extant fourteenth century document. On this supposition, the archæological value of this

latter is very great and to his mind is all the greater because in none of the copies "was there manifested the slightest attempt at a poetical recasting" (page 33) of the work. Perhaps this is going too far, but at any rate Menéndez Pidal is consistent in his attitude. He does not anywhere admit any theory of a recasting, and hence his reactionary views as to the versification of the poem. Quite contrary to his belief is the idea not yet wholly invalidated by him, that a redactor did try his hand on the poem, and with disastrous effect, seeking to convert its original heroic verses of octosyllabic hemistichs (8 + 8) into the alexandrines current in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, succeeding upon occasion, but again failing to disturb the primitive form or mangling it and leaving only metrical debris behind him. Cornu's theory of oral transmission is disproved, at least for Per Abbat's copy, as Menéndez Pidal rightly points out, by the existence in it of errata which cannot be due to poor hearing on the part of the scribe but resulted rather from a wrong interpretation by him of contractions in a manuscript which he had before him; thus it is that he rendered *atieza* by *atinez* instead of *Atienza* and *Deia* by *Deyna* instead of *Denia*. It is further disproved by the lacunæ and dislocations in the text and by poor rhymes, all explicable only on the basis of intervening written copies. On the whole this is good doctrine.

For fixing the date of the composition of the poem at about 1140, Menéndez Pidal thinks that we possess sufficient evidence in the reference which it makes to the "good Emperor," in the allusions contained in the *Poema de Almería*, and in the general linguistic conditions of the *Cantar* itself. He is probably correct in asserting that already in 1140 it could have had the prayer of Jimena with its mention of the names of the Magi, for Hartmann's contention, apropos of the *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, that these names were not generally diffused in the west until near the end of the twelfth century can hardly be maintained. On grounds furnished by the names it is not necessary, then, to regard the prayer as an interpolation.

The larger proportion of the pages in the First Part is given up to a consideration of matters of much importance in connection with the emenda-

tory processes applicable to the text. The home of the poet, his ideas of metre and assonance, and the relation of the poem to the chronicles which tell the story of the Cid are subjects discussed here very fully and clearly, and even though, in so far as the metre and features of the assonance are concerned, Menéndez Pidal's arguments will hardly carry conviction to all, the thoroughness and the lucidity of his method must be admired. Certain of the matters treated in this part of the book had already been considered by A. Coester in his dissertation *Compression in the Poema del Cid* (*Revue Hispanique*, vol. xv), but this was not accessible to Menéndez Pidal when he was preparing his pages for the press. In some particulars, as, for example, in limiting the possibilities of assonance as practised by the poet, they agree; with regard to a subject of undeniable importance they appear to differ, for while Coester considers the extant *Cantar* as representing a compression of earlier poetic material, Menéndez Pidal seems to be committed to the opinion that that *Cantar* is substantially the original epic on the Cid. However, in the forthcoming volume of his work, the latter will take up the theory put forth by Coester.

It is by means of a geographical study made possible by the various itineraries described in the poem that Menéndez Pidal endeavors to fix the precise region to which the poet belonged and to eliminate all theories as to Asturian or other dialect origin. Beer's opinion that the author of the extant form of the poem wrote in the monastery of San Pedro de Cardena obtains no credence from him, for he finds that the author, or *juglar*, has relatively little direct acquaintance with that monastery or its history during the time of the Cid. On the contrary, the author, or *juglar*, is acquainted at first hand only with the region along the Duero, between San Esteban and Navapalos, and "no prueba conocer al pormenor sino la media jornada de camino que hay de Medina a Luzón" (p. 68). Moreover, San Esteban and Medinaceli are the centre of the chief action of the poem. This matter of localization had already been worked out in part by Fitzmaurice-Kelly in his *History of Spanish Literature*, but Menéndez Pidal's fuller statement of the situation may be quoted here:

"We see clearly," he says (pp. 71-2), "that the *juglar* divides his affections and his recollec-

tions between Medinaceli and San Esteban de Gormaz, two districts rather close together, and the only ones which he describes to us with topographical detail. *The local tradition of San Esteban gave him the fundamental episode of the Cantar.* The chief theme of which the *juglar* was thinking constantly while writing his work was, as Wolf observed, the marriage of the daughters of the Cid (v. 282, 825, 1373-77, 1385-92, 1650, 1768, 1879, 2275, 2496), the affront put upon them and the vengeance therefor (3715-22); all interest is concentrated on the event which takes place in the oak-grove of Corpes, near San Esteban, an event of merely local fame, without real significance in the life of the Cid. . . . On the other hand, the great deeds of the Campeador appear to be forgotten or elicit from the poet only a very secondary attention. Of the chief feat of arms of the Cid, the conquest of Valencia, the *juglar* gives proof of but little knowledge; he even thinks that the taking of Murviedro preceded that of Valencia. . . . Then, too, upon the narrative of the taking and abandoning of two towns such as Castejón and Alcocer, which, because of their insignificance, do not figure at all in the history of the Cid, there are expended 450 verses, simply because these two points are found within the district known to the poet, being situated on the one side and the other of Medinaceli. Thus, the *Cantar de Mio Cid* has a markedly local character. . . . Medina figures in the Geste of the Cid solely because of the poet's particular affection for it; San Esteban does so of its own right. This allows us to suppose that the *juglar* was of the region of Medina, perhaps of the so renowned Valle de Arbujuelo. . . . Be this as it may, the *Cantar* was written in the present province of Soria, in the extreme south-east of what is now called Castile."

As this territory was under Aragonese domination for part of the twelfth century, the question may suggest itself, as to whether the language of the poem shows any Aragonisms. Menéndez Pidal finds no certain indications of any, being reluctant to interpret as Aragonese the sporadic forms *rreyal*, *empleye*, *firgades*, etc. As to *rreyal* we may say that it probably shows the influence of *rey*; *regalem* should have given *regal*, but instead there was produced through analogy *reyal*, whence, with the usual absorption of medial *y* after *e* (cf. *-idiare* > *-ear*, *sedeam* > *sea*, etc.) *real*. As a conclusion to his investigation respecting the home of the poem, Menéndez Pidal makes a statement of pronounced interest to all who would restore the work to a supposedly primitive form. His words are "the study of the localization of the *Cantar* . . .

can give us very little margin, or none at all, for deductions based only on the dialect of the primitive poet, and we believe that we should reject all such systems as that employed by J. Cornu in his *Verbesserungsvorschläge zum Poema del Cid*" (p. 76). To this we give a partial assent, but it is meet to remark that a restoration of the text in accordance with the theory of an original metre consisting of double *romance* verses is not dependent upon matters of dialect.

But this very theory Menéndez Pidal, after having accepted it for several years, now rejects, displaying the reactionary tendency to which we alluded further back, and argues that in its first form the poem was unmetrical, despite the fact that it still shows a large number of true *romance* verses in its half-lines and has an even larger number of good alexandrines. He admits that the *romance* hemistich is the form of versification in the *Rodrigo*, in the rhymed portions of the *Crónica particular del Cid*, in the fragments of the poem on the Infantes de Lara, and in the early historical ballads, and that it is rational to suppose it to have been the form adopted by the poet of the *Poema del Cid*. Yet Menéndez Pidal discards a theory resting on grounds of antecedent probability as strong as these, largely because he does not think that scribes, in making the successive copies resulting in the unique manuscript preserved to us, could have garbled the document into its present condition showing hemistichs of 5, 6 and 9 syllables as well as those of 7 and 8. If Menéndez Pidal is right, he must admit that the poet was a most uncouth workman, and, in truth, he does seem inclined to regard him as a mere minstrel, a *juglar*, with little knowledge of the leading historical facts of the Cid's active life and interested mainly in the perpetuation of a certain local legend appertaining to the Cid's daughters. Much may be said for this point of view, yet we find it difficult to conceive of a twelfth century minstrel able to construct a poem revealing so many elements of conscious artistry as the *Poema del Cid* displays, who was still in so elemental a state of mind with regard to metrics. It is to be remembered, too, that the *Poema del Cid* is hardly the first in the series of Old Spanish epic poems once existing. There is little *à priori* reason for supposing it poetically primitive, even though we

put it in a class entirely apart from the clerkly *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, which is almost contemporaneous with it and exhibits a highly developed metrical structure. At least for the present we prefer to abide by the belief that the deplorable state of the poem with respect to its metrics is to be charged to the account of a redactor who deliberately sought to replace the original octosyllabic hemistichs by half-alexandrines and met with but indifferent success. After all, Menéndez Pidal would seem to be in a state of scientific uncertainty as to this whole subject: this, at any rate, we feel prompted to infer from the following remark:

"What is certain," he says (p. 101), "is that there is still an abyss between the metre of the *Cantar de Mio Cid* and that of the *romances*. Aside from the metrical inequality of the *Cantar*, the fundamental verse is of 7 + 7 syllables, now with a syllable lacking (naturally in the first hemistich: 6 + 7) and now with one in excess (naturally in the second hemistich: 7 + 8). A simple tendency toward normalization could have given as a result a single verse of 7 + 7. It remains, then, to explain why in the *Rodrigo* and the *Cantar de los Infantes de Lara*, the octosyllabic principle is already predominant, and in the *romances* becomes regular. Perhaps it was always the basis of the popular poetry, and only at a given period, which was that of the *Cid*, under the influence of the two French epic metres, 5 + 7 and 7 + 7, did there come and impose itself the heptasyllabic basis, which was abandoned as soon as that French influence weakened."

As a logical result of his arguments, he must conclude that "in consequence of the metrical irregularity of the *Cantar de Mio Cid* . . . the metre is of little utility in the way of suggesting textual corrections." We frankly confess that we are still of a different opinion; we do not follow Cornu in all his methods of reconstruction of the poem, but we still consider the octosyllabic hemistich as a plausible basis of emendatory suggestion. The assonance Menéndez Pidal deems quite useful in this connection; for in the rhymes he discovered (page 103) "certain fixed principles to which the poet adhered"; and the reason for this difference is, he assumes, that "in the development of the Castilian epic verse assonance was regularized much earlier than metre; assonance was from the beginning the essential artistic

element, while metre imposed itself only slowly and unconsciously." This is a view which hardly accords with the history of metre and rhyme as developed through the Middle Ages, both in Latin—and let us remember what hymnology shows us here—and in the vernacular, and it is not to be admitted too readily for Spanish, in which we have preserved in complete poetic shape so slight a proportion of the early epic.

The details of Menéndez Pidal's exhaustive examination of the metrical and assonantal status of the poem we cannot stay to discuss here. We agree with most of the principles which he deduces, and, in particular, we think that he is right in banishing from oxytonic *á, ó, í* assonances all concomitances except those in unaccented *e* and *i*. Like Coester, he dismisses as unlikely a number of other concomitances which were admitted by Restori, Milá, Lidforss and Dozy. A notable outcome of the whole investigation of the versification of the poem is that (page 123) "it does not contradict the absolute unity of composition which in its three parts [the Exile of the Cid, the Wedding of his Daughters, and the Outrage in the Oak-Grove of Corpes] there is revealed in the subject matter, in the personages and in the geography."

(To be continued.)

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LESSINGIANA.

MEHRING, *Die Lessing-Legende*. 2. Aufl. Stuttgart, 1906. xxxii + 426 pp.

OTTO ERNST, *Lessing*. Berlin and Leipzig, no date (*Die Dichtung*, xxxv). 79 pp.

These two books, apparently so different at first sight, are really members of the same great family. Each has a thesis to prove and each takes one small part of Lessing and develops that into a book to prove it. It makes no difference with this kind of book whether the author be friendly to the great man whom he needs for laboratory

purposes or not. In the present instances it happens that both are ardent admirers of Lessing.

Mehring's book is frankly tendentious and iconoclastic. It is socialistic in tone and in its negativ criticism attempts to destroy the "bourgeoise" legend which has, according to Mehring, grown up around Lessing. He is not the ardent filosemite, not a seeker after Prussian favors, and has no part in the universal adulation of the house of Hohenzollern. He is rather at the opposite pole, is pure Saxon (not Slav!) in education, feeling and interest; he owes nothing to Berlin, to the French circle at the court of Frederick the Great and above all, nothing to the inspiration of a national feeling aroused by Hohenzollern prowess in the Seven Years' War. In attempting to break up this notion, Mehring also finds it necessary to combat the idea that the house of Hohenzollern and Prussia have any permanent value in German history. He also attempts to dissipate the halo that surrounds Frederick the Great, whose so-called liberal pronunciamientos on the freedom of the press, etc., Mehring regards as mere diplomatic tricks or shams of one sort or another; in reality, Frederick far from being a liberal co-worker with Lessing in the progress of the nation upward, was a narrow, eighteenth century despot, the vassal in turn of France, Russia and England. The so-called age of Frederick owes nothing to him, even in the way of spur or example.

Whatever truth or novelty there may be in the book, it contains many interesting suggestions and proves many of its individual points as far as the layman is concerned. The author, who for a number of years was connected with *Die Neue Zeit*, knows how to present his case vividly, even drastically, and even the continued vituperation of Scherer and his school (Erich Schmidt, Sauer) does not make the work less interesting or less worth reading. There is, moreover, one fruitful idea at the basis of all the polemics and that is the relation of social and economic conditions to literary output. But here lies also the weakness of the book, for the author sees all history only from the socialistic standpoint and will not grant any other point of view a right to existence. This one-sidedness blinds him to the esthetic side of literature; the *prodesse*

has supplanted the *delectare* and moreover the relations of the subjectivity of the author to his creative work, the delight in creation and the relief after the pains are over are left entirely out of the discussion. Finally, the attempt to see in Lessing only the forerunner of modern Socialism is narrow and unscientific. It would be quite as senseless to deny him all breadth of vision and all democracy of heart.

The very external form of Otto Ernst's book is symbolic of its contents. Its fine leather binding, its delicate end-papers, its clear type and its acceptable if not novel illustrations, make a direct esthetic appeal. But the picture that is drawn is one that Lessing himself would never recognize and the tone of the book is not the Lessing tone. Ernst starts from the idea that Lessing is a poet and not a retorician and illustrates by examples of the effect of Lessing's three great dramas upon himself. In the case of *Minna* he uses the old device of regarding *Minna* as a real person with whom he is in love and who gives him the mitten. This highly subjectiv treatment, with its direct appeal to the emotions and its occasional dithyrambs is quite as one-sided as *Mehring's* work and its polemics against pessimism and naturalism, if polite, are none the less vehement. The weakness of Ernst's treatment lies in the fact that while he predicates the subjectiv cause as primal and the objectiv effect as secondary and incidental, he fails to develop this for Lessing. But Ernst sees and feels as a poet and a certain exuberant naiveté carries the work along. His book is a good bit of evidence of the abiding power of Lessing as a dramatist.

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SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES.

A History of Scandinavian Studies in American Universities. With a Bibliography. By GEORGE T. FLOM, Ph. D., Iowa City, Iowa, 1907. 66 pp. (*Iowa Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 2.)

Professor Flom has here set forth the results of a patient investigation of the past and present

condition of the study of the Scandinavian languages and literatures in American colleges and universities. This was a task well worth undertaking for several reasons. The information gathered in these few score pages has frequently been sought for in vain by students and others interested in the field of Northern *belles-lettres*. Even with an extensive collection of college catalogues and programmes at hand the data to be gleaned has hitherto been but meagre, and it has seldom been satisfactory on such points as the character and extent of the instruction given, the texts most commonly used in introductory courses, and the authors studied in advanced or intensive work. Professor Flom's paper gives us the needed information on all these matters, and on others equally interesting.

It is just a half century since a course in one of the Northern languages was first announced in an American college catalogue, viz., in that of New York University in 1858. But as the arrangement was only temporary and little or nothing resulted from it, a passing reference to it will suffice. The real beginning of the study of the Scandinavian languages in this country seems to date from their simultaneous introduction into the curricula of the University of Wisconsin and Cornell University in 1869. Professor R. B. Anderson was the pioneer instructor at Wisconsin and Professor Willard Fiske at Cornell. Columbia University followed in 1880-81, Professor C. Sprague Smith giving a course in Danish that year. At Harvard the first encouragement of the study of Old Norse came from Professor Francis J. Child, who was also thoroughly at home in the modern Danish and Swedish. But the first formal course in Icelandic was given in 1888 by Professor Eugene H. Babbitt to a class of ten students. Norwegian was introduced in 1899.

At the present time about one hundred courses are being offered in twenty-nine of our higher institutions of learning. Of the latter, ten are in the East, sixteen in the Central States, and three on the Pacific Coast. In the South no institution has permanently introduced the subject, and it has actually been taught in only one.

The literary side of Old Norse has been emphasized at Harvard, Yale, and Wisconsin, and

in the advanced courses at Columbia and Iowa Universities. At Bryn Mawr, Chicago, Cornell, University of Pennsylvania, and Western Reserve the philological aspect has received most attention. Of the modern languages, Norwegian is most generally studied, and the writings of Björnson and Ibsen are the texts most frequently read. Wisconsin is the only institution which offers instruction in the *Landemaal* and its literature. The Swedish language and literature is taught in only about one-half of the twenty-nine institutions. Danish literature is naturally studied in connection with the Norwegian. The general relation of the latter to the Danish is much like that which American literature bears to English down to the time of the Revolution, except that some of the greatest names in Danish literature of the eighteenth century are those of writers of Norwegian birth. From the mediæval period until 1814 their literature is a common one, since the language of the educated and official classes in Norway was wholly Danish. Modern Norwegian literature proper begins with the political separation of Norway from Denmark in 1814. The two literatures are therefore necessarily studied together if a survey of the early period is included in the course.

In summing up the present needs of students, Professor Flom rightly considers the following as the most important: (1) Suitable English grammars of both the Old Norse and the modern languages, and (2) annotated texts of the chief works or most representative writings of the classic authors in the Northern literatures. Our equipment in these respects is indeed slight and inadequate. It will not do to say that our wants are already supplied to an extent sufficient for the demand, and, if more is required, there are German text-books in plenty. It is entirely conceivable that a serious, earnest student may not know German, and yet wish to learn to read the sagas in their original Icelandic and the dramas of Holberg and Ibsen in their native Danish and Norwegian dress.

Of the books at present accessible, Groth's and Sargent's grammars of the modern Dano-Norwegian are by no means the definitive works for American use: Olson's *Norwegian Grammar and Reader* and Carlson's *Swedish Grammar and*

Reader are admittedly intended only for the work of a first year course. For Icelandic, surely something is needed to replace Sweet's *Primer*. A translation of Kahle's *Altisländisches Elementarbuch* would be infinitely better than anything we have now in English. And a few short Icelandic texts edited after the manner of Ranisch's excellent *Eddalieder* in the *Sammlung Götschen* would be of the greatest service to student and teacher alike. Of edited texts of modern authors all that we have as yet are Professor Flom's edition of Björnson's *Synnove Solbakken* (1905) and Professor Olson's edition of Ibsen's *Brand* (1908). The former was the first Norwegian text edited for college use, although the language had been taught in several of our colleges for nearly two decades.

The Bibliography comprises some four hundred and fifty titles arranged chronologically, the first one being an article on Tegner's *Frithiof Saga*, by H. W. Longfellow, in the *North American Review* for July, 1837. They include individual books on Scandinavian literature, language, history, etc., articles in general and literary periodicals, contributions and reviews in the leading philological journals, similar articles in Norwegian and Swedish journals published in this country, doctor's dissertations, and translations of the works of Scandinavian writers.

The following additions might perhaps be included in a future reprinting:

1828. *Scandinavian Literature*. (In *The American Quarterly Review*, Phila., 1828, v. 3, pp. 481-490). This was an appreciative review of Rask's editions of the Eddas.

1841. Baird, Robert. *Literature and education in the Scandinavian countries*. (In *The American Quarterly Register*, Boston, 1841, v. 14, pp. 59-67, 119-128.)

1845. Holberg, L. *Niels Klim's Journey under ground*; translated by John Gierlow, with a sketch of the author's life. Boston, 1845, xix, 190 pp.

1846. Oehlenschläger, A. *Corregio*: a tragedy, etc. . . . Translated from the German [by Mrs. Eliza B. Lee]. Boston, 1846, xxxix, 303 pp.

1847. Gierlow, J. *Elements of the Danish and Swedish languages*. Cambridge, [Mass.] 1847, iv, 70, 50 pp.

These American editions might also be noted:

1850. Hertz, H. *King René's daughter*: a Danish lyrical drama. Translated by Theodore Martin. Boston, 1850, 4, 47 pp.

1868. Bremer, F. *Homes of the New World*. New York, 1868, 2 v.

It is hoped that a way may be found for reprinting a revised edition of this useful study, for its typographical errors are distressingly numerous. Professor Flom has doubtless been the unwilling victim of an unusually ill-equipped printing firm.

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THE DRAMA.

Das Moderne Drama von ROBERT F. ARNOLD, a. o. Professor an der Universität Wien. Straszburg, Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1908. Pp. x and 388.

The twentieth of October of this year (1908) marks the nineteenth anniversary of the birth of the New German Drama. However brief its span of life, many have been the histories and critiques of this, the most important type of literary form. But all of them, almost without exception, are ill-suited to the needs of the serious student of the modern drama: their authors either presuppose too much knowledge of the subject on the part of the reader, or, more usually, give partial, often distorted views of the men or books under discussion, or lastly fail to make even mention of similar movements of thought in other fields of human endeavor or in foreign countries. Therefore the book before us, written in a scientific spirit and given previously as lectures before the Vienna University Extension and then at the University of Vienna, and meeting, doubtless, the needs of those students, is especially welcome at this time.

Professor Arnold did not aim, as the preface informs us, at completeness of names, titles and dates, but rather at true proportion and perspective. Nevertheless, so many of them were introduced, especially because of the very full treatment of the German drama of to-day, that it was deemed advisable (fortunately!) to append in-

dices of persons and dramas. The value of the book would have been further enhanced, however, if a table of contents had been inserted. Owing to this (one is inclined to say inexcusable) omission, it will surely not be inopportune to give a brief analysis of the twelve chapters or lectures of this in other respects carefully planned work.

The first lecture, then, discusses succinctly the history during the nineteenth century of the theater, its competitors, dramatic criticism, and the social and economic position of the actors. The second offers a résumé of the dramatic activity of the Romantic School and Young Germany (1800-1848). In the third lecture the work of the three great dramatists, Hebbel, Ludwig and Richard Wagner, who until recently were underestimated or slighted in dramatic criticism, is adequately treated (1848-70). The low ebb in the German drama which followed upon the close of the Franco-Prussian War and the consequent multitudinous importations of French plays, the three foremost playwrights of this period (1870-85), Wilbrandt, Wildenbruch and Anzengruber, the Schiller and Grillparzer prizes, the "Meininger" and Bayreuth performances—all these the fourth lecture deals with. The fifth speaks of the political, economic, scientific and artistic rise of Germany since 1870, while the sixth, seventh and eighth discuss respectively the drama in France, Spain, Russia, etc., in northern countries (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland), and the Symbolistic or New Romantic Drama outside of Germany (Macterlinck, d'Annunzio, and others).

After this survey of the dramatic situation in foreign countries, the author turns to Germany and Austria, and particularly the three centers, Berlin, Munich and Vienna, the hotbeds of the literary revolution of the eighties. He carefully and impartially estimates what each group of leaders contributed to this all-important movement, especially by dint of their manifestoes and original productions in such magazines as the *Gesellschaft, Zukunft*, etc.

The tenth lecture is devoted to an admirable discussion of the "Freie Bühne" of Berlin, to Hauptmann and Sudermann and their forerunners, Schlaf and Holz. Professor Arnold believes that the author of *Und Pippa tanzt* bears promise of still greater achievements in the future, despite

occasional failures in the past, while Sudermann's power is already well-nigh exhausted. Other dramatists, such as the North Germans Halbe, Hartleben, Hirschfeld, Wedekind, the Austrians Bohr, Schnitzler, Brunner, Schönherr, are tersely characterized in the eleventh lecture, which also analyzes the *milieu* and subject matter of the drama for the past decade or two. The chapter closes with an explanation of "Heimatkunst" as advocated by Bartels and Lienhard, and a brief survey of the more or less successful dialectic drama.

The twelfth lecture, finally, perhaps the most stimulating and helpful of all, may bear the heading "The New Romanticism." The lyrists, Bierbaum, Dehmel, Stefan George, and the historic drama, the themes of which are drawn under the influence of Nietzsche, from the Orient, Hellas, the Renaissance and Reformation, and the French Revolution, are considered as well as the Romantic Drama, introduced by Fulda's "Talisman" and ably represented by the productions of Elsa Bernstein (pseud. Ernst Rosmer), Hofmannsthal and Vollmoeller. Whatever may be the fate of the German drama in the twentieth century, says Professor Arnold, this much we make bold to assert: it is not facing another decline. It must be freed, however, from the trammels of pernicious newspaper criticism and from the desire, on the part of the playwright, for gain and popularity, before the great dramatist of the age can arise. Such a one will take as the measure of his efforts only the ideal hovering before him and its immanent laws.

A word, in conclusion, regarding the thirty pages of bibliography. Although the author did not purpose compiling a complete list of reference books, yet he included all important works, even pamphlets and magazine articles, bearing on each chapter, with occasional comments to indicate their scope or value. Of especial interest is the rather full bibliography of nearly all the leading German theaters. This feature of the book will be appreciated not only by the general student but also the specialist.

Because *Das Moderne Drama* is so well organized, it can be recommended without hesitation to those who are drifting compassless on the sea of the modern drama.

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MEDIEVAL ALLEGORY.

The Four Daughters of God: A Study of the Versions of this Allegory with especial reference to those in Latin, French, and English. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by HOPE TRAVER, 1907. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1907. 165 pp., with bibliography and chart exhibiting the relationship of versions discuss.

This dissertation has first of all the merit of really entering new territory. The favorite plots of medieval narrators have been studied with great diligence by literary genealogists, with the curious omission of one group,—the religious allegories. The fables and the stories employed by Chaucer and Marie de France have been exhaustively mapped and charted; but the great allegorical forms of the age of allegory, except for a few imperfect and fragmentary comparative studies, have hitherto been neglected. Yet these plots were at least as popular with medieval narrators; and they are capable, too, of receiving definition quite as precise and yielding genealogies quite as articulate. The allegory here selected is one of the slightest, forming essentially but a single scene with the content of a single verse of the psalter; and here if anywhere it might seem impossible to determine anything like a system of relationships. But the little scene proves, on the contrary, capable of remarkable expansion and modification—not only making itself at home in diverse literary forms, both of prose and poetry, but also variously modifying its very spirit. Now it appears as a peg on which to hang endless wire-drawn theological argument, now as a feudal romance, now as an elaborate medieval trial, now as a long allegorical epic, at one time a completed drama in itself, at another a framework supplying introduction, links, and conclusion for a dramatic cycle. Relationships are found to be comparatively easy to fix; and only occasionally, when the version is exceedingly abbreviated or especially original, is Miss Traver compelled to confess inability to find at least an approximate source.

In all over fifty different versions are compared, chiefly, as the title indicates, in Latin, French, and English, with a few closely involved versions

in Dutch. They are found distributed over six centuries of extraordinary popularity, from the origin of the allegory in the Jewish *Midrash*, not later than the tenth century, down to its latest literary use by Giles Fletcher in the seventeenth. Landmarks in this history are found in the versions of Hugo of St. Victor and Bernard of Clairvaux in the twelfth century, Robert Grosseteste and Jacob van Maerlant in the thirteenth, and Cardinal Bonaventura of Padua and Guillaume de Deguillville in the fourteenth. Taken by Hugo from its Jewish source and removed in setting from the heavenly council preceding the creation to the council preceding the redemption, the allegory was recast and more completely Christianized by Bernard. Grosseteste, in the *Chasteau d'Amour* removed it from the heavenly to an earthly court and transformed it into a feudal romance. Bonaventura, in the influential *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, went back to Bernard, but supplied a new introduction and fresh arguments. The Dutch versions, beginning with Maerlant's *Merlijn*, fused with the allegory of the four graces the equally ancient allegory of a struggle between good and evil powers for man's soul. This conflict between good and evil was further expanded by Deguillville, after the manner of the *Roman de la Rose*, in his three-fold romance of the soul's history, in which he twice inserted the allegory of the graces, once with an important modification.

Almost all the other versions are found to be grouped around these six. The earliest in English, the *Vices and Virtues* (dated about 1200), is perhaps dependent on Bernard, as is certainly Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* in the fifteenth century. From the *Chasteau d'Amour* are traceable of course its English translation the *Cursor Mundi*, several versions in French romances of the thirteenth century, the *Gesta Romanorum*, and indirectly thru the *Gesta* the French moralities. From the *Meditationes* of Bonaventura come its English translation by Nicholas Love in the *Speculum Vitae Christi* in 1410, the version in the contemporary *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus, which appears in paraphrase in the fifteenth century *Passion of Christ* of Walter Kennedy, and indirectly the English moralities. The Devil motive, first appearing in the thirteenth century *Merlijn* (tho Miss Traver gives reasons to believe

that Maerlant was following an older source now lost) appears again during the next hundred years in Italian, French, and Dutch poems, and receives its most popular form in the *Processus Belial* of Jacopo da Theramo in 1381. Upon Theramo depends the treatment as found in a Provençal mystery cycle. The novel form given the allegory by Deguillville serves as model for the French Passion Play of Mercadé in the early fifteenth century, and fifty years later for that of Greban. From Greban's *Mystère de la Passion*, with in some cases "contaminating" influence from Bonaventura, come the versions of the other French mysteries. Lastly, we consider certain versions handled with much originality and for that reason difficult or impossible to assign to any definite source: such are those found in *Piers Plowman*, in the *Court of Sapience*, which Miss Traver pronounces one of the most charming versions of the allegory, in the Marian morality *Respublica*, and in Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victory*.

It is interesting to find the allegory connected also with the names of Shakspeare and Milton. Johnson reports two plans left by Milton for a "Tragedy or Mystery" on this theme, one of which suggests the original *Midrash* form, the other the traditional form. The connection with Shakspeare is more doubtful. It consists in certain similarities between the trial scene in the *Merchant of Venice* and the "Proces" in Greban's mystery. In both there is the same problem at bottom—how to reconcile the claims of justice and mercy—and there are some striking special parallels in the development of the two scenes. Miss Traver concludes that, altho it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge of the sources of the *Merchant of Venice* to explain these similarities with the fifteenth century mystery, they are too striking to be dismissed as mere coincidences.

Perhaps the most valuable discoveries of the study are in connection with the English moralities. The two versions found in the *Salutation and Conception* play of the so-called Coventry cycle and in the *Castle of Perseverance*, tho independent of each other, are shown to offer special resemblances in structure, and often in phrasing, to a version in the fourteenth century prose treat-

ise, *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, ascribed to Richard Rolle of Hampole. As Miss Traver makes clear, however, it is improbable that either morality version is derived directly from the *Charter*, but likely instead that all three follow independently a lost common original differing but slightly from the *Meditationes* of Bonaventura. This lost original may have been dramatic, perhaps a French mystery.

This comparatively scanty showing made by the allegory in the English drama might have been bettered by one addition if we had the missing second part of the *Pride of Life*. So Miss Traver conjectures from the prolog, in opposition to Brandl, who suggests instead that the allegory there used was the Debate between Soul and Body.¹ The wording is obscure, but a comparison with the corresponding part of the *Castle of Perseverance* prolog,² where the episode of the four graces is similarly advertised as the intervention of "our lofty lady," supports Miss Traver's view. If it were originally used in the *Pride of Life*, the allegory would seem to have been similar in type to that of the Dutch poems or of Deguileville. In connection with Deguileville, another of the English moralities might have been cited for a probable reminiscence, altho it does not contain the allegory itself. Deguileville's introduction of the character of Sapience to take the role of Christ as arbitrator between the four daughters is called by Miss Traver his most important modification; and the same identification runs thruout the morality *Wisdom Who Is Christ*. In the *Castle of Perseverance*, on the other hand, the influence from Deguileville which she promises (in a note on page 94) to discuss in a later chapter, but which she has apparently overlooked, is not obvious.

It is perhaps ungracious to criticise the study on the score of its omissions, since the author expressly disclaims completeness, even in the restricted field of Latin, French, and English. Still it is regrettable to find no word of two dramatic versions which are remarkable alike for their early use of the allegory and for their very early adaptation of the dramatic form to an allegorical

theme—the two twelfth century Anglo-French moralities by Guillaume Herman and (possibly) Stephen Langton. Both are described by Ward and by Chambers.³ They would seem antecedent to any of the versions cited except the two earliest, those of Hugo and Bernard; and they precede by considerably over a century the *Maestricht Plays*, which Miss Traver cites (page 78) as the earliest appearance of the allegory in the drama. Their appearance is indeed probably to be regarded as sporadic, and they could hardly have been influential; but they certainly deserve attention. Another omission occurs in the treatment of the *Gesta Romanorum*. The allegory as it appears in the Latin version of the *Gesta* is summarized and its departures from its ancestor, the *Chateau d'Amour*, and approaches to its descendants, the French moralities, admirably analyzed. But nothing is said of the striking differences between the Latin and the English version of the tale, altho Herrtage's edition⁴ is cited. The omission, fortunately, does not invalidate Miss Traver's conclusions, for the English version is even closer to Grosseteste than the Latin. As a link between the source in Grosseteste, however, and the diverging Continental version, it supplies an interesting confirmation of Oesterley's theory that England was the original home of the *Gesta Romanorum* and the English the earlier version. It was also perhaps not without influence in the subsequent history of the allegory, for a comparison with the *Court of Sapience* suggests that it rather than Grosseteste and rather than the Continental version was the immediate model, at least of the first part. Finally, on page 158 Miss Traver has cited a rather remote story from the fifteenth century example book *Jacob's Well*, but has overlooked a story in the same collection which is closer on the whole to our allegory.⁵

But some omissions, in tracing the history of so extraordinarily widespread a form thru a field hitherto so little explored, were inevitable. Miss

¹ A. Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England*, Quellen und Forschungen, LXXX, p. xviii.

² Compare the *Pride of Life*, ll. 97-112, with the *Castle of Perseverance*, ll. 118-130.

³ Ward, *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Lit.*, I, 25, 105; Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, II, 152.

⁴ S. Herrtage, *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, E. E. T. S., ext. ser. XXXIII, pp. 132-135.

⁵ *Jacob's Well*, ed. Arthur Brandeis, E. E. T. S., orig. ser. CXV, pp. 138-141: "Angels and Fiends contending for the Rich Man's Soul."

Traver's dissertation certainly illuminates a territory that has too long been left obscure by the students of medieval literature, and incidentally presents a number of valuable suggestions and discoveries.

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BEOWULF.

Beowulf nebst dem Finnsburg-Bruchstück mit Einleitung, Glossar und Anmerkungen herausgegeben von F. HOLTHAUSEN. I. Teil: Texte und Namenverzeichnis. [Alt- und mittellenglische Texte herausgegeben von L. Morsbach und F. Holthausen. Bd. 3.] Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung; New York: G. E. Stechert. (1905.) 112 pp.

The appearance of this edition is an event in the annals of *Beowulf* bibliography. Coming from a distinguished Old English scholar and an acknowledged master of textual criticism, it is fully abreast of the progress of *Beowulf* studies and shows a marked advance over its predecessors. In contrast with the editions of Heyne-Socin and Wyatt, it recognizes to the fullest extent the metrical principles established by Sievers, which call for a large number of slight changes. Also in other respects it is clearly seen to be absolutely free from what has been styled by the editor the 'curse of conservatism.' Yet it contains much less of the provisional and speculative element than Trautmann's recension. For while the latter apparently is not designed as a text-book and certainly is what it claims to be, a 'bearbeiteter Text,' Holthausen's text is primarily meant for college use and follows strict business principles, which forbid unnecessary and individualistic alterations.

Of course, opinions will be found to differ in many cases as to the necessity of an emendation. Personally I am in favor of a more cautious treatment of the transmitted text. As a number of instances in which I am bound to disagree with Holthausen, have been discussed in my papers published within the past year in *Mod. Phil.*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, *Anglia*, *H. Archiv*, I trust I shall be excused from going over the same

ground again. I should like, however, to express in this place a doubt as to the advisability of assuming a gap of (at least) two half-lines in so many places as Holthausen has done.¹ It is true, some words may very well have dropped out after ll. 935, 1106, 1174, but most of the other passages involved seem to me to admit of a reasonable interpretation without drastic measures. As an instance (of a debatable character) I mention l. 1981: *geond þæt side reced Hæreðes dohtor*. There seems to me greater risk in assuming a lacuna than in regarding *side* (cf. *geond þæt side sel*, *Andr.* 762), which is added above the line ('in the same hand I think, but with another ink' Zupitza) as a wrong insertion in place of *heal* or *hēa* (Sievers, *Beitr.*, x, 313); cf. *hand* for *mund* 965, *hild* for *lind* 1073. Moreover, *Hæreðes dohtor* / *lufode ðā lēode* need not be taken as parenthetical, as *lufian* may denote 'manifest one's love,' 'treat kindly' (*H. Archiv*, cix, 305).

A good many emendations are original with the editor, the majority of them having been previously published in various journals, especially in *Z. f. d. P.*, xxxvii, 113ff. Not a few are singularly ingenious, and several appear either positively convincing or distinctly probable. As a splendid specimen *came on earle* 1117, may be cited.

A few casual notes may be subjoined. Line 1022 ff. Of the two possible punctuations the following is to be preferred: . . . *helm ond byrnan; / mære mādþumsweord manige gesāwon / beforan beorn beran*. Cf. *Mod. Phil.*, iii, 244. L. 1032 f. The simplest and most satisfactory solution of the difficulty would be to write (with Thorpe) *meahte*, with the understanding that the singular *lāf* has collective force. L. 1302. Why should the ms. reading be changed? *under heolfre* means 'covered with blood' (= *blōdge headufoþme* 990); cf. *H. Archiv*, crv, 291. L. 2586 ff. I cannot bring myself to believe that *grundwong* should not denote the same as *cormengrund*, *ginne grund*. Ll. 2586b-88 and 2589-90a express nearly the same idea, the former negatively, the latter positively. Considering further the contrast between *wolde* and *secolde* [*ofer*] *willan*, we may venture to translate literally: 'that was not a ready (will-

¹ Also Trautmann, *Bonner Beitr.*, xvii, 177, mentions this point.

ing) journey (or, course of action) (i. e.) that the illustrious son of Ecgðeow was willing to leave the earth ; against his will he had to take up his abode elsewhere.' [Cf. *Engl. St.* xxxix, 466.]

A convenient typographical innovation of this edition deserves especial mention. Following Bülbring's suggestion, Holthausen writes the short diphthongs as *ēa*, *ēo* and the long ones as *ea*, *eo* and is thus enabled to employ *ēa* and *ēo* for metrical dissyllables, as *nēan*, *flēon*. But would not the distinctions *ea*, *ēa* (*eā*), *ēa*; *eo*, *ēo* (*eō*), *ēo*, though by no means perfect, be on the whole more satisfactory? (E. g., *heard*, *brēac*, *geāra*, *hēan*; *eorðe*, *dēop*, *geōmor*, *tēon*.) Finally, attention may be called to the interesting *Urtext* of the first fifty-two lines which the editor has attempted to reconstruct.

When the second part—including the Introduction, Glossary, and Notes—is completed, students of *Beowulf* will no doubt have every reason to congratulate themselves on having at their service an up-to-date edition both scholarly and practical.²

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CORRESPONDENCE.

CHAUCEr AND THE *Cleomadès*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—In the Publications of the *Modern Language Association*, vol. 23, pp. 557–598, Mr. H. S. V. Jones has collected a large amount of folklore relating to the *Cleomadès*. In a footnote on p. 598, he advances, tho tentatively, the theory that the *Cleomadès* was one of Chaucer's models for the *Squire's Tale*. It seems to me that the weight of probability against such a view is far greater than Mr. Jones realizes.

If Chaucer had used the *Cleomadès* it is almost certain that he would have carried over into his version some passage or, at the very least, a fraze from his model. The *Cleomadès* is, according to Medieval standards, rather a brilliant poem, an acquaintance with which would almost certainly have left some unmistakable trace of itself in the

English poem. Now, I have not been able to find so much as a fraze in the *Squire's Tale* that suggests borrowing from the *Cleomadès*. If another reader has had a different experience I shall be extremely glad to hear from him. But until some reader shall point out evidence of the kind indicated, it seems to me that we shall not advance the solution of the problem by assuming the *Cleomadès* to have been a source. I have called attention to this matter on page 212 of my *Notes on Chaucer*, which Mr. Jones seems to have ignored.

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Hamlet, II, 2. 181–187.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—

"*Ham.* For if the sun breed maggots in a dead dog, being a good (god) kissing carrion—Have you a daughter?

"*Pol.* I have, my lord.

"*Ham.* Let her not walk i' the sun : conception is a blessing ; but as your daughter may conceive,—friend, look to 't."

Few passages in the play have caused more discussion than these lines, and the passage is still debatable. I would suggest that when Hamlet says, 'Let her not walk i' the sun,' he makes a play on the word *sun*, just as he had previously punned on the word, when, in response to the King's :

How is it that the clouds still hang on you ?

he replied :

Not so, my lord ; I am too much i' the sun.
(I, 2. 66–67.)

The passage would then mean : If the sun breed maggots in a dead dog, so the ardency of this *son* may have a like effect upon your daughter if you do not keep her out of the way,—a conception that would not be at all to your liking. This interpretation increases the harshness of these coarse lines, but is consistent with Hamlet's broad speeches to Ophelia in the play scene, and his bitter words to her in the scene where she acts as a decoy.

As to Hamlet's attitude toward Ophelia, critics are agreed, either that his mother's conduct had destroyed his confidence in women and consequently had turned him against Ophelia, or else that, in order to devote himself strictly to the business in hand, he wished Ophelia to be out of

²Since writing the above—a couple of years ago—Holthausen's complete edition has been reviewed by Schücking, *Engl. St.* xxxix, 94 ff., Lawrence, *J. Engl. and Gmc. Philol.* vii, 125 ff., Deutschbein, *H. Arch.* cxxi, 162 ff.

sight and out of mind. My interpretation of the passage lends itself to either of these alternatives.

The interpretation also leaves the reading of line 182 as debatable as before. If one follows the folios and quartos in reading 'good kissing carrion,' Hamlet would imply that Ophelia is commonplace, but good enough for a passing amour; if one favors the conjectured 'god kissing carrion,' the figure would imply the great disparity in their stations, he a prince, she a woman of altogether vulgar lineage. Hamlet's aristocratic notions are several times voiced in the play.

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A NOTE ON SPANISH ORTHOGRAPHY.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In the eighteenth century, Spaniards wrote *un Español, los Franceses*, referring to persons; nowadays they write *un español, los franceses*. Yet the old use of capitals is given as that of modern Spanish by a few grammars, for example, Edgren's, Knapp's and Ramsey's. Is there any need of teaching this inconsistency that has been given up by Spaniards? It evidently was an inconsistency (and is still such in French), since the logical relation of *un muchacho pobre* to *los pobres* is the same as that of *un muchacho griego* (*un enfant grec*) to *los griegos* (*les Grecs*). In Blanco García's *Literatura española* there is a paragraph (vol. iii, p. 261) beginning "Aunque castellano de nacimiento, llegó á encariñarse M. Martínez y González con la lengua y las costumbres de Galicia." Can some French reader tell us whether *castellano* is here a substantive or an adjective, and why? Either treatment of the word seems suitable in English: *Castilian-Spanish* or *a Spaniard of Castile*.

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NOTICE OF OMISSIONS.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—I am asking for the privilege of printing here for the convenience of the reader some references which were carelessly omitted by me in my article, *The Source of the Fountain Story in the Yvain*, in *Modern Philology* for January, 1909. They are the following:

P. 334. The Giraldus stories were pointed out in connection with the fountain of Barenton by San Marte, *Die Arthur Sage*, 1842, p. 154.

P. 335. The Neckham story is mentioned, also in this connection, by A. C. L. Brown, *A Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance*, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, 1903, vol. 8, p. 127, n. 1. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 1878, vol. 1, p. 496, and San Marte, *op. cit.*, p. 154, note the Gervaise story.

P. 338, n. 2. For the Lucan reference see H. de Villemarqué, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1861, p. 231, n. xii. Grimm, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 496, quotes Gregory of Tours to the same purpose. See here also J. G. Keysler, *Antiquitates Selectæ Septentrionales et Celticæ*, Hanover, 1720.

P. 338, n. 3. The G. le Breton parallel is quoted by Villemarqué, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

P. 339. The *Uséments et Coustumes* manuscript is quoted by Villemarqué, *op. cit.*, p. 254. See also Souvestre, *Les Derniers Bretons*, Paris, 1866, vol. 1, p. 112, n. The "Ris donc" tale is given by Villemarqué, *op. cit.*, p. 255, quoted by Grimm, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 495, n. 1. The Llanaelhaian custom is described in S. Baring-Gould, *A Book of North Wales*, p. 110. The Snowdon tradition has been repeatedly cited in connection with the Barenton fountain. San Marte points out the parallel, *op. cit.*, p. 155. See also the references given in J. Rhys, *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, p. 185, n.

P. 340. For the story of Diarmait, see J. Rhys, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-91.

The greater part of these references have already been pointed out by A. C. L. Brown in his note on the Barenton legend cited above.

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BRIEF MENTION.

JAMES VILA BLAKE'S POEMS.

By publishing a little volume of selections from the poems of James Vila Blake, the editor, Miss Amelia Hughes, hopes to obtain a wider audience for a poet too little known. The selections are certainly striking and impressive; full of poetic thought and feeling, often very happily and forcefully expressed. The technique also is admirable. Mr. Blake's handling of rhythms is free, often to an unusual degree; but it is always controlled by a fine ear, and never becomes harsh, nor seems careless. Those who wish to find in poetry not merely recreative fancies, but food for deep thought, will appreciate the work of Mr. Blake.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXIV.

BALTIMORE, APRIL, 1909.

No. 4.

THE INDICATIVE AFTER A PRESENT, THE SUBJUNCTIVE AFTER A PAST.

Grammarians have often called attention to the fact that the indicative is usually employed after a present tense, while the subjunctive *may* be used in the same statement if a past tense be substituted for the present tense in the principal proposition. Wilmanns in his *Deutsche Schulgrammatik*, p. 90, after stating the rule, adds here by way of illustration: "Man sagt: Ich weiss, dass er auf dem Lande ist. Tritt aber das regierende Verbum ins Präteritum, so lässt sich der Konjunktiv brauchen: Ich wusste, dass er auf dem Lande wäre." Altho this rule has often been correctly stated, the writer is not acquainted with any work that has explained this construction adequately or presented its history.

The writer's attention has recently been called to this problem in the course of a spirited correspondence regarding his article, *The Use of the Subjunctive in German to Indicate Certainty or Fact*, which appeared in *M. L. N.*, May, 1908, pp. 134-137. Several teachers of German have in the form of detailed letters to the writer tried to disprove his statement that the subjunctive is often employed to indicate certainty or fact, and quite independently of one another they all claim that the fact that the indicative is often used after a present tense, while the subjunctive is employed after a past tense indicates clearly that the subjunctive in indirect discourse always has more or less the force of uncertainty. Their common argument is that there is always in the nature of the case something doubtful about an act that has taken place in the past, as feelings and impressions once vividly felt as true may later be discarded. One of these correspondents calls attention to a passage on page 339 of Heyse's *Deutsche Grammatik*, where the idea of unreality found in the past subjunctive in unreal conditions such as "Ich wäre glücklich, wenn ich gesund wäre" is represented as the natural mingling of the force of uncertainty contained in the subjunctive and the

uncertainty suggested by the form of the past tense. The passage in question runs in part as follows: "Die Präteritalform drückt also den in dem Konditionalis liegenden negativen Begriff aus; das Nichtwirklichsein des bloss hypothetisch Angenommenen wird als ein Vergangenes aufgefasst." Later in this same connection attention is called to the idea of unreality contained in the past indicative in such sentences as "Maria Stuart war (for wäre) noch heute frei, wenn ich es nicht verhindert (hätte)." This correspondent regards the use of the subjunctive after a past tense as quite similar to the use of the past tense in unreal conditions, and concludes that there is in the subjunctive following a past tense a similar force of uncertainty. The common conclusion reached by all these correspondents working quite independently seemed to the writer to have considerable weight, and has led him to reexamine the materials formerly collected by him and to reread the Gothic documents and the principal Old High German writings. The results of this study show clearly that the theory of these correspondents is entirely destroyed by the simple fact that from the oldest historic period to the present day the subjunctive is often used after a past tense to indicate certainty or fact. In the statement "Quad, wari er ana zuival des giweltig ubar al" (Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, iv, 34. 17), it is evident that in spite of the use of the subjunctive after a past tense the author has taken especial pains to indicate that the person whose words are indirectly reported was absolutely convinced of the truth of the utterance and the context clearly shows that the author himself agrees with him. Also in modern German many cases are so plain that there can scarcely be a reasonable doubt that the subjunctive in our own time even more so than formerly is often employed after a past tense merely to indicate grammatical dependence or, in other words, indirectness of statement without a shadow of uncertainty implied. Then the question arises: What is the explanation of the use of the subjunctive after a

past tense where the indicative is employed after the present tense?

Dr. Matthias gives an explanation of this construction in his *Sprachleben und Sprachschäden*, p. 387; Professor Wilmanns in his *Deutsche Grammatik*, vol. III, p. 244, Anm. 2; Professor Behaghel in his *Gebrauch der Zeitformen*, p. 72; Dr. Wunderlich in *Der deutsche Satzbau*, p. 350. The treatment in each case is very brief and is in part unclear to the writer. The views vary in that the authors come to a totally different result or are presenting only different phases of a larger question. As these distinguished scholars have not been able to agree and the problem demands a solution, the writer after considerable hesitation attempts to offer an explanation.

A reading of the principal Old High German writings shows conclusively that it was also a rule in the oldest period of historic German to employ the indicative after a present tense: "Giwisso sagen ih thir ein: thar *nirstirbit* man nihein" (Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, v, 23. 261). "Ih sagen iu in alawara: ni *wirdit* in es mera" (*ib.*, II, 20. 14). "Thoh sagen ih iu in war min: sie *warun* manslagon sin" (*ib.*, IV, 20. 39). "Ih zellu hiar ubarlut: *irstuant* tho manag gotes drut" (*ib.*, IV, 34. 9). "Thir zell ih hiar nu suntar: *was* harto in leid thaz wuntar" (*ib.*, III, 24. 112). This construction is very common in Otfrid and hence there are many examples at our disposal for purposes of study. An examination of all these examples shows that in almost all of them the construction of the clauses is paratactical, and this is doubtless the original form of such statements. The subordinate clause is in fact an independent proposition, and hence the indicative is natural. In most cases the principal verb is in the first person as in the examples given above. Altho the speaker begins by "I tell you" he does not feel the following utterance as an indirect report, but proceeds as in lively narrative to tell the story in the indicative. The indicative is also used after a past tense as the author forgets that he is reporting indirectly and in lively tone relates the occurrence, or where the subordinate clause assumes subordinate form shows that he is under the influence of direct narrative by using the past indicative, the tense of direct narrative: "Slumo sageta er mo thaz, thaz er mo er kund

was" (*ib.*, II, 7. 61). "Wanta ih thir," quader, "zalta, daz ih thih *irkanta*" (*ib.*, II, 7. 69). This is also very common in our own time: "Ich erfuhr von dem Gastwirt, die Herrschaften *kamen* grade aus hiesigem Ort" (Hoffmann's *Rittmeister*, p. 97). Sie telegraphierten über die neuesten Ereignisse, dass am 30. Oktober einige junge Armenier in das Regierungsgebäude *drangen* und dort auf den Kommandanten der Gendarmerie *schoossen* (*Kölnische Zeitung*). Dr. Wunderlich in his *Satzbau*, p. 350, seems to assert that only the subjunctive can be used here after a past. It must be a slip of his pen, for the indicative now as in earlier periods, is common here. Thus the indicative can be used after either a present or a past tense. The reason why the subjunctive cannot be used after a present tense, while it may be employed after the past tense, seems to be that the speaker employing the present tense feels so close to the events that he relates them directly, while if he is narrating of the past he may no longer feel directly related to the events and may consequently use the indirect form of statement, the subjunctive, or he may under the influence of livelier impressions feel a direct relation to them and employ the past indicative as in narrative. Thus the use of the indicative or subjunctive here is not a question of the truth or the untruth of the statement, but simply a question of directness or closeness of the speaker's relation to the events described. Thus the speaker can at all times assume a close relation to the events. He can even go into the past and from a point in past time vividly look forward: "'s ist gut, aber ich hätt' nicht geglaubt, dass du dies Jahr noch fertig *wirst*" (Hermann Hesse's *Peter Camenzind*, p. 254) (the form *wirst* a present with the force of the future; future time to the subject of the main verb at the moment in question, but past at the time of utterance). "Ich hab' nicht gewusst, dass der Herr Olten *kommt*" (Hermine Villinger's *Das letzte Wort*) (*kommt* used with the same temporal force as *wirst* in the preceding sentence). It is a curious fact that all who have discussed this question have positively stated that only the subjunctive is used here. It is simply an oversight, for this construction is quite common in the literature of our time. It seems to occur usually in colloquial language.

Otfrid's choice of the verb of saying throws some light upon the general question under consideration. Wherever he assumes a direct relation to the events, *i. e.*, where he feels inclined to narrate himself, he chooses *sagen* and *zellen*, but chooses *quedan* to report indirectly. Hence he usually employs the indicative after *sagen* and *zellan*, but uses the subjunctive after *quedan* in every case but one. The subjunctive after *quedan* does not necessarily denote uncertainty, indeed it may clearly denote certainty as illustrated above. The subjunctive in many cases here merely indicates indirectness of statement. In a few cases the subjunctive is used after *zellen* and in one case after *sagen*. In most of these cases it seems almost as tho Otfrid even here assumes a direct relation to the events, *i. e.*, he brands the statements as false: "zalt in in giwissi, thaz er then mau ni wessi" (iv, 18. 30). There are, however, two cases here where the subjunctive is used merely to denote indirectness of statement, not unreality, for in both cases the author evidently believed the statements: "Zaltun imo . . . thaz . . . sin sun gineran wari" (iii, 2. 28). "Ja saget man, thaz zi waru sie scrigtin fon theru baru" (iv, 26, 19). In spite of these exceptions it might possibly be true that by the use of the subjunctive with *zellen* Otfrid felt at times an impulse to differentiate the idea of unreality from that of mere indirectness of statement expressed by *quedan* with the subjunctive. Modern usage is also struggling toward differentiation here by discarding the old sequence of tenses and using in the subordinate clause the principal tenses (present, perfect, future) of the subjunctive to indicate indirectness of statement and a historical tense (past, past perfect, conditional) to denote unreality: "Sie sagten, sie *seien* krank" (indirect statement), but to denote unreality: "Und von Herzen wünschen wir der Kundgebung den Erfolg, dass sie den Glauben zerstören hilft, dass wir Deutschen wieder bloss ein Volk von Denkern und Dichtern und Träumern wären" (*Hamburger Nachrichten*, Jan. 21, 1907). Real differentiation has not yet been attained here, for the old sequence is still widely used and hence after a past tense we cannot distinguish indirectness of statement from unreality: "Er sagte, er hätte es getan" (indirect statement or unreality).

Otfrid selects the indirect form with *quedan* where there is a reference to the future in a narration of past events: "Er quad, er selbo *quami*" (iii, 3. 7). The past subjunctive *quami* corresponds in direct discourse to the present indicative with the force of the future. The present has been attracted into the form of the past tense under the influence of the preceding past tense. Otfrid does not use the narrative form with *sagen* or *zellen* here, for this would require a past indicative in the subordinate clause and would point to the past. As mentioned above, Modern German can use the present indicative here with the force of the future as Modern German has in part emancipated itself from the older sequence of tenses.

Professor Delbrück in *Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, vol. 29, p. 235, explains Otfrid's use of *sagen* and *quedan* quite differently: "Bemerkenswert ist, dass *quedan* den Optativ, *sagen* den Indikativ liebt. Das erstere wird eine aus dem Innern kommende Äusserung, *sagen* dagegen die Mitteilung von Beobachtetem bezeichnet haben." Professor Willmanns in his *Deutsche Grammatik*, vol. iii, p. 242, gives an explanation quite similar if the writer understands the language. Thus both of these scholars seem to mean that Otfrid employs *sagen* with the indicative to denote a fact, but *quedan* with the subjunctive to denote unreality or a mere conception. To the writer this view does not accord with the actual usage of Otfrid. With this author it seems usually to be a question of directness or indirectness of relation to the events described. He used *sagen* or *zellen* with the indicative for the direct form of narrative and *quedan* with the subjunctive for the indirect statement. To-day usage is more simple and just as expressive. We employ in both cases *sagen* in the principal proposition and according to the meaning use in the subordinate clause the indicative or subjunctive as explained above.

To avoid misunderstanding it should be added that the above-discussed general rule does not apply to statements containing the ideas of unreality, uncertainty, doubt, or a subjective view. Here the subjunctive is the rule, even after a present tense: "Ich kann doch nicht sagen, dass ich krank bin," *I hesitate to announce the fact of my sickness*, but "Ich kann doch nicht sagen,

dass ich krank sei," *I hesitate to pretend to be sick*. "Ich höre, dass es Deutsche seien." There is a greater tendency to use the indicative in the first person than in the third as the speaker naturally regards his own beliefs and utterances as facts: "Ich glaube, dass es Deutsche sind," but "Er glaubt, dass es Deutsche seien." After a past tense the subjunctive is in general more common with reference to the future than to the past: "Es war gewiss, dass er log, gelogen hatte, lügen werde" (or würde). The subjunctive to-day as formerly is quite common even after a first person in the present tense when the governing verb contains an expression of will: "Ich will nicht, dass auch nur ein einziger schlaff werde durch Weibertränen und Weibergeschrei" (Sudermann's *Teja*, 1, 5).

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THE SOURCE OF THE MAIN PLOT OF SHIRLEY'S *LOVE TRICKS*.

Koeppel¹ attributes to the influence of Jonson's *Silent Woman* the part of Shirley's comedy *Love Tricks* in which the old Rufaldo is married to Antonio disguised as a woman and finds the bride more than his match. But the similarity is only in the general situation, and even here Shirley was hardly indebted to Jonson; for his main plot, even in most of its details, is to be found in Riche's *Farewell to Militarie Profession*, the eighth history, "Of Phylotus and Emilia."² Jonson himself, indeed, in the points in which *The Silent Woman* varies from Libanius, may have had in mind this story of Riche; but, unlike *Love Tricks*, *The Silent Woman* resembles Riche's novel so slightly that one is equally ready to believe Jon-

son followed Plautus's *Casina* or, as Symonds has suggested, Aretino's *Il Marescalco*.³

Shirley has complicated and enlarged Riche's story, but his changes are not such as to obscure in the least his source. He has taken over, for example, all of Riche's characters, as the following correspondences show:

	<i>Riche.</i>	<i>Shirley.</i>
A young girl, - - - -	Emilia.	Selina.
Her old lover, - - - -	Philotus.	Rufaldo.
Her young lover, - - -	Flavius.	Infortunio.
Father of the girl, - -	Alberto.	Cornelio.
Brother of the girl, - -	Philerno.	Antonio.
Daughter of the old lover,	Brisilla.	Hilaria.

The story of Philotus and Emilia is briefly this. Alberto would force his daughter Emilia to marry Philotus. His age repels her more than his wealth attracts, and, disguised as a man, she finally flees to her lover, Flavius, who takes her to his home. A servant sees her escape and discovers the matter to Alberto. Father and old lover go in search of her just as Alberto's son, Philerno, who has been reared at Naples and hence is a stranger to them, comes to Rome to join his father's family. Philerno is immediately taken for Emilia, and, seeing the drift of things, determines to play the part assigned him and take the chance for an adventure. Philotus asks that his presumptive bride be given to him for safe keeping, and Philerno, now dressed in his sister's clothes, is accordingly presented to Philotus's daughter, Brisilla, as her future mother and her room-mate till the wedding. Philerno persuades Brisilla that he has been changed into a man in answer to their desire, and the two accept each other as husband and wife. On the first night after the public marriage of Philotus, the supposed Emilia insists that the matter of the mastery be decided between them at once, and ends by giving the old bridegroom such a beating that he readily consents to the conditions imposed upon him, which concern chiefly the "bride's" freedom of movement and right to separate herself from him. So Philerno returns to Brisilla, leaving a courtesan to visit Philotus later on as the bride. Meanwhile, Flavius, who has seen the wedding ceremony, believ-

¹ Ben Jonson's *Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker*, pp. 153, 154.

² The same story, whether drawn from Riche or not, is dramatized, with little variation, in the Scottish play *Philotus* (1603). See the Shakespeare Society's edition of Riche's *Farewell*, Intro., pp. viii, ix. Shirley would more likely have known Riche's version than this, however.

³ *Ital. Lit.*, Vol. II, p. 178.

ing that Emilia has been married to Philotus and that he "hymself had been deceived by some devill or spirite, that had taken upon hym the likenesse of Emelia," thrusts the real Emilia out of doors. Unable to convince Flavius of her identity, she appeals to her father. The whole company is brought together, explanations are forced, and the marriage of Flavius and Emilia and of Philerno and Brisilla follows.

In the corresponding parts of *Love Tricks*, Selina at first refuses her lover Infortunio, and eagerly accepts the wealthy old Rufaldo contrary to her father's judgment—a change from Riche's story which is, to my mind, decidedly at the expense of naturalness, for it leaves us unprepared to find her the next day fleeing in shepherd's garb to escape "such a heap of age, achès, and rheum." With the bride missing on the wedding morn, her brother Antonio, who is supposed to have gone in quest of her, dons her clothes and plays her part at the wedding. His ruse is for the sake of gaining access to Hilaria, Rufaldo's daughter, who concurs in the trick. On the first night Rufaldo fares as Philotus does in Riche's story; there is the same scrimmage and the same victory for the "bride," much the same conditions being imposed upon the thoroughly subdued husband and gratefully accepted by him,—with the result that the bride, refusing to bear Rufaldo company, is sent to room with Hilaria in order to save appearances. It is this feature of a bridegroom's throwing his daughter into the hands of a lover who is supposedly his own bride that distinguishes the story of Riche and of Shirley from that of Plautus and from many of its analogues. Meanwhile, Infortunio chances upon Selina in shepherd's guise, but since he is confident that Selina is Rufaldo's wife "or some devil, in her likeness, has abused them all with credulity," she too fails to convince her lover. So she summons her father to the shepherds' rendezvous, and here, after explanations all around, Selina is given in marriage to Infortunio and Hilaria to Antonio.

Most of the minor points of resemblance are unimportant or conventional, and it would be easy to make too much of them. One is perhaps worth mentioning. In Riche's novel, Philerno tells Brisilla the story of Pygmalion in order to convince her that Venus is able to grant their wish and

transform her father's bride into her husband.⁴ In *Love Tricks*, Gasparo says in connection with Rufaldo's supposed transformation into a young man:

"Are you in love? nay, the wonder is not so great; who can express the power of love? I have read of a painter named Pygmalion, that made the picture of a woman," etc.⁵

Though it seems clear that Shirley drew from Riche, and not from Jonson, the main motive of his plot, he did borrow from *The Silent Woman*, I think, one incident which Koepfel fails to point out. In *Love Tricks*, the pretentious fool, Bubulcus, prodded by Gasparo, is led to confess that Gorgon, a serving-man dressed as a woman, has borne him children. The relation of this to the episode of Daw, La-Foole, and Epicoene in *The Silent Woman* is of course obvious.

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GOETHE'S QUOTATION FROM HUTTEN IN *DICHTUNG UND WAHRHEIT*. II.

A second error into which Loeper fell, owing to defective memory, occurs in connection with his attempt to show that Goethe's attention might have been called to Hutten by a certain article published by Herder.

Goethe introduces his quotation from Hutten in connection with his discussion of conditions in Germany in 1775, in these words: "Zu dieser Zeit war denn überhaupt die Richtung nach der Epoche zwischen dem fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert eröffnet und lebendig. Die Werke Ulrichs von Hutten kamen mir in die Hände und es schien wundersam genug, dass in unsern neuern Tagen sich das Ähnliche, was dort hervorgetreten, hier gleichfalls wieder zu manifestieren schien. Folgender Brief Ulrichs von Hutten an Billibald Pirkheimer dürfte demnach hier eine schickliche Stelle finden."

Loeper's note (*l. c.*, p. 169) runs: "In *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* [1773] hatte Herder in

⁴ Riche's *Farewell*, Shakespeare Society, p. 204.

⁵ *Love Tricks*, I, i.

einem vielfach Goethe zugeschriebenen Aufsätze Huttens Denkmal erneuert."

Meyer's memory must have played him the same trick, otherwise he wrote without reflecting (*l. c.*, p. 294): "v. Loeper erinnert daran, dass schon in der Flugschrift *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* Herder Huttens Denkmal erneuert hatte."

Now, as a matter of fact, *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* contains no "monument to Hutten." Düntzer knew where the article had appeared, but, "mirabile dictu," did not point out Loeper's error, and a wrong date in his own note (DNL., xx, 73) makes further search, or knowledge from some other source, necessary before the original "monument" can be located. The article in question is entitled "Hutten," and is to be found in the July number for 1776 of Wieland's *Der Teutsche Merkur*.⁵

If Loeper's memory had not been faulty, and he had still desired to show that Herder may have called Goethe's attention to Hutten's epistle in 1775, he might have adduced these bits of evidence: In the opening paragraph of the article in the *Merkur* the unnamed author, Herder, excuses himself for appearing in print so late with a tribute to Hutten which he has had in his mind for so long a time. It would not be doing violence to this statement to assume that Herder had the main features of the article already worked out in his mind when he saw Goethe and conversed with him in 1775.⁶ Further on in the article Herder recommends especially the reading of Hutten's

epistle to Pirkheimer. But it seems hardly necessary to show just how Goethe might have had his attention called to Hutten. What would be more natural than to assume that the author of *Götz*, in his studies in connection with that drama, should have been more or less interested in Hutten, the friend and confederate of Sickingen.⁷ It would seem strange indeed if, as a student of the period of the Reformation, he should have failed to dip into the writings of one of the chief heroes and patriots of that time.⁸

Goethe does not say who called his attention to Hutten, or where he secured the copy of Hutten which he read.⁹ No copy of the epistle to Pirkheimer is mentioned in the manuscript catalogue of Goethe's father's library, which may be consulted at the Goethe-House in Weimar. Düntzer declares flatly that Goethe did not read it when he says he did, but Düntzer gives no grounds for his assertion. It is true that there is no evidence beyond Goethe's statement above quoted; there is no reference to Hutten in *Ephemerides*, or the *Gespräche* or *Briefe* before Weimar. However, as we are forced to choose between the two conflicting arbitrary statements, we may venture to believe that Goethe knew more about it than Düntzer.

For our purpose here it makes no difference whether Goethe read the epistle in 1775 or earlier, or even after the appearance of Herder's article. He may have seen fit to substitute a fictitious for the real date, for "poetical" reasons, as in the case of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, though there is no proof that he did. Many of the ideals set forth in the epistle correspond to Goethe's own at that time, and Hutten's defense of his position at court, showing the opportunities it afforded him to exert an influence where it would count most toward the uplifting of the people, was in certain

⁵ On p. ii of the introduction to his translation Wagner has the following to say about the article: "Dieser Aufsatz wurde durch die unzeitige Dienstfertigkeit eines Nachdruckers [Himburg, in *Goethens Schriften*, 3te Aufl., Berlin, 1779, iv, 51-94] unserm unsterblichen Goethe zugeschrieben, so dass Herder bei einem berechtigten Abdrucke in den *Zerstreuten Blättern* [5te Sammlung, 1793] sein Vaterrecht gültig machte. Dennoch steht es noch immer unter Goethes Namen in Schubart [*Hutten*] und Meiners" [*Hutten*]. Himburg, however, was by no means the only person who attributed the article to Goethe. I find, for example, in a letter from Bodmer to Schinz (Nov. 12, 1776), written between two and three years before the appearance of Himburg's pirated edition, the following sentence: "Ich dürfte wetten, dass Huttens Leben im Julius des *Merkures* Göthen zum Verfasser habe."

⁶ Cf. Herder's letter to Lavater, Oct. 4, 1775, in *Aus Herders Nachlass*, ii, 141. That Goethe took an interest in the printed article is evident from *Gespräche*, x, 12 f.

⁷ Haym, *Herder*, ii, 11: "Ein sehr verzeihlicher Irrtum, wenn dieser Aufsatz für eine Arbeit von Goethe gehalten wurde; er bildet in der Tat in seiner Art ein Seitenstück zu dem *Götz*."

⁸ In the 12th book of *D. u. W.*, in connection with his account of the Darmstadt circle, Goethe says: "Das Studium des fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhunderts beschäftigte mich."

⁹ He says "die Werke Ulrichs von Hutten," but there was no complete edition at that time, as Herder points out in his article.

regards a fitting apology for Goethe's early years at the court of Weimar. This fact was well calculated to keep the epistle fresh in his memory. That the document occupied a prominent place in his thought is evident from what he says after his quotation from it: "Wenn auch nicht in solchem Flusse des Zusammenhangs, so hatte ich doch von meinen vornehmeren Freunden und Bekannten dergleichen tüchtige und kräftige Gesinnungen zu vernehmen. . . . Es war zum Credo geworden, man müsse sich einen persönlichen Adel erwerben." Three paralipomena (*l. c.*, p. 218 f.) belong in this connection: "Neu aufgetanes Feld, wie zur Zeit Ulrichs von Hutten. Seine Maximen ausgesprochen von Grund der Seele. Stelle aus Huttens Confessionen. Rückblick auf Ahnherrn."

"Verlangen sich durch eigen Verdienst auszuzeichnen. Klinger.¹⁰ Waren die Ausdrücke meiner Freunde und Bekannten auch nicht gerade so derb und kräftig, so waren die Gesinnungen gewiss dieselbigen."

"Ich habe oft die Worte Ulrichs von Hutten: man wolle, man müsse sich einen persönlichen Adel verschaffen, klar und deutlich aussprechen hören."

If Goethe did not read the epistle in 1775 or earlier he certainly had every reason for reading it in 1776. *Der Teutsche Merkur* for that year used as frontispieces several pictures of prominent men of the Reformation. A portrait of Hutten appeared in the February number. The same number contained an article on Hutten by Wieland. The June number contained a portrait of Pirkheimer and, under the heading "Nachricht von Wilibald Pirckheimer," the following announcement of Herder's article, which was to appear in the July number: "Wir wünschten aber, und nichts wäre billiger, als dass jedem in einem hohen Grade vortrefflichen deutschen Mann, dessen Andenken wir im *Merkur* erneuern und allgemeiner zu machen suchen, von einem unsrer Zeitgenossen, der dazu innern Beruf fühlte, ein so edles Denkmal gesetzt würde, wie dasjenige ist, das uns vor wenigen Tagen, zum Gedächtnis Ulrichs von Hutten, von einem der ersten Schrift-

steller unsers Jahrhunderts zugeschiedt worden, und wir unsern Lesern im nächsten Stück des *Merkurs* mitzuteilen das Vergnügen haben werden." In the July number Herder's article was followed by a "Zusatz des Herausgebers," in which Wieland disclaimed responsibility for the sentiments expressed in the article, and defended Erasmus, whom he considered unjustly treated by Herder. Goethe took Wieland to task for this and made him promise never to write any more "postfaces" to other people's articles.¹¹

Granting that Goethe read some of the works of Hutten about when he said he did, and that the epistle to Pirkheimer was among them, there are certain evidences of literary influence which deserve consideration.

During a recent reading of the quotation in *D. u. W.* I was struck by the remarkable similarity between the kernel of the passage, "Jene Ahnenbilder will ich nicht verachten, so wenig als die wohl ausgestatteten Stammbäume; aber *was auch deren Wert sei, ist nicht unser eigen, wenn wir es nicht durch Verdienste erst eigen machen,*" and the oft-quoted lines in *Faust* (682 f.),

"Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast,
Erwirb es, um es zu besitzen."

The idea that what we have inherited is not our own till by our merit, by our own deserving efforts, we have made it our own is a striking idea and one likely to stick fast in the memory of young Goethe, who had the feeling that he was unusually favored by fortune and should do something to merit what he had inherited. So it seems to me highly probable that his source for these two lines of *Faust*, so far as the relation of "erwerben" to "ererbten" is concerned, was the words of Hutten, "Sed quicquid horum est, proprium non habemus, nisi nostris quibusdam meritis illud nobis conciliemus." In fact, after a comparison of his whole translation with the Latin original I cannot help thinking that he himself had the *Faust* lines in mind when he made the translation. I am strengthened in my belief that he associated the two in his own thought by the following passage from his diary, Feb. 25, 1825: "Fortgesetzte Berichtigung des

¹⁰ "Klinger" in Goethe's own hand on the margin of the MS., whereas the MS. is in John's hand. Cf. in this connection Goethe's characterization of Klinger in *D. u. W.*, xxviii, 253 f.

¹¹ *Gespräche*, x, 12 f.

Manuscripts der Chronik. Vorarbeiten am vierten Teil durch ausführlichere Schemata. Ulrich von Hutten. . . . Für mich Betrachtungen über das Jahr 1775, besonders *Faust*."

It would perhaps be pressing the point too much to insist upon an immediate connection, in this diary entry, between the special words of Hutten and the special lines of *Faust*. However, in his articles entitled "Zur Vorgeschichte des Goetheschen Faust" (*G.-J.*, iii and iv), Erich Schmidt long ago pointed out the fact that Hutten was one of the forerunners of Goethe's Faust, and we may now refer to this passage in the epistle to Pirkheimer as revealing one of Hutten's characteristic features which was later embodied in the Faust of Goethe.

If my conclusion is correct, "erwerben" means, in the words of Goethe's translation of Hutten, "durch eigenes Bestreben, durch Tüchtigkeit, durch Verdienste eigen machen." Such "erwerben" converts mere "Habe" into "Besitz," in the pregnant sense in which the verb "besitzen" is here used. "Nützen" in the two succeeding lines means "durch Tätigkeit benutzen."

Just when Goethe wrote these lines of *Faust* it is not possible to say, as they are neither in the *Urfaust*, as it has come down to us, nor in the *Fragment* of 1790.

That he was accustomed to think of Carl August in connection with the theory of the necessity of earning what one has inherited is evident from such utterances concerning him as the following :

Letter to Lavater, Oct. 13, 1780: "Herrschaft wird niemand angeboren, und der sie ererbte, muss sie so bitter gewinnen als der Eroberer, wenn er sie haben will, und bitterer."

Ilmenau (120 ff.): "Ein edles Herz, . . . das mit sich selbst . . . streitet und, was ihm das Geschick durch die Geburt geschenkt, mit Mühe und Schweiss erst zu erringen gedenkt."

To Eckermann, Oct. 23, 1828: "Ein Herzogtum geerbt zu haben, war ihm nichts, aber hätte er sich eines erringen, erjagen und erstürmen können, das wäre ihm etwas gewesen."

The idea is half expressed in the words of the Princess in *Tasso* (113 ff.),

"Auch, kann ich dir versichern, hab' ich nie
Als Rang und als Besitz betrachtet, was
Mir die Natur, was mir das Glück verlieh."

In *Des Epimenides Erwachen* the Jugendfürst says :

"Ihr habt das Volk, ihr habt euch selbst beglückt ;
Was ihr besitzt, besitzt ihr erst von heute.
Zwar hat der Ahnen würdiges Verdienst
Die goldnen Reife längst geflochten,
Doch nun ist's eigener Gewinnst :
Ihr habt das Recht daran erfochten."

Another variation of the theme, but in a different key, is the satirical parable entitled *Neologen* :

"Ich begegnet' einem jungen Mann,
Ich frag' ihn um sein Gewerbe,
Er sagt' : Ich Sorge, wie ich kann,
Dass ich mir, eh ich sterbe,
Ein Bauergütchen erwerbe.
Ich sagte : Das ist sehr wohl gedacht ;
Und wünschte, er hätt' es so weit gebracht.
Da hört' ich, er habe vom lieben Papa
Und ebenso von der Frau Mama
Die allerschönsten Rittergüter.
Das nenn' ich doch originale Gemüter."

In an undated document entitled *Aus meinem Leben, Fragmentarisches, Spätere Zeit* (*Werke*, xxxvi, 231), Goethe says of himself : "Ich habe niemals einen präsumptüöseren Menschen gekannt als mich selbst. . . . Aber dass ich das über meine Kräfte Ergriffene durchzuarbeiten, das über mein Verdienst Erhaltene zu verdienen suchte, dadurch unterschied ich mich bloss von einem wahrhaft Wahnsinnigen."¹²

The original idea contained in Hutten's epistle is more or less clearly reflected in all these passages, and may be considered their source.

To Goethe's various utterances that have been cited by commentators to illustrate the meaning of the *Faust* passage in its various practical applications I should like to add two showing the meaning of "erwerben" when applied to things spiritual :

To Eckermann, Feb. 13, 1831: "Man tut immer besser, sich ohne Weiteres an das zu halten, was wirklich da ist, und sich davon anzueignen, was man für seine sittliche Cultur und Stärkung gebrauchen kann."

Sprüche in Prosa, No. 1 : "Alles Gescheite ist

¹²For these parallel passages I am, of course, indebted to various *Faust* commentators, especially Thomas, Schmidt, and Goebel.

schon gedacht worden ; man muss nur versuchen, es noch einmal zu denken."

Max Hecker says of this *Spruch* (*Maximen und Reflexionen*, p. 341): "Zielt nicht sowohl auf die Tatsache, dass 'alles Gescheite schon gedacht worden,' . . . der Spruch weist vielmehr auf die Verpflichtung, das geistige Erbgut durch eigenes Nachdenken zu wirklichem Besitztum zu machen : 'Das alte Wahre, fass es an !'" He might have ended his note with the fitting quotation,

"Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast,
Erwirb es, um es zu besitzen."

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SOME ITALIAN SATIRIC PREDICATES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The Marciana codex, Ital. ix, 383, no. 7083 (written according to dates of certain headings later than 1794), contains a curious document entitled, *I Patriarchi di Venezia vestiti in Commedia*. It consists of sixty proper names denoting various churches of Venice, severally followed by the title of a comedy in many cases taken from Goldoni. Construed with the saint's name preceding, these titles constitute epithets, aimed as we shall see not at the saint himself, but at the presiding *piovano* of his shrine.¹ While doubtless if the immediate historical setting of this piece could be restored all the collocations would have a distinct personal point, some of them may still be decisively felt as amusing and satiric : "S. Lio—il vecchio bizzarro ; S. Biasio—l'amante di se medesimo ; S. Martin—la donna volubile ; S. Paolo—un curioso accidente ; S. Giuliano—l'impostore ; S. Pantaleone—il ciarlatano con Brighella suo Palladino da corda ; S. Luca—l'avar, etc." To the humor implied in the literal meaning of these groups, would of course be added the

richer associations of the plays for which the titles stand, and with the leading rôles of which the assailed pleban would be connected.

This interpretation of the document in question is established by other productions of similar nature, collected incidentally in Venice, and from them, withal, the social function of this type in the eighteenth century seems to be made clear.

The method of the satire is simply that of epithet. It is as old therefore as epithet itself,² which has flourished at all times, as notably in the ancient epic, and which every age applies in the consecrated titles of its famous men : Charles, le chauf ; Philippe, le bel, etc. It is raised to pedagogical dignity in the catechistic formulæ of question and answer, the pithiness and liveliness of which have on the one hand the advantage of a good mnemonic system, and on the other that of general adaptability to purposes of instructive amusement : hence our "bird, beast or fish," geography, history, biography games. The satires considered here seem in fact to have been extensions and combinations of the various aspects of these pedagogical games,³ which, as evidenced by the many treatises on social amusements, were common in the eighteenth century parlors. We may cite as an example of the epithet games one entitled, *Homeni segnalati e in Vertù Particolari* with a second and third chapter headed

² The earliest example in my own collection, which was not extended specially beyond eighteenth century documents, is in British Museum, Cod. Nero. B. VI, f. 132a : 59 captions, with name, epithet and commenting verse. This document is probably of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Bellarmino is described as "una tigre in cattedra ; Dami la libertà ; vedrai ch'io sono." A medieval and very famous list of predicates is that prophecy attributed to St. Malachias (twelfth century) of the character of the successive popes, by which Leo XIII, for example, is the *ignis ardens* ; this list is included among parlor games in the Mus. Civ. cod. 2232, cited below (see also Dollinger : *Die Papst Fabeln des Mittelalters*, trans. Smith, New York, 1872, p. 462).

³ The roll-call of the academies, which forms predicate lists of this nature could easily have been turned to satire : e. g., the roll of the *Otiosi* of Verona (Verona, Bibl. Com. Busta 1510, c. 150b) reads : "Gabriele Zinari : L'Immobile ; Fabricio Morotto : Lo Stabile ; Anello Palomba : il Pellegrino, etc." Book-binding captions themselves form just such combinations, *L'Avaro—Goldoni*. For bombastic titles requiring an explanatory predicate and adaptable to satire, see Morsolin, *Il seicento*, Milano, 1881, p. 6.

¹ Besides the analogies cited below, we have conclusive ms. proof in the title of a second copy of this same satire in Cod. Cicogna (Museo Civico, Venice) 2232, c. 114, where also the date is given : *Satira sopra li Piovani di Venezia, anno 1775*.

Donne and *Populi* respectively.⁴ Among some seventy-five generalizations the following are typical: "Pirro—umano, Ezzechièl—verace; Lucretia—pudica, Didone—costante, Giuditta—forte"; very frank is this Venetian's estimate of his foreign friends: "Greci—bugiardi, Saraceni—crudeli, Francesi—feroci, Britanni—sdegnosi," and of course, "Veneziani—giusti."⁵ Analogous in form is an *Alfabet*, describing the ideal woman, which appears among other parlor games, conundrums, etc., in Cod. 3007-2232 (Mus. Civ.), c. 163: a series of adjectives following alphabetic order, all in the feminine gender, are modified by appropriate phrases: "buona—con tutti, cara—ad ognuno, fulgida—negli occhi, ladra—dei cuori, etc." This would, of course, work equally well with genders reversed, and modifiers suitably changed. It was probably used in the form of question and answer, the alphabet serving simply to give method and difficulty to the exchanges, with the questions and answers apportioned respectively to the sexes. This explanation is based on the form of the game immediately preceding in the same MS., c. 162. Here the questions are put as such: "Dove siete stato—A Costantinopoli; Che avete veduto—Un cavallo; Che avete mangiato—un corno"; the questions "Che v'è piaciuto" and "Che avete fatto" have replies more unexpected than elegant. This form as well as the others here considered is still extant,⁶ and to-day the answers and questions are written without reference to each other, the fun arising from the ridiculous *rapprochements* that frequently result.

Obviously the step to satire⁷ is an immediate one, if the questions are deliberately conceived and answered with that object in view. So in

Mus. Civ. 870-841, cc. 583-4, a *Satira sopra gl' Oratori che perorarono in Venezia la Quadragesima dell'anno 1760*: "S. Lorenzo—il più pulito; S. Lio—il più innocente; S. Bastian—il più sporco; li Carmini—il più vergognoso; S. Nicolò—il più rustico; Gl'Incurabili—il più solo; S. Trovaso—il più santone." This illustrates the same concealment of the priest's name behind that of the parish's saint, which appeared in our first citation.⁸

Such considerateness, it is amusing to note, was reserved specially for the *piovani*. In a *Registro delle Parti intiere della R'nda Congregazion di S. M. Mater Domini l'anno 1773* (Mus. Civ. *Correr Misc.* 367, p. 32) the poor *Bancalei* are named with merciless precision: "Zanetti—Il zelante ridicolo delle leggi; Il Zuppati—Il Fariseo, o sia il falso divoto, etc.;" but *Piovani* however: "S. Trovaso—Pantalon impegnato per l'esaltamento; S. Maurizio—Testa sventata o sia il bevitore; S. Stae [*i. e.* Eustachio]—il ciarlatano fatto serio per scimiottar con affettazione." The disguise seems abundantly paid for by the severity of the predicates.

Here too we have the complete extension to satire, and the introduction of comedy titles. Naturally the device was used in political and social satire as well: Mus. Civ. *Correr Misc.* 369, p. 77: *Opere recitate in Venezia l'anno 1774 a spese del N[obil]. H[omo]. Maffeo Albrizzi*; "Consiglier Albrizzi—La distruzione di Sodoma; Consiglier Diedo—La Forza dell'Amor proprio; Con. Dolce—L'origine dell'ufficio di M[issie]r. Grande [*i. e.*, capo bargello]; Con. Marcello—Il Trionfo della ragione dopo il sacrificio del fanatismo." Of this there are other examples: *Gazzetta Veneta—delli caratteri dei Gentilhuomini e donne Veneziane*: "Madama Fini—Orate et Vigilate ut non entrate [*sic*] in tentationem; Mada. Bon Bonilij—La fiera di Sinigaglia; Mad. Grimani Zen—Lo Spettacolo della Patria; Mad. Vidiman—La Buona Moglie, Comedia del Goldoni; Mad. Marcenì Badoer—La conversione di Mada. Tonina la Francese, confortata dall' (Monr. Riva) Angelo Custode; Mad. Catte Finette—La gran Tartana, comedia nuova e ridicolosa con (Monsr. Moroppi) Arlechin finto princi-

⁴ Mus. Civ., Cod. 68-1195, c. 9b; Cod. 634-1081, c. 85; Marciana, Ital. IX, cod. 470, c. 132.

⁵ Cf. *Proprietà di diverse nazioni*, Sonetto, Mar. Coll., 1083, p. 194; Pasqualigo, *Raccolta di Proverbi Veneti*, Venezia, 1853, II, p. 150; Pitré, *Prov. Sic.*, III, chap. LX, for predicates still current.

⁶ Cf. Cioffi, *Scelti giuochi e passatempi*, Milano, 1906, pp. 81-3, *Le risposte stravaganti*, etc. It is the American game of *Consequences*.

⁷ Examples of game-schemes adapted to satire, but in verse, are found: Mar. Coll. 1083, c. 106b: *Il giuoco dell' ombre sopra i predicator di Padova dell'anno 1739*, Sonetto; Mus. Civ. 1086, c. 829; *ibid.*, 748; 1078, c. 519; Mar. It. IX, cod. 470, c. 122b; Vicenza, Bertoliana, I, 3, 31, cc. 181-6.

⁸ Cf. for the same device, Mar. Coll. 1083, c. 106b: *Venetis anno predicto* [1739]: "S. Polo: Paulus anhelat; S. Zaccaria: Zaccarias saltellat, etc."

pe." Some of the same characters are again favored in a shorter collection immediately following: "Feon [?] Coronato—Albrizzi; L'amor fraterno—Marcello; Il curioso ridicolo accidente—Bembo; Il consiglier distrutto—Foscari; L'Ipocrita—Dolce; La Menzogna—Mascherato, etc." Additional examples of the social-political aspects, and of non-Venetian inspiration, are the *Titoli di Comedie che Diversi Cavalieri di Roma anno esibito da Recitarsi Nel Nuovo Teatro di Tor di Nona* (Mus. Civ. cod. 45-1172, cc. 126-30): "L'ambasciador di Spagna—Il Machiavelli Virtuoso e Prencipe senza difetto, etc.; Vincenzo Orighi—L'Orlando Furioso de nri Tempi; Alessandro Rondmini—Il Rustico Felice, etc." In the same place are *Titoli di Dame di Roma per lo stesso effetto*: "L'ambasciatrice di Spagna—Il Pompeo fatto grande; La Contestabilessa—Si prova e non si fa; Da. Margarita Pio—La Moglie di due Mariti; Marchesa Patritij—Il Marito delle due Moglie; Contessa Bolognese—La Ruffiana Corrisposta; La Alberia—Le Cortesie si dispensano a tutti," etc.⁹

In this paragraph we have one example (Madama Fini) of a passage of Scripture replacing the title of a play or book. This was suggested possibly by the use of scriptural phrases as titles, for example in the Psalms and Hymns, and by the numberless scriptural parodies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, here applied in imitation of the *intercalari* and speech manner-

isma, by which the public speakers were often known¹⁰: Mus. Civ. Cod. 963, c. 221a: *Nell'antecedente soggetto [Concorrenza pel dogato per la morte del Mocenigo, 1708]*: "Andrea Grimani—Quicquid latet aparebit (cf. dark-horse); Marco Zorzi—Salva me fons pietatis; Bernardo Donà: Dona ei requiem, etc." This device was specially frequent against the cardinals eager for the pontifical election: II, pp. 593-4. Brit. Mus. 19327, f. 18: *Preces Cardinalium pro eorum assumptione in pontificem cum responsionibus*: "Odescalens—Domine, tota die humiliatus sum et iustitiam tuam semper meditatus: Responsio: A solis ortu usque ad occasum exiet species decoris tui." Again, Brit. Mus., 141, 17, c. 17b: *Deprecationes eminentissimorum cardinalium*: "Lania—Sancti apostoli, intercedete pro me—comes sum et comes fidelii [sic] ero, servus servorum dei et gloria pontificio, etc."¹¹ Of similar nature is a summary of political conditions (Brit. Mus., 3466, 121: *Un centone della corte di Roma*) reflecting the friendship between England and Venice: "Inghilterra a Vinitiani: Audivi et gavisus sum, sed oportet ut vigilem in domo mea; Vinegia Catolica—Nos non habemus regem nisi deum." More intricate cases show introductions of successive pieces of scripture, as the story of the crucifixion:¹² *Corr. Misc.* 367, p. 31: *In occasione del richiamo del General Querini da Corfù. Passio D'ni, D[omini] S[er] Antoni Querini Provisoris Generalis maris*: "Proveditor generalis—Pater mi, si non poterit hic calix transire mio [sic], bibam, etc.; Proveditor d'armata—Si nunc dimittis, non es amicus Caesaris, etc." Another on the election of the Pope to succeed Clement XI (Bibl. Nat., Paris, F. It. 679, cc. 86-9, *Passio Domini nostri*, and also ms. 1490): Cannini—Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo, etc.; Ceva—Ave rex judeorum; Brancatus—Nil respondis ad ea

⁹ A long series of 187 names, entitled *Satira degli intervenenti del Foro Veneto*, begins "Misturo [sic] Antonio—L'Asino d'oro" (Mus. Civ. 2232, c. 115). British Museum, 141, a. 17, c. 17b: *Trattandosi di rappresentare una commedia nel conclave—essendo discorso circa il soggetto da recitarsi, alcuni di Corone propongono li seg'ti*: "Bichie: il vecchio rimbambito; Nerbi—il girello; Bonsi—il titolo non si sa, etc." Brit. Mus. 8815, c. 86: *Vaga libreria di personaggi*: "L'ingannatore ingannato o pure i disegni svaniti—Opera francese; La venuta del Messia—Opera di Carlo III; Gl'arcani impenetrabili—Opera veneziana; Lo scherzo degli dei—Opera del Duca di Mantova, etc." An amusing extension to parodying the "concert" of the powers, a frequent theme with Pasquino, is found in Mar. Coll. 1083, c. 110: *Musica del teatro del mondo*: "Soprano—La Regina d' Ungheria; Basso—L'imperadore, etc.; Bassi regolati—Gli Inglesi; Sospiri e mezzi sospiri—La Regina di Spagna; La maniera d'ascendere—Il Re sardo; La maniera di discendere—Il duca di Modena; Mastra di capella—La Giustizia di Dio; Spettatori della musica—Li veneziani"—as concise a statement as could be wished of the doctrine of Venetian neutrality in the eighteenth century.

¹⁰ Molmenti, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. It., 679, cc. 73-77, 81-86, and *Ibid.*, ms. 1490 contain several interesting series of this nature, entitled *Altre Pasquinate alli cardinali*: "Firenzuola—O chi vorrebbe sopportar un frate, Ignorante, superbo e tutta rabbia, etc." Another has: "Sacchetti—saria un rinnovar le piaghe a tutti, Iddio guardi di tal cosa huomini e putti, Cento per cento pigliaria de i frntti." For others on Venetian politics: Mus. Civ., Cod. 2232, c. 113; 963, c. 221a.

¹² The *Ave Maria* and *Pater Noster* for example appear Bib. Nat. F. It. 679, c. 98a, and in the collection in *ibid.* ms. 1490.

quæ tibi obiciuntur, etc." We have an attack on the Jesuits in *Corr. Misc.* 368, doc. II, entitled: *Articolo di Roma inserito nel Giornale di Trevoux per il mese di Maggio 1772*: "Sta davanti al sauto padre il generale de' Gesuiti con mani e piedi legati e—Sua Santità ha un motto che dice: Ecce adduco eum vobis foras ut cognoscatis.—Il cardinal Carlo Rezzonico: Vere filius dei erat iste. Il doge di Geneva [Genova] additando il general esclama: Erat autem latro; Vescovi vari—Crucificatur [sic]; il re di Spagna con assoluta soavità protesta: Debet mori." Finally, an extension of the scriptural idea to a 'sacred' portrait gallery on the conditions of Louis XIV's reign (*Brit. Mus.* 8815, c. 86): of the twelve pictures, "il terzo: San Pietro che piange haver negato il signore, a ritratto di Clemente XI, in disgrazia dell' imperadore, col motto: Exivit foras et flevit amare.—Quinto: Faraone sommerso, a ritratto di Luigi XIV, re di Francia, in mezzo alle stragi de suoi eserciti, col motto: Dexterâ dei percussit me."

These citations, which a thorough examination of the vast mass of pasquino literature would augment almost indefinitely, show simply the extent to which political thought colored the activities of the Venetian parlors in the period mentioned. The categories formed in these series of epithets have a certain value to the historian as showing the apparent relations of the characters they treat, whatever the worth of the actual judgments themselves as expressions of a contemporary opinion.¹³ To the student of literature a careful classification of the bibliographical data they preserve would throw into relief the vogue of the titles played upon—a study which we reserve for a more extensive treatment. As literature, the type is a mere exercise in cleverness, fairly typified by an allusion *A tre case patrizie venete* (*Corr. Misc.* 367, p. 32) with which we close:

Cornari—assai
Boni—pochi
Zusti—un solo.

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TWO NOTES ON GRILLPARZER.

I.

In the *Wiener Neue Freie Presse* of January 15th, 1908, Alexander von Weilen publishes six youthful poems of Grillparzer, that belong to the year 1806. According to the editor's note, they constitute a part of those two scrap-books the loss of which Grillparzer laments in a note to the poem 'An den Mond' (*Works*, 18, p. 166). O. E. Lessing ("Schillers Einfluss auf Grillparzer," *Bulletin of the Univ. of Wisc.*, 1902, *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Phil.*, 5, p. 1, and *Euphorion*, p. 10, 592 ff.), has clearly pointed out how much Grillparzer was indebted throughout his life to Schiller and especially how closely he followed him in his first poetic productions. One of these poems is another interesting evidence of this fact.

The title of this poem is: 'Sehnsucht nach Liebe.' The poem reads as follows:

SEHNSUCHT NACH LIEBE.

Den 18. Hornung 1806.

Alles liebet, alles scherzet
in der fröhlichen Natur;
alles küsset, alles herzet
auf den Höh'n in Wald und Flur!

Läsz der holde Lenz sich nieder,
sanft umschwärmt vom lauen West,
senkt der Vogel sein Gefieder,
banet liebend sich ein Nest.

Und der Löwe flieht das Morden,
das sonst höchste Lust ihm schafft;
er verläsz der Brüder Horden,
huldigt Amor's Zauberkraft.

Und dir soll ich mich entziehen,
die uns menschlich fühlen lehrt?
Liebe! ach dich soll ich fliehen,
die der Tiger selbst verehrt?

Ich allein nur soll dich meiden,
holde Spenderin der Lust?
ich soll wilde Thiere neiden
um das Fühlen ihrer Brust?

Nein! dem schönsten aller Triebe
sey mein fühlend Herz geweiht!
schenke mir Themirens Liebe,
Amor, Gott der Zärtlichkeit.

When reading this youthful outburst of passion, one is strangely reminded of Schiller's 'Klage der Ceres' and 'Das Eleusische Fest,' in some

¹³ As examples of the attractive use to be made of them, cf. Malamani, *I Francesi a Venezia*, Venezia, 1887, pp. 98, 167, etc.; Molmenti, *Stor. di Venezia nella Vito Priv.*, Pergamo, 1908, vol. III, pp. 270, 311.

places also of 'Die Glocke,' 'Der holde Lenz,' 'der Loewe flieht das Morden,' 'er verläßt der Brüder Horden,' 'holde Spenderin der Lust,' 'Themirens Liebe,' 'Amor, Gott der Zärtlichkeit,' and similar expressions are easily recognized as parts of Schiller's vocabulary, or at least as formed very much after phrases frequently used by him. A similar poetic structure is very common in Schiller. Taking two strophes together, the form of versification is very much like that in Schiller's 'Das Eleusische Fest'; it may be called a modified form of the Ottave or Stanza. The line of the strophe, as it appears in Grillparzer's poem, is exactly the same as that in Schiller's. It is a complete trochaic line of four feet, changing with a truncated trochaic line. The system of rhyming also agrees with that of 'Die Klage der Ceres'; in each poem we have four pairs of cross-rhymes. Beside these resemblances, similarities in the contents of the two poems may be pointed out. Each begins with a description of nature in its spring tide glory; this theme is followed by another: Ceres bemoans the loss of her daughter, the poet meditates about his relation and his attitude to love; and at last both end with the resolution to attempt to gain what each has lost or missed heretofore. Of course, all these themes are more powerfully and more extensively treated in Schiller's longer poem.

That, however, a young, inexperienced poet should in such a way seek support and help for his first poetic endeavors, need not necessarily be considered plagiarism. Grillparzer himself asserts that in the days when he wrote *Blancka von Kastilien* Schiller was his idol and model, and that this feeling told him he was on the way to overtake him. As stated in the beginning, the relation of this little poem to Schiller's work is merely an additional proof, how much he depended upon the great Swabian in his first poetic experiments.

II.

In his autobiography (*Works*, 19, p. 55), Grillparzer speaks about a serious illness with which he became afflicted on a certain Sunday during the summer of 1813.

According to his own report, (*Works*, vol. 19, p. 57) this illness must have been a critical and lingering one. During his recovery the war of

liberation was reaching the stages of its climax at Leipzig. His return journey from the country place, where he had been lying ill, to Vienna suffered some delay at a mail-coach station, because the people were busy with a jollification over the first news of the victory at Leipzig. This little note in his autobiography causes some difficulty, when one attempts to bring the statement in harmony with facts and dates from other sources. On the 11th of October, he wrote to his mother (*Briefe*, ed. by Glossy and Sauer, p. 11): I have been feeling well lately; I have not even had a headache since I have been here (*i. e.*, at Lukow, the estate where he was engaged as a tutor). Two weeks before this letter, he closed another one, also to his mother (*ibid.*, p. 10), with the remark: 'I am feeling very well.' If he did not intend to deceive his mother, we must, therefore, assume that he was really not taken ill before the 11th of October. Yet, when writing his autobiography in 1853, he recollected that he felt the first symptoms of his illness on a Sunday, after having driven to church through a severe rain storm. The first Sunday, however, after this last letter to his mother on the 11th was the 17th of October, the second day of the battle at Leipzig. The question, then, arises: how could the poet be taken ill on that day and yet hear of the great victory only after several weeks of illness? It has been suggested that, writing so many years after the event, his memory must have failed him. But this explanation seems to make the interpretation of the dates only more difficult. The poet's illness may well have lasted three or even four weeks, and his return to Vienna may have taken place in the early part of November.

That the news of the glorious victory should have reached some parts of Austria as late as these November days, need not be surprising. The poet started from the Hungarian boundary (*Works*, 19, p. 56) and the delay referred to in his biography may have occurred in the first stages of the journey. The conditions of the mail and of traffic in general were such at that time, that even so important news as that of the glorious victory may have made its way rather slowly to the more remote parts of the country.

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NEW STANZAS BY DUNBAR.

Perhaps the least attractive side of the poetic talent of William Dunbar is his fondness for "fresch ennamallet termes celestiall." When the poet with angelic mouth, aureate lips, and sugared tongue overgilt his rude Scots with mellifluous terms, his modern readers hasten to turn the page. It is therefore with mixed feelings that I call attention to some unknown stanzas of his, which are full of rhetoric's lusty roses redolent. They occur in a book probably written in the hand of William Forrest, priest and poet, not earlier than 1581, since this date occurs in the early part of the book. Mr. Cooper's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* tells all that is essential of Forrest. He was a bitter controversialist, and it was in a spirit of rancour, not uncalled for, that he set down, in Elizabeth's unregenerate days, his poem in defence of the Virgin Mary and the Immaculate Conception, which begins Harley ms. 1703. Having completed it, he went on, to defend and to praise the blessed Virgin, in short poems containing examples to beware or praises to be sung. On folios 79 verso and 80 recto, he copied down eight stanzas of Dunbar's poem called *Ane Ballat of Our Lady* (No. 86 in Schipper's text, 85 in the cancelled Baildon print). Intoxicated with the melody of the Scottish poet's verse, Forrest added to the poem ten more stanzas of his own. The first of them, immediately following the "finis" which marks the close of Dunbar's verse, is as follows :—

"This salutation, much eloquentlie
A devoute Scotte, of loue most entire,
longe time sithen, dyd yt edyfy
And thorowe like spirite, which can me Inspire,
Of like devotion, so well as I maye,
I shall continue, In this poore quyre,
To saye with the scotte, Salue Maria."

His saying is very far below Dunbar's, and need not be printed in this note, which treats of Dunbar only. It is sufficient to say, that it is evident that his poetic power could not have written any of the stanzas he attributes to the Scot.

Of this version of *Ane Ballat*, stanzas 4, 5, 7 and 8 are only in this ms. and have never been printed. Granted that Forrest's text, written as

late as 1581, is likely to be corrupt,—though the collation shows it fairly good—there is nothing in these stanzas to distinguish them from the others, as by a different hand. I note the word "endyte," l. 55, a rare word, as in Dunbar's *Golden Targe*, in the famous Chaucer-stanza.

A succession of editors (Laing, Small, Schipper, Baildon), have pronounced the poem to be Dunbar's on internal evidence, there being no external evidence of any kind. The style is certainly in accord with Dunbar when in an "illuminated" mood, and we may leave the ascription to stand.

Few Scottish poems of this date appear in English dress, and every bit of evidence on this point is worth while.

The poem follows, from the Forrest text. I give the text as it stands there. The refrain is written by the scribe in a larger hand.

[B. M. Harley 1703, fols. 79b-80a.]

1.

Rose Marye moste of vertue vyrgynall,
Fresche flowre on whome the heavenly dewe downe
fell;
Oh, Gemme, Joyned with Joye Angelycall!
In whome Jesus reioyced for to dwell,
5 Roote of truyt,¹ of mercy springinge well,
Of ladyes cheef² as is of letters A,
Empresse of heavin,³ Paradyse, and hell,
Oh Mater Jesu salve Maria!

2.

'O cleare conclave of cleane Vyrgynyte!
10 That closed Christe, withoute⁴ Crymes crymynall,
Tryumphant Temple of the TrynYTE,
That turned vs from terrour⁵ eternall.
Hayle!⁶ Pryncesse of peace and Palme Imperyall,
Illustrat lyllye, to thee ladye, I saye,
15 Withe Infynyte Aneis, hayle! Floure of women all.⁷
Oh Mater Jesu salve Maria!

3.

O sterre, that blyndethe Phebus beamys bright,
Withe cowrse above the heavin chrystallyne,
Above the sphecure of Saturne, highe on hight,
20 Surmountinge the Orders of Angels⁸ nyne;
Oh⁹ lampe! leamyng before the Throne dyvyne,
Wheare Cherubin sweete singethe hosanna,
With Organe, Tympane, Harpe, and Cymbalyne,
Oh Mater Jesu, salve Maria!

4.

25 Hayle¹⁰ Davydes Doughter, depured Ave,
Fulfylled withe all plenytyde of grace;

Suche salutation, Dwe vnto thee,
 And to none other in suche soveraigne case,
 The Prynce, cheef of All in thee to take place,
 30 Boarne ere begynnyng, in moste mervelous waye,
 And boarne heere of thee, after nyne months space,
Oh Mater Jesu, salue Maria!

5.

Hayle, Indystinguyble sterre celestia!l!
 Illumynous Ladye, in lune Lucyferat;
 35 Of glorious Jesus, kinge Imperiall,
 Hayle! Genitrix, of Jesse germynat.
 Of Adonay liayle Annule illibat.
 Buche in combuste of Moses, breunnyng aye,
 Trynaunte tryumphante, Rose intemerat,
 40 *Oh, Mater Jesu, salue Maria!*

6.

Hayle! purifyed Pearle, hayle! Porte of Paradyse,
 Hayle! redolent Rubye, bothe Riche and radyous,
 Hayle! claryfyed chrystall, hayle! Queene, haile!¹¹
 Empryse,
 Hayle! mother of God, hayle! Vyrgin glorious,
 45 Hayle!¹² gratia plena, tecum Dominus,
 Hayle! Gabryelle greeetinge withe "Aue Gratia,¹³
 Benedicta tu in Mulieribus,"
Oh Mater Jesu, salue Maria!

7.

Hayle! Patryarkes Pleye, hayle! Potestates plesaunce,
 50 Hayle! Vyrgyns Queene, hayle! Apostles Princesse
 white,
 Hayle! Martyrs Myrthe, hayle! Angels observaunce,
 Hayle! Fyndys Foe, hayle! Goddes owne cheef
 Delyte;
 Hayle! Christys Love, hayle! Lucyfers despyte,
 Hayle! spiritu sancto obumbrata,
 55 Hayle! Confessors Queen, hayle! Patryarkes cleare
 endyte,
Oh Mater Jesu, salue Maria!

8.

When Deathe shall crusche mee in his Armes stronge,
 And vyolant payne shall reave me my naturall sight,
 And thynfernall dragon, wolde hale me his emonge,
 60 Into that storme, O sterre! caste vppe thy light,
 And me recomforte, withe thy Beamys bright;
 The fearfull sight of dyvilles, dearre ladye, dryve awaye,
 Rescue thy Servaunte, sweet Mayde, with all thy
 myght,
Oh Mater Jesu, salue Maria!

finis.

I append the stanzas in Schipper's text, not
 copied in Forrest's version:

iv.

25 Thy blyssit sydis bure the campioun
 The quhille, with mony bludy woundis, in stour,

Victoriously discomfort the dragoun
 That redy was his pepill to devour;
 At hellis zettis he gaf thame na succour,
 30 He brak the barmekyn of that bribour bla,
 Quhill all the feyndis trymbillit for reddour,
 O mater Ihesu, salue Maria!

v.

O madyne meik, most mediatrix for man,
 And moder myld, full of humilite!
 35 Pray thi sone Ihesu, with his woundis wan,
 Quhilk deinzeit him for our trespass to de,
 And as he bled his blude upon a tre,
 Vs to defend fra Lucifer our fa,
 In hevyne that we may syng apon our kne,
 O mater Ihesu, salue Maria!

Collations with Schipper's text, *K. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, Bd., XLII, IV Abh., pp. 70-72, (I do not attempt to give the variations in spelling, since the texts are in different languages.) MSS. Asloane ms., fol. 301a-301b = A; Makulloch ms., fol. 186b, till l. 40 = M. 1. *Fruyt*] refute MA. 2 chose A schois M. 3 of MA. stanzas 2-3 tr. MA. 4 but crymes M. but cures A. 5 tarter AM. 6 om. AM. ll. 14-15 read, Our wicht invinsable Sampson sprang the fra That with aue buffat bair doune Beliale AM. 8 all the anzell ordoris. 9 Haile. 10 stanzas 4-5-7-8 om. AM. stanzas 4-5 of A. M. not in Forrest's text; see above. 11 and A. 12 O. 13 in A "With Gabriell that we may syng and say."

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SOME REFERENCES TO GERMAN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH MAGAZINES OF THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Recent investigations have established the fact that the revival of English interest in German letters did not set in until the second half of the eighteenth century. Gessner's *Death of Abel*, translated by Mrs. Collyer in 1763, was the first German work to produce a perceptible influence upon the English mind. To be sure two translations had appeared before this date: Gellert's *History of the Swedish Countess of G—*, in 1752, and Rabener's *Satirical Letters*, in 1757. These works were however indifferently received by reviewers and were productive of no immediate results for the popularity of German literature in England.

Although perfectly aware that a perusal of the magazines¹ and periodicals of the early eighteenth century would bring to light no further translations than those cited above, the writer undertook the task in the hope of discovering some indication that Englishmen were at least cognizant of the recent transformation in German literary ideals. It seems, for example, almost incredible that no rumor of the Gottsched-Bodmer controversy, which resulted in a decisive victory for English models over the French, should have pierced the seeming dulness of British ears, or that Brockes' imitation of Thomson's *Seasons* in *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*, which marked a new epoch in German nature poetry and was warmly acclaimed in Germany, should not have been at least reviewed in one of the many English periodicals, which pretended to furnish their readers with an accurate account of the events in the literary world both at home and abroad. Of course the general tone of these magazines was determined by the fact that they were fashioned after the French *Journal des Savants*, which did not concern itself with German literature. In fact, the *Memoirs of Literature*, 1710-14, second series, 1725-28, was conducted by Michel de la Roche, a French refugee, and the *Republic of Letters*, 1728-36, edited by Andrew Reid, was but a continuation of De la Roche's beginnings.

Following the body articles in these journals was a department devoted to the consideration of new books published in the various literary marts of Europe, and it is here that one would expect to find some mention of the then invaluable products of German genius. A cursory examination of a single volume of any one of these magazines is sufficient to show that the word literature was employed in a much more comprehensive sense than in these days of limitation and sharp definition. It did not signify the untechnical and imaginative expression of thought, but was broad enough to include all written expression of the varied activities of the human mind. Works of philosophy, theology, medicine, botany and science in all its

branches were principally reviewed and literature, as such, came off rather poorly in this medley. And yet enough account was taken of purely literary production to warrant the expectation that some German books would be mentioned.

It is with regret that I am obliged to state that this expectation was not abundantly fulfilled. Not that Germany does not come in for its share of attention, for the magazines are replete with notices and reviews of books published in Germany, but they are, in accordance with the general character of the magazines, chiefly philosophical, theological, legal and scientific, and for the most part written in Latin. The names Leibnitz, Wolfius, Fabricius, Heister, Thomasius and Puffendorf are of frequent occurrence, and one cannot fail to perceive that the achievements of these learned men were fully appreciated in England, and served to remove any prejudice which may have hitherto obtained against Germany and her scholars, thus paving the way for a friendly reception of German literature, when the psychological moment should arrive.

Before enumerating the scattering references to German literature in these magazines, it is necessary to state that their appearance there did not result from any widespread familiarity with or appreciation of German literature, but was purely haphazard and accidental in character. And yet we may consider them worthy of mention as forerunners and suggestive of a greater interest which was soon to follow. That German scholars were themselves moved to remonstrate against the indifference of these magazines to German production may be seen in a letter written from Leipzig by one S. D. to the editor of the *Republic of Letters* and published in July, 1731. This correspondent expresses surprise that so few German translations had appeared in the English tongue and especially that so little mention had been made of German production in that journal. It is unfortunate that he did not later carry out the intention expressed here of removing this ill-grounded prejudice by presenting a list of prominent German authors. For the present he is contented with recommending and reviewing two historical works which, as he hopes, will serve as an indication that Germany had at least made wonderful progress in the field of historical research. The two treatises are Von

¹ The magazines consulted for this article are: *Memoirs of Literature*, 1710-14, second series, 1725-28; *Republic of Letters*, 1728-36; *Historia Literaria*, 1730-34; *Bee*, 1733-34; *Literary Magazine*, 1735-36; *Works of the Learned*, 1737-43; *Literary Journal*, 1744-49.

Buenau's *Complete History of the German Empire and Emperors*, and J. J. Mascov's *German History as far as the Foundation of the Franconian Monarchy*. In passing, it is perhaps worth noting that these books were also reviewed in the *Bee* for February, 1733.

A letter very similar in tone to the one above was written by the Leipzig correspondent of the *Bee* in 1733. He lauds the rise and progress of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft* of that city and promises for the ensuing *Bees* translations from the works of the members of the society, in order to show that the German nation was awakening from the lethargy and inertia into which it had fallen and would soon show the world that it was concerned for the welfare of its native language and polite learning in general. These promised translations were never published, and it is not unlikely that they were lost sight of in the mass of controversial literature which about this time swamped the editorial office of the *Bee*.

A second letter to the *Bee*, this time from Hamburg and published in August, 1733, apprises the editor of the founding in that city of the *Gesellschaft vom guten Geschmack*. The writer promises to send copies of the society's organ, "as soon as any of its flowers should be in blossom." Mention is made of two literary journals in Hamburg on English models, the one edited by Prof. Kohl, the other by a Mr. Leussner.

Although these letters were productive of no editorial comment, it would seem that a review of Brockes' *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*, in the *Republic of Letters* for November, 1731, were an answer to the faint plea in behalf of German literature in the first letter cited above, were it not that this work of Brockes is, so far as I have observed, the only German production of merit, purely literary in character, reviewed in these early eighteenth century magazines. The reviewer calls attention to the praise which this work had earned in Germany, and describes Brockes as "one of those sublime Geniuses, who may justly be compared to the Phoenix." In order to give English readers a more adequate idea of his qualities, he styles him "the German Addison," without any justification, unless it be that Brockes' connection with the *Patriot*, a journal founded on the model of the *Spectator* entitles him to this distinction. There follows an account of Brockes' life, in which special emphasis is laid

upon the multiplicity of business he disposes of. His translation of Marini's *Murder of the Innocents* is singled out as showing what the hitherto despised German language is capable of, and hope is expressed that he will carry out his intention of translating Milton. That Brockes' attention was called to this English criticism of his work is indicated by the following statement in his autobiography under the caption Anno 1732, "Ich erhielt aus England eine besondere Nachricht von der Achtung meiner Schriften."

A third curious reference to German literature in the *Republic of Letters* appeared in February of the year 1729. It is an extract from a Hamburg paper and is reprinted from an English daily paper. It is quoted as proof of the high esteem and reputation which English authors and the English language enjoy abroad. The article calls attention to the general excellence of English poetry and Milton is ranked superior to Homer and Vergil, "which do not teem with so many real beauties and soaring thoughts as are to be found in the inimitable English epic." The writer discusses the influence of English pamphlets and daily papers in stirring up emulation in the neighboring countries, and as tangible evidence of this influence in Germany mentions the *Patriot* published by a Mr. Weichmann of Hamburg. This journal was the organ of the *Patriotische Gesellschaft*, founded by Brockes in 1716, for the purpose of freeing the German language from the bombast and sentimentality of the second Silesian school. It is stated that the *Patriot* had gained such a reputation in Germany that it may well be reckoned an instance that "Great masters may sometimes raise disciples to equal themselves." The Weichmann mentioned here is Christian Friedrich Weichmann, Brockes' friend and collaborator, who published, 1721-38, the poetic lucubrations of the *Deutschübende Gesellschaft* in the collection *Poesien der Niedersachsen*.

In this connection should be noted an advice from Hamburg to the *Bee* of August, 1733, to the effect that half a sheet was being published there twice a week under the title *Extracts from the English Bee*. The editor of the *Bee* thinks that he has reason to believe that these extracts were being translated by the same gentleman who had some years since translated the *Spectator* into German with such success that from nine to ten thousand copies were printed every week. He ex-

presses the hope that "if some unwarranted legal proceedings does not clip the wings of the *Bee*, it will likewise soon be flying all over Germany."

The remaining references to German literature in these magazines are even more scattering and disconnected than the ones considered above. We read, for instance, in the *Republic of Letters* for June, 1728, that Benjamin Neukirch, the Ansbach court poet, had translated Fenelon's *Telemachus* into High-German verse. The *Works of the Learned* for October, 1742, prints an article from Derfurt (*sic*) recounting the melancholy circumstances attendant upon the death of Madame Sidonie Hedwig Zäunemann, a poetess of the Gottsched school, who was drowned at Ilmenau while crossing the Ilm swollen with rains. Considerable space is devoted to her life and character and much is made of the fact that in 1739 the university of Göttingen invested her with the poetess' crown, upon which occasion "the laurel was placed on her head by Count Reuss, who insisted on performing this part of the ceremony." The *Literary Journal* of Dublin for September, 1746, notes the publication in Frankfurt of the poetical works of Mrs. Rieger, "a lady much celebrated by the Connaisseurs in that science." From the preface of this edition is extracted a list of some twenty living muses of Germany, for the most part, imitators and emulators of Gottsched and his wife. Mrs. Gottsched in particular is mentioned as a poetess "to whom are paid the highest compliments."

However slight in value my gleanings in this sterile field may be, they at least prove conclusively that any untimely effort to arouse a premature and unnatural interest in German literature was bound to fail. At this time literary currents were flowing in the opposite direction. The influence was English-German and not German-English. Germany could not expect to play a prominent rôle in European literature until it had passed through the period of mere imitation and created something which was at once both distinctively German and a "document humain." The accomplishment of this task was reserved for the all-embracing and universal genius of Goethe, whose *Werther*, translated in 1779, opened the flood-gates and released a stream of translation which fertilized England's barren literary soil during half a century.

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JOHN DONNE'S VERSE.

The Rhetoric of John Donne's Verse. By WIGHTMAN FLETCHER MELTON. Johns Hopkins University Dissertation. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Co., 1906.

In his scholarly study of Donne's poetic theory Dr. Melton has made a rare and substantial contribution to the science of English verse. In marked contrast with prose criticism and rhetoric, this field of investigation has received scant tillage at least in this country. Of course we are not unmindful of the splendid researches of such pioneers as Lanier, Price, Child, Corson, and Bright, but their names can be exhausted on one's two hands. Such recent explorations into this unmapped realm as have been undertaken by Professors Alden, Gummere, Brumbaugh, Belden, Brown, Miller, and others, are of peculiar interest and value, and have put all students of English poetics richly in their debt.

Dr. Melton has had the hardihood to attack the very citadel of the enemy. Those who are at all familiar with Donne's poetical writings can appreciate the baffling nature of the problem which he has undertaken to solve, for Donne's peculiar metrical system has always been a puzzle to his readers. Even his enthusiastic admirer, Ben Jonson, who esteemed him "the first poet in the world in some things," declared impatiently that "Donne deserved hanging for not keeping of accent." Hazlitt spoke of his verses as "riddles that the sphinx could not unravel," and Pope even assumed the duty of "translating" Donne's satires into "modern verse." Mr. Edmund Gosse concluded that "he intentionally essayed to introduce a revolution in English versification." A score of critics, weary with guessing at the secret of his art, have finally consigned him to a limbo of beautiful but paradoxical originality. Coleridge alone was enabled through his instinctive taste and critical infallibility to attain to a fuller appreciation of Donne's wonderful technique, yet he saw but darkly through the veil of the mystery.

More recent students, such as Professors Norton, Craik, Saintsbury, and Wendell, while acknowledging Donne's marvellous gift of terse expression, the vigor of his imagination, the sweetness of his sentiment, his subtle wit, and majestic learning, have nevertheless felt constrained, with

tender reluctance, to convict Donne of the poetical sins of ruggedness, obscurity, and uncouthness, of fantastical conceits and studied pedantry. They seem, indeed, to have been forced into the dilemma of admitting either that he had no correct ear or was perversely regardless of harmony.

It was while engaged, as a Fellow of Johns Hopkins University in the task of applying to Donne the theory of secondary word-accent, first advanced and fully formulated by Professor Bright, that Dr. Melton discovered the closely hidden secrets of his verse. "The revelation," he says, "came to me suddenly after three years of daily, almost hourly, entreating, caressing, and wheedling of each line of his poetry." He proceeded to test his subject by Professor Bright's "doctrines," or three ways in which poetry can be read. Having eliminated the "sense-doctrine," which disregards rhythm for sense, and the "ictus-doctrine," which ignores sense for rhythm, he found that the third, the "pitch or rhythm-doctrine," furnished the desired clew. Observing that "duration is substituted for pitch as the characteristic element in the rhythmic quality of secondary-accent syllables when under the ictus," the author found that "the word in thesis receives a word-accent that is subordinated to the ictus," and so preserves and enriches the rhythm. This prevents the flow of the sentence or the pattern of the verse from obscuring the meaning. Scarcely audible articles and prepositions, unaccented and derivative syllables are thus sometimes stressed to meet the exigencies of both meaning and rhythm.

In the first problem attacked by Dr. Melton, he was completely successful in explaining the emphasis elicited by verse-stress in Donne, when it is at variance with the usual or prose emphasis. He thus found in the poet a final and clinching argument for the Bright theory. Pursuing his labyrinth still further, he was led to an examination of a practically untouched aspect of English versification, viz., the appearance of the same word now in arsis and now in thesis as an additional factor in the music of the line. This arsis-thesis variation of sounds in the same line or in close proximity, proved to be the long-sought key to Donne's verse-riddle. The following couplet affords an illustration :

"She, she is dead ; she's dead ; when thou know'st this
Thou know'st how wan a ghost this our world is."

The mystery was gone, the puzzle was solved ; this was the hidden characteristic of the old poet's verse which had been so long regarded as inexplicable.

So far then from being careless in versifying, Donne, we now know went beyond all other poets in the care with which he wove the intricate meshes of his poetic web. He rimed not merely at the end or in the middle of the lines, but everywhere, and exhausted all the possibilities of assonance, alliteration, and antithesis. His rule of composition is thus formulated by the author :

"When a word, syllable, or sound, appears in arsis, get it into thesis as quickly as possible, and *vice versa* ; having twisted, pressed, and screwed (Coleridge uses all three of these words in his quatrain) all the meaning out of that word, take up another and carry it through the same process. Better still, instead of pressing one word at a time, whenever convenient take a whole handful of words and twist them so that men will not find out for centuries what it all means."

One of the most interesting uses to which Dr. Melton puts his discovery is to test the authenticity of a number of doubtful and spurious poems attributed to Donne. He includes, for example, in the canon of Donne's verse *Love's War*, *Borrowing*, and *Love's Wit*, but excludes *A Warning*, *Believe Your Glass*, *The Lie*, *To My Lord Pembroke*, *On a Flea in His Mistress's Bosom*, and *Dr. Donne's Farewell to the World*. In numerous passages, also, he is enabled by his "rule" to supply a missing, or to recognize a superfluous word, to select the correct variant, and to scan such puzzling lines as those *To Sir Edward Herbert* :

"Thus man, that might be His pleasure is His
And is His devil that might be his God."

Applying the touchstone to the couplet which Mr. Gosse cites as lines that "may excusably defy a novice" —

"And as filders stop lowest, at highest sound,
So to the most brave, stoops he nighest the ground," —

he emends the reading so far as to supply one missing word and eliminates two which have been added mistakenly with a view to smoother scan-

sion, and thus arrives at a much more satisfactory reading :

"As fiddlers stoop the lowest at highest sound,
To the most brave, stoops he highest the ground."

Dr. Melton's work will also, no doubt, open the way to a thorough investigation of the sources of Donne's metrical peculiarities, and to the determination of the relative authenticity of the Donne manuscripts still extant, and thus lead to a definitive edition of his works.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

MAURICE SOURIAU : *Moralistes et poètes*. Paris : Vuibert et Nony, 1907.

A few years ago the French Academy crowned an important work on Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, which greatly modifies the accepted opinion concerning that author. The book entitled: *Bernardin de Saint-Pierre d'après ses Manuscrits* was published by M. Souriau, after several years of careful study of the manuscripts preserved at the Municipal Library of Le Havre. Previous to this M. Souriau published among other works an edition of the *Préface de Cromwell*, which was also crowned by the Academy; two important works on French Versification, namely, *La Versification de Molière* and *L'Evolution du Vers Français*; and a volume on *Pascal* in the *Collection des Classiques Populaires*.

Recently M. Souriau, who is an indefatigable worker and a frequent contributor to several French literary reviews, has collected some of his more important articles and published them in a volume of some three hundred pages under the title: *Moralistes et Poètes*.

The range of subjects, all dealing with French literature, indicates the variety of M. Souriau's interests in his special field. He proposes a new interpretation of the *Pensées* of Pascal; discusses Lamartine's versification; rehabilitates in a way Casimir Delavigne; treats René Bazin as writer of the "Roman Social"; and finally outlines the

poetic movement in Normandy to-day. The articles are of varying interest and importance, but not one is negligible—far from it. Of the shorter ones not already mentioned may be noted *Les Cahiers d'écolier de Brizeux* giving the results of an examination of that poet's note-books, which by good fortune came into M. Souriau's hands. As Brizeux himself says, "l'enfant renferme le vieillard," and these books disclose the beginnings of the poet's love for Ovid and particularly for Virgil, whose melancholy tenderness lives again in him and makes him rank "bon second après Chénier dans le genre de l'idylle." Incidentally we get a glimpse of school life in France in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Not less interesting is the very slight glimpse of school girl life which we get in the short article on Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's favorite daughter, Virginie, whose "silhouette de jeune fille, grâce aux manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Havre, se révèle à nous comme un pastel un peu pâli par le temps."

Le Romantisme jugé par Alfred de Vigny is a study of the remains of the poet's correspondence with the Crown Prince of Bavaria, afterwards Maximilian II.¹ This correspondence was never edited. M. Souriau supposed that something of it might still be found in the Secret Archives of the Royal Family at Munich. A search there brought to light several interesting fragments.² The Prince's first letter contains an appreciation of *Cinq Mars* and *Stello*, both of which deeply impressed the young man. De Vigny's reply has been characterised by Faguet as "une leçon sur toute la littérature française de 1800 à 1839." It is interesting to note, in this connection, that at this time, and perhaps on account of this correspondence, de Vigny thought of writing a treatise on "l'homme d'état."

In his letter de Vigny mentions Lamartine's "trop facile improvisation." Lamartine himself rejoiced so to speak in the title "amateur."³ Already in the *lettre-préface* to the *Recueils Poétiques* (Dec. 1, 1838) he discloses his methods

¹*Journal d'un Poète*, 7 déc., 1837. M. Souriau prints the Prince's letter. For De Vigny's reply vd. *Correspondance*, p. 83 (Calmann-Lévy).

²All published by M. Souriau in *La Revue de Paris*, 1er mai, 1898.

³*Préface des Méditations*, 1849.

of work, protests his incapacity for self-criticism and his impatience of "*limæ labor*": all this to forestall and disarm criticism, for which he expressed a rather slight regard in his *Épître à M. A. Dumas* (Sept. 18, 1838). In 1836 Sainte-Beuve, writing on *Jocelyn*, called the poet to task for his faults and hoped that the blemishes would not appear in a later edition. Two years after, the same critic in an article on *Les Recueils Poétiques*, lamented the unpardonable negligence which the poet regarded so lightly. The critic, much chagrined and not a little disconcerted at this persistent careless attitude, insisted on the seriousness of art which demands our best effort quite as much as do those things which concern more particularly morals. The consequence of this attitude characteristic of Lamartine is treated by M. Souriau in a very interesting article, a résumé of some fifteen "leçons" on the versification of Lamartine.

In these days of the breathless hunt after the "inédit," often almost valueless and appealing merely to curiosity, it is refreshing to read such an article as M. Souriau's *Le Roman de Casimir Delavigne*.⁴ It is a study of a hitherto unknown part of the poet's life—his love affair with Mme. Elisa de Courtin, "dame d'honneur" of Queen Hortense, which culminated in marriage. The purpose of the article is to show the potent and happy influence of this love on the poet's work. M. Souriau bases his every statement upon the poet's letters to the lady which are preserved in the Municipal Library at Le Havre.

In his *Discours de Réception à l'Académie*, Sainte-Beuve, Delavigne's successor, distinguishes two periods in the poet's literary activity marked off one from the other by the journey to Italy (1826). In the midst of his success Delavigne left for Italy and on his return to France he found a new order of things in French letters; and thereafter he is, as it were, the champion of a lost cause. Though he yields to the new movement, he remains the same *au fond* and like a skillful general, he still wins victories, while beating a retreat.⁵ M. Souriau likewise distinguishes

two periods, making the division also at the time of the journey to Italy; but he is concerned not so much with the poet's actual success as with the happy change wrought in his poetry by the love which came to him at thirty-three. His contention is that the lyric quality, the romanticism, so to speak, of Delavigne's work is not altogether a mere involuntary flowing along with the current, but that it is something more; it is the poet's expression of himself, and although his work may lack that fervid, impetuous, wild lyric outburst of some of his contemporaries, it is none the less real, none the less personal and far from a simple forced copy of others' patterns. Up to 1826, Delavigne's success was due in great measure to what M. Souriau calls "*la conspiration du public avec lui*" for, as Sainte-Beuve says, he always knew how to be "*à l'unisson, au niveau du sentiment public*." His knowledge of human life is, however, inadequate; his women characters are especially weak. All this was to change, however, and the change was to be wrought by love. M. Souriau sketches in a delightful manner this charming love story, quoting generously from the poet's letters, for Mme. de Courtin's share in the correspondence has not been preserved. Sensible, unromantic, yet almost jealous, fond of strolling in the churches, melancholy and playfully childish, the poet loves with all the freshness of a naïve untried soul, in the transports and flush of first love. Strength and purity characterize this romance which M. Souriau calls: "*l'histoire d'un brave homme et une honnête femme*."

M. Souriau traces the influence of this love throughout the poet's work from the *Messéniennes* of 1827 to the very end, supporting his statements by quotations from the poet's letters. After reading this article one feels that there is reason to modify somewhat Sainte-Beuve's statement: "*lui-même a consacré les prémices de son bonheur domestique dans les seuls vers peut-être où il se soit permis ce genre d'épanchement* :

Il n'est point de beaux lieux que n'embellisse
Le sentiment profond qu'on éprouva près d'eux,⁶

because the poet has permitted himself "ce genre d'épanchement" many times elsewhere. With

⁴ Published in *La Revue d'hist. litt. de la France*, 1899 and 1900.

⁵ Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits Contemporains*, v. 169 ff. Cf. Lemaitre, *Impressions de Théâtre*, VIII, 90 ff.

⁶ Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits Contemporains*, v, 182.

M. Souriau we recognize Hugo's overshadowing genius, dwarfing all that comes near it; but we also recognize the truth in his statement that it redounds to Delavigne's praise that: "he owed nothing to Hugo, neither a figure nor a verse form, neither a situation nor a *pièce*; what is called his imitation of Romanticism is the free evolution of his talent. As to his dramatic value, his plays in versé, well balanced in form and content, rank immediately after those of Hugo, for Delavigne's repertoire is distinctly superior to the *pièces* of Dumas or De Vigny, and it is especially so of those written after the journey to Italy."

The literary movement so happily begun in Provence and so successfully carried on by the *Félibres*⁷ was not slow in finding disciples in other parts of France, so that to-day the decentralising or regionalist movement is a very well defined and important one, the extent of which may be appreciated by consulting Charles-Brun's brochure: *Les Littératures Provinciales*.⁸ "Decentralisation was one of the articles of the political creed (*symbole*) which triumphed in 1830,"⁹ and it will be remembered that toward the end of the Empire this tendency in the domain of politics manifested itself in what is called the *École de Nancy*,¹⁰ but failed of any result owing to suspicions of Separatism.¹¹ The Duc de Chambord himself was inclined towards decentralisation.¹²

It was in the field of literature that the movement met with the greatest success. Even on the border line it was successful, at least partially so, for the provincial Universities were given some measure of autonomy and were reorganized so as not to be entirely divorced from the strong life of the provinces. The act has been characterized as "the most complete and most frank effort at de-

centralisation which France has carried out in this century."¹³

It was quite fitting then that M. Souriau, professor of French Literature at the University of Caen, the University of Normandy, so to speak, and author of an admirable *Rapport sur le Mouvement Littéraire en Normandie de 1898 à 1902*, should have been chosen to deliver the address, when *Les Fêtes du Souvenir Normand* took place at Caen in the summer of 1905. This address appears as *La Fête des Poètes Normands*, an interesting, sympathetic, delicate and penetrating appreciation of the work of contemporary poets in Normandy, such as Frédéric Plessis, Breton by birth and Norman by adoption; Florentin Lorient and Paul Harel, disciples of Le Vavas seur.

The regionalist movement is doing much to spread the great truth that Paris is not France, although people still persist in judging the country by what they may see in the metropolis. This ignorance concerning the other thirty-three million of souls dwelling outside of Paris is widespread. Fostered by the long standing disdain of the Parisian for his brother of the provinces,¹⁴ it is not dissipated by the stereotyped studies of provincial life turned out by the imitators of Balzac, Flaubert and Maupassant. The two latter, though observant and accurate, were one-sided and purposely unsympathetic. "They lack that brotherly love and that respect for the life of man, which alone can build up a work of justice in literature or government."¹⁵ These are the very qualities which exist to a marked degree in the work of René Bazin. He believes in "the equality of souls and of grief"; he feels that "the life of man is everywhere worthy of the same interest, capable of arousing the same emotions, the same anger, the same admiration"; he knows "what proofs of endurance and uprightness the humblest lives can offer."¹⁶

This tenderness and humanity, the broad sympathy, so lacking in the work of the Naturalists

⁷ Vd. Mistral, *Mémoires et Récits*, Paris, 1906.

⁸ Paris, Bloud et Cie., 1907.

⁹ Ch. de Remusat, R. D. M., xxix, 819 (15 oct. 1860). In fact, the movement dates as early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Vd. C. Jullian, *Historiens Français du dix-neuvième siècle*, p. xxvii; 41. Vd. also the first issue of the *Globe*, Sept. 16, 1824.

¹⁰ Hanotaux, *Hist. de la France Contemp.*, III, 369.

¹¹ *Idem.*, III, 390.

¹² *Idem.*, II, 241, quoting the *Mémoires* of Mme. de la Ferronnay.

¹³ Coubertin: *The Evolution of France under the Third Republic*, p. 339. Cf. further: *La Décentralisation où en sommes nous*, Maurice Ajam, député, in the *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, 10 juillet, 1908.

¹⁴ René Bazin: *Le Province dans le Roman*, in *Questions Littéraires et Sociales*, Paris, 1906.

¹⁵ *Ibidem.*

¹⁶ *Ibidem.*

and strongly contrasting with their studied impersonality, received due attention from Brunetière when he welcomed Bazin to the Academy greeting him as the continuator of Balzac in the *Roman Social*. Under the title *M. René Bazin et le Roman Social*, M. Souriau gives an admirable study of the novelist and his work, establishing his philosophy, which is Catholic, and indicating his remedy for those who suffer, "which is the old, old one: love and sacrifice," for suffering is not relieved nor remedied by what is merely material and man is something more than mere flesh.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the articles in the volume is that entitled: *Le Jansénisme des "Pensées" de Pascal*. There is always a certain fascination in conjecturing the plan of an unfinished work and in establishing the great unity of an author's life production. Some writers may lend themselves to such treatment, and at the hands of the skillful they gain thereby. Others less docile must be constrained, and the results are less satisfactory. In all cases an attempt to discover the dominant motive in an author's life and its relation to his literary remains is always profitable, if only from the fact that another point of view has been disclosed, for, until the matter has been considered from all points of view, we cannot say that we know the author—such knowledge being the final synthesis of all previous analyses. Yielding to this fascination, M. Souriau, in an article of some forty pages full of facts and logical deductions, works out a theory which establishes unity in Pascal's work and makes the *Pensées* the logical sequel of the *Provinciales*. He attacks the traditional thesis, namely, that the *Pensées* would have been an apology of Catholicism and nothing else. In opposition to this, M. Souriau seeks to establish the following: in the purely dogmatic part of the work, Pascal intends above all to prove the truth of Jansenism; in the other part devoted to polemics, he would have attacked those whom he considered the enemies of Port Royal and of himself, *i. e.*, the Jesuits, the King and the Pope.¹⁷

M. Souriau reviews briefly the genesis and persistence of the erroneous and traditional interpretation from the "édition affadée, châtrée, pour dire le vrai mot" of the *Pensées* published by Port

Royal, down through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, through Victor Cousin and more recent critics. He notes that although many have alluded to the all-pervading Jansenism of the *Pensées*, it has been only in passing and without developing the idea further. No one has remarked sufficiently its importance. M. Souriau proposes to indicate and show clearly that importance, thereby reestablishing unity in Pascal's work and showing the *Pensées* to be "la suite logique des *Provinciales*."

Briefly his theory is as follows: Pascal's intention to write an apology was modified by the *milieu* and the *moment*. He lived at Port Royal, which harbored inexhaustible, untiring hatred toward the Jesuits, which considered the court as the "*ultima ratio* du diable," and which professed a perfect disdain for ecclesiastical superiors, and manifested an icy coldness towards the Papacy. Such an atmosphere could not be without its effect on Pascal. Nor was he uninfluenced by the mode of life followed at Port Royal, which M. Souriau characterizes as "the most frightful *régime* ever invented to torture the poor human machine." All these characteristics of Port Royal were raised by Pascal to the *nth* power; he was more Jansenist than Jansenius himself. But Pascal's intention was modified by the *moment* also. Not satisfied with the *Provinciales*, but, nevertheless, encouraged by their success, he determined to continue the fight against the Jesuits, as one may gather from the *Eighteenth Provinciale*. The Miracle of the Holy Thorn (Mar. 24, 1656) confirming him in this intense spirit of combat, he increases the fierceness of the polemic in the *Provinciales*, beginning with the Sixth (Apr. 10, 1656). Pascal is upheld in his struggle by God. His enemies are confounded, but do not, will not recognize their defeat. Confident in the supreme righteousness of his cause, which he identifies with the cause of Christ and His Church, Pascal continues with increased vigor and acrimony.¹⁸ Persecution breaks out. Port Royal is dispersed by decree of the Conseil du Roi. A *Formulaire* is presented to the Port Royalists for signature. Jacqueline, Pascal's sister, signs and dies. A second *Formulaire* is presented. Pascal domi-

¹⁷ Cf. Brunetière, *Études Critiques*, I, 90.

¹⁸ Cf. the *Factums* for the curés of Paris and of Rouen.

nated by all these events carries his resistance so far that Port Royal, in the persons of Arnauld and Nicole, refuses to follow him. A consideration of the *milieu* and the *moment* as thus outlined will give some conception of what must have been Pascal's *état d'âme* when he wrote the *Pensées*.

Port Royalist intransigent, whose most absolute rule is predestination, Pascal so assimilated and intensified the doctrine of Jansenius that he practised what M. Souriau is pleased to call for want of a better term "pascalism." What importance would these two, Jansenism and its intensified form Pascalism, have had in the work, if finished? If we count merely the pages and lines, articles and fragments where these doctrines are evident in the work as it now stands, we must concede, says M. Souriau, that they would occupy a rather restricted place. The real importance of Pascal's doctrine will appear, however, when we note that "these pages contain, not assertions of detail, but theories of general doctrine which are the very backbone of the Work." In the last analysis "les *Pensées* ne sont qu'une exposition du Jansenisme exaspéré, un nouvel Augustinus, revu, corrigé et considérablement aggravé qui ne voulait prouver que deux choses : les Jansenistes seraient les seuls vrais disciples de Jesus, leurs adversaires ne seraient pas de véritables chrétiens."

In a separate chapter M. Souriau traces the development of Pascal's animosity towards the Jesuits, his attacks on the monarchy and his criticism of the Papacy itself. Needless to say the foregoing thesis gives rise to objections, the most important of which M. Souriau answers. He believes, then, that Pascal's first plan, which was to write an apology, was modified so that instead he wrote a polemical work defeuding Jansenism and attacking its foes : the Jesuits, the Court and the Pope. Here we have a change analogous to that evident in the *Provinciales*—a change caused by the *milieu* in which Pascal lived and by the events of his last years. Notwithstanding Hatzfeld's opinion that Pascal's Jansenism amounts to very little, one is inclined, after reading this article, to say with Faguet : "je penche vers l'opinion de ceux qui croient que les *Pensées* sont un livre contre les Jesuites."¹⁹

¹⁹ *Rev. Latine*, 25 oct., 1904, p. 594.

All these articles widely differing in content possess a unity which binds them together in that, at first for the most part University lectures, they were conceived in a spirit of exactness, impartiality, in short, in a spirit thoroughly scientific, which the author defines in an excellent *Avant-Propos: L'Esprit Scientifique et la Critique Littéraire*, indicating what claims to a scientific character may be urged for the study of literature. After all, it is not so much the application to that study of theories or hypotheses distinctly belonging to the exact sciences which should be cultivated, but rather the scientific attitude of mind, which should be sought after. M. Souriau's own book is a happy example of the middle way between the unscientific, careless, irresponsible method and that method which is characterized largely by endless and futile citations, wearying references: an idle show of barren pedantry. Ever judicious and careful, he is, at the same time, interesting, stimulating and illuminating, clear and understandable, an admirable instance of that clarity and precision so peculiarly French and of the industry and intelligence, solid attainment and stimulating effect of the French University professor.

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MODERN FRENCH LITERATURE.

EDOUARD HERRIOT: *Madame Récamier et ses amis*, d'après de nouveaux documents inédits. Paris : Plon, 1905.—Two vols. lxxix–357, 418 pages.

This large work contains a great deal concerning literature and deserves, therefore, a brief mention here.

Although not what one might well call a "literary salon," the salon of the beautiful friend of Madame de Staël always counted among its guests a great many writers of fame. Moreover, regarding Madame Récamier's personality, she is not only the model of almost all the Beatrices painted or sculptured in Italy since Canova, she is also the heroine of Madame de Genlis' *Athenais ou le*

château de Coppet en 1807, and she is, at least partly, the original of the countess Fœdora in Balzac's *Peau de Chagrin*. Again, she inspired many beautiful passages of Chateaubriand's *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, and it is owing to her influence alone that Chateaubriand's not altogether favorable judgment of Madame de Staël, in the first version of the "Mémoires," was considerably altered later.

Then the book contains a good deal of unpublished and often valuable documents with regard to the many literary celebrities that, at different times, surrounded Mad. Récamier. The title of the work is "Madame Récamier et ses amis." We learn a great deal first of all, of course, about Madame de Staël, then about Benjamin Constant, Ballanche, the two Ampères, Barante, etc., etc., and (in the second volume) especially about Chateaubriand.

Every one studying a literary problem of this period is almost sure to find some sort of information in Herriot. It may not be much, only perhaps a little fact, but we all know how much such little facts count sometimes in scholarly researches.

The book was described: "un pavé sur une rose." It is a just criticism from an esthetic point of view; but the abundance of information that suggested it will not frighten a special student of literature. On the contrary.

A general index would be desirable, although the table of contents will render things rather easy to those who wish to consult the work for reference.

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A NOTE ON *Twelfth Night*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :

Oliv. What kind o' man is he?

Mal. Why of mankind.

Dr. Furness (*Variorum Twelfth Night*, p. 78) says, "This dallying of words is unclear to me." "P. W. B." in *New Shakespeareana* (July,

1908, p. 78), undertakes to throw light upon this obscure passage by recalling the German translation of prostitute, *Das Mensch*, literally 'The Mankind.' He would give "mankind," in Malvolio's answer the meaning of "virago," a use of which "we find numerous examples in Early English." In illustration he gives six examples in which the adjective 'mankind' has the value of "masculine, virago-like." In each of these examples the adjective refers to a feminine subject. I give the two of the examples that are quoted from Shakespeare. *Coriolanus*, iv, ii, 16. Are you mankind? [of Virgilia]; *Winter's Tale*, II, iii, 67. A mankind witch [of Paulina].

The explanation suggested, that of 'masculine, virago-like,' is not the meaning Malvolio had in mind in making his pun on the "kind o' man" of his mistress Olivia. He certainly does not suspect the real sex of the messenger, and has no thought of calling Cesario either "masculine" or "virago-like." He does mean to emphasize by the use of "mankind" the insistent nature of Cesario's demand, of which he has just made report. In answer to Olivia's request, he replies that the messenger is "fierce," even "furious," exaggerating for the effect of the pun perhaps. "Mankind" here is an adjective (the noun is understood), to which the *Oxford Dictionary* assigns the meanings "infuriated, fierce, furious, mad."

Not only had Malvolio no intention of calling the sex of the disguised page into question, but in using the adjective "mankind" in the sense of 'fierce,' he had the fixed thought still further to lay stress on Cesario's 'unmannerly' behaviour. Olivia's next words give him opportunity to emphasize the thought once more. To Olivia's "What manner of man?", he replies, punning again, "Of very ill-manner: he'll speak with you, will you or no." The closely-knit thought, then, of this passage is strengthened, not weakened, by this pun, a claim that cannot be made for all of the puns of Shakespeare.

In reference to women, as in the two examples from Shakespeare quoted above, the use of the adjective "mankind" is decidedly uncomplimentary, that of "masculine, virago-like," as the context shows. In reference to men it may have

born a similarly uncomplimentary meaning; and with this force, would have been peculiarly fitting to Malvolio's attitude towards Cesario, the Duke's messenger, and the whole serving world in general. The close relation of this use of "mankind"¹ to "mankeen"² may account for the touch of contempt that I suspect was implied in Malvolio's use of the word.

A rare case in which we find *mankeen* referring to a man is in *Hist. Jacob & Esau*, II. ii. Cjb, where Ragan speaks to his raging master Esau, "What? are you mankene now? I reckon it best I, To bind your handes behind you euen as ye lye. *Esau*. Nay, have mercy on me and let me not perish."³ Two examples of "mankind" in the sense of "infuriated, furious," etc., I add from the six that the *Oxford Dictionary* gives: Chapman, *All Fooles*, Wks., 1873, I. 167, Good Signor Cornelio be not too mankinde against your wife; Josselyn, *New Eng. Rarities*, 13, they [Bears] . . . are never mankind, i. e. fierce, but in rutting time.

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AN UNKNOWN MIDDLE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF *L'Épître d'Othea*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Dr. Warner, the Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1904 a translation by Stephen Scrope of *L'Épître d'Othéa à Hector*, by Christine de Pisan. Besides this effort of Fastolf's worthy squire, Dr. Warner noted another translation made and printed some seventy years later, about 1540, by Robert Wyer, an early Charing Cross bookseller.

I have now identified a third translation, of

¹ "Of obscure origin: possibly a perversion of *Mankeen*, though that form does not appear in our quots. till later." *Oxford Dictionary*.

² "Of animals (rarely of persens): Inclined to attack men; fierce, savage." *Oxford Dictionary*.

³ In John S. Farmer's modernized spelling of this word (E. E. D. S., *Anonymous Plays*, Second Series, p. 28), he gives it as *mankin*, an example of the modernized spelling that is so serious a defect of this otherwise useful series of volumes for the study of Early English plays.

which Dr. Warner was not aware. It is contained in MS. Harley 838, a volume probably dating from the reign of Edward IV, after 1471; and is thus contemporaneous with Scrope's translation. The author seems to have been Anthony Babyngton, as appears from the first article in the volume, translated and written "*per me Antonium babyngton*." This first article is a treatise on heraldic terms, worked up from various sources, and as the whole volume deals with genealogy, heraldry, history and knighthood, and is written throughout by Babyngton, it is more than probable that the *Othea*, which is unsigned, is also his work. The language and style of both articles point to the same view.

On the fly-leaf of the volume, in a hand *temp.* Hen. VIII, is a signature of Anthony Babyngton (2), and another, dated 1550, of Henry Babyngton. These two men were grandfather and father respectively of Anthony Babyngton (3), the conspirator of Elizabeth's time, who was executed in 1586 after the exposure of the plot to kill the Queen, and put Mary, Queen of Scots, upon the throne.

Anthony Babyngton (2), who was sheriff of Derby and Notts in 1534, and died before 1537, cannot have written the volume, since his handwriting is of a much later time. Another Anthony (1), of the same age as this man's grandfather, must therefore be looked upon as our author. I have thus far found no record of him, though the family was noble and widespread throughout the fifteenth century, and the pro-nomen so evidently a family one.

This volume was not among the volumes confiscated among Anthony Babyngton's effects, as given in MS. Lansdowne 50. The name "*Daniel Hills 1594*" on fol. 12, is evidence that the book had left its original owners before that date.

The *Epistle of Othea*, which is complete, occupies folios 67–91. The "text" is in ballade, or rhyme royal; the "glose" and the "moralyte" in prose. It begins with the line, which I give for identification,

"The hye divine eternall maieste."

Babyngton varies sometimes from his original, as for example when he calls Narcissus a "fair maid."

An edition of Babyngton and Wyer, and a reprint of the Scrope version, from a better and more complete ms. than that in the Roxburghe edition, is arranged for through the Early English Text Society.

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literature, and, as the *De Officiis* has come straight down from the hands of the author, there seems to be no need of any "intermediary" to account for its introduction into English literature.

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A NOTE ON HEINE'S *Harzreise*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

"NEVER LESS ALONE THAN WHEN ALONE."

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In the February number of *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Professor Cook, in a note tracing this apothegm in English literature to its source, after citing passages from Gibbon, Rogers, Byron, goes on to say:

"But it occurs earlier in Browne's (1616) *Britannia's Pastorals* 2. 4. 170:

'Or to be least alone when most alone,'"

and then, after quotations from Drummond of Hawthornden, Milton and Sidney, reaches this conclusion:

"All these are ultimately indebted to Cicero, *De Re Publ.* 1. 17, 27, though, as the only known ms. of this work was not discovered till the early part of the nineteenth century, it was doubtless through some intermediary."

After reading this note I took down my copy of Cicero's *De Officiis*, and soon found the following passage marked (3. 1): "P. Scipionem, Marce fili, eum qui primus Africanus appellatus est, dicere solitum scripsit Cato, qui fuit ejus fere æqualis, numquam se minus otiosum esse quam quum otiosus, nec minus solum quam quum solus esset."

There I found also a reference to 1. 29: "Quo genere non modo Plautus noster et Atticorum antiqua comœdia, sed etiam philosophorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt; multaque multorum facete dicta, ut ea, quæ a sene Catone collecta sunt, quæ vocant ἀποφθέγματα."

Cato's book of "Elegant Extracts" is doubtless the ultimate source of the apothegm in Latin

SIRS:—"Ein junger Burschenschaftler, der kürzlich zur Purifikation in Berlin gewesen. . . wusste nicht, dass, da in Berlin überhaupt der Schein der Dinge am meisten gilt, was schon die allgemeine Redensart 'man so duhn' hinlänglich andeutet, dieses Scheinwesen auf den Brettern erst recht florieren muss, und dass daher die Intendanz am meisten zu sorgen hat für die 'Farbe des Barts, womit eine Rolle gespielt wird,' für die Treue der Kostüme, die von beeidigten Historikern vorgezeichnet und von wissenschaftlich gebildeten Schneidern genäht werden." ¹ Of course, this passage is directed against the innovations of Graf Brühl: but strange to say, none of Heine's many editors (not even B. J. Vos's very careful edition of the *Harzreise*, published by Heath) seems to have noticed the reference of the words which he placed in quotation marks. Beyond doubt he had in mind the classic dialogue in the *Midsummer Night's Dream* (Act I, sc. 2):

Quince: . . . you must needs play Pyramus.

Bottom: Well, I will undertake it. What beard were I best to play it in?

Quince: Why, what you will.

Bottom: I will discharge it in either your straw colour beard, your orange-tawny beard, your purple-in-grain beard, or your French crown colour beard, your perfect yellow, etc.

Heine's paraphrase seems to have been made from the English, for it does not follow any of the German translations accessible to him.

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¹ Heine's *Sämtliche Werke*, hrsg. v. Ernst Elster III, 59 (Leipzig und Wien, n. d.). The italics are mine, but the quotation marks are Heine's own.

WORDSWORTH'S USE OF MILTON'S DESCRIPTION
OF THE BUILDING OF PANDEMONIUM.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—To what extent a figure in poetry may prevail in a writer's mind, and be reflected in his own work is strikingly exemplified in the case of Milton's description of the building of Pandemonium, and its reappearance in the poetry of Wordsworth. It is not surprising that so earnest a student and passionate a lover of Milton should have been influenced by this most exquisite of all descriptions. The "rising like an exhalation" is the line which seems to have laid the deepest hold upon Wordsworth's imagination. Could it have been that his own land, the country of the lakes, with its mists and drifting fogs, suggested a comparison with the picture of the palace rising like a mist?

Dorothy Wordsworth, in a letter to Mrs. Clarkson, dated from Elleray, November 12, 1810, tells of the power which the rising mists in the mountains had to suggest Milton to Wordsworth :

"The weather was heavenly when we were there," she writes, "and the first morning we sat in hot sunshine on a crag, twenty yards from the door, while William read part of the fifth book of *Paradise Lost* to us. He read *The Morning Hymn*, while a stream of white vapour, which coursed the valley of Brathay, ascended slowly and by degrees melted away. It seemed as if we never before felt deeply the power of the poet, 'Ye mists and exhalations, etc., etc.'"

Here, it seems, must be proof positive of Wordsworth's connecting the thought of Milton (*P. L.* v, 185 f.) with the mists of his own land. And as deeply as he loved the country around Roydal Mount, so must the power of Milton's description have appealed to him, and become an unconscious part of his poetry.

In reference to his faith Wordsworth writes to Sir George Beaumont, May 28, 1825 :

"I look abroad upon Nature, I think of the best part of our species, I lean upon my friends, and I meditate upon the Scriptures, especially the Gospel of St. John ; and my creed rises up of itself, with the ease of an exhalation, yet a fabric of adamant."

Surely a more beautiful use of the simile could hardly be found.

In the *Waggoner* (Canto iv) appears :

And the smoke and respiration
Rising like an exhalation,
Blend with the mist—a moving shroud
To form, an undissolving cloud ;
Which, with slant ray, the merry sun
Takes delight to play upon.

Which suggests, not only the passage at *P. L.* i, 710 f., but also the passage which Wordsworth read to Dorothy that morning, *P. L.* v, 185 f.

In the Ode, *Who rises on the banks of Seine?* from the Poems Dedicated to National Independence and Liberty, we find Wordsworth dependent upon the idea of building by the power of music :

Whether, as bards have told in ancient song,
Built up by soft, seducing harmonies ;
Or prest together by the appetite,
And by the power of wrong.

In another Ode in the same series, *When the Soft Hand of Sleep*, he turns to the passage again, in a series of lines of rarest beauty through which the words of Milton gleam like jewels through a crystal goblet :

Anon before my sight a palace rose
Built of all precious substances,—so pure
And exquisite, that sleep alone bestows
Ability like splendour to endure :
Entered with streaming thousands, through the gate,
I saw the banquet spread beneath a Dome of state
A lofty Dome that dared to emulate
The heaven of sable night
With starry lustre ; yet had power to throw
Solemn effulgence, clear as solar light,
Upon a princely company below,
While the vault rang with choral harmony,
Like some Nymph-haunted grot beneath the roaring sea.

The "streaming thousands" is undoubtedly a recollection of Milton's description of the lost spirits trooping into the newly built Pandemonium,

With hundreds and with thousands trooping came.

The beauty and proportion of a perfect building, rather than its rising to music or like a mist, appeals to Wordsworth in the Ode, *Imagination—ne'er before content*. The highest praise he can bestow upon a proposed temple is :—

Bright be the Fabric, as a star
 Fresh risen and beautiful within !—there meet
 Dependence and infinite proportion just ;
 A Pile that Grace approves, and Time can trust
 With his most sacred wealth, heroic dust.

In *The Excursion*, fifth book, the lines

For, from this pregnant spot of ground, such thoughts
 Rise to the notice of a serious mind
 By natural exhalation.

suggest the rising of the building, naturally as an exhalation from the ground.

Wordsworth's use of this Miltonic figure with its accompanying similes may have been unintentional ; it undoubtedly was. The fact that it reappears so often and in so diverse a manner is but another proof of his admiration of and dependence upon Milton.

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THEORIES OF VISION IN ENGLISH POETRY.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—Certain passages in our early poetry imply obsolete and primitiv theories of vision, seriously stated by the Greek filosofers. I have collected the following to which I should be glad to add.

Spenser, *Faerie Queen*, 2, 11. 26, 1-2 :

For as the winged wind his Tigre fled,
 That vew of eye could scarse him overtake.

Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, 581-585 :

But God who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer
 From the dry ground to spring, thy thirst to allay
 After the brunt of battle, can as easy
 Cause light again within thy eyes to spring,
 Wherewith to serve him better than thou hast.

Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther*, Part II, 74-76 :

Because philosophers may disagree
 If sight by emission or reception be,
 Shall it be thence inferred I do not see?

An admirable account of Greek theories of sense-perception, up to and including Aristotle is *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition from Alcmaeon to Aristotle*, by John I. Beare, M. A., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906. To this work my

attention is called by my friend Professor H. N. Gardiner. From it I draw a few hints in explanation of the above passages.

According to Theophrastus, Alcmaeon of Crotona held that the eye contains fire, as is evinst by the fact that a flash takes place within the eye when it receives a blow. (Beare, p. 11.) This would of itself perhaps sufficiently explain the passage of *Samson Agonistes*. But here we have also to reckon with the account of Milton's symptoms in his letter (No. 15) to Leonard Filaras : "I ought not to omit that while I had any sight left, as soon as I lay down on my bed and turnd on either side, a flood of light used to gush from my closed eyelids." (*Milton's Prose Works*, edited by St. John, Bohn, vol. 3, p. 508.)

According to the Pythagorean theory, in sight a visual ray proceeds from the eye to the object of vision, reaching which it doubles back again to the eye, like a forearm outstretcht and then bent back again to the shoulder (Beare, p. 12). A somewhat similar theory is stated in the *Timaeus* of Plato (Beare, p. 44) to the effect that light issuing from the eye, is compacted with the surrounding daylight into a homogeneous whole, which when it collides with anything in the line of vision causes the sensation of sight. Both the Pythagoreans and Plato seem to give Dryden's sight "by emission," a theory which clearly underlies also the passage from Spenser.

Dryden's sight "by reception" corresponds to several Greek theories. Thus Empedocles taught that emanations from the object perceivd entered the perceptiv organ by certain pores (Beare, p. 14). Further "Democritus asserts that seeing is the reception of an image reflected from the object seen." (*Alexander ad Aristotelem*, in Beare, p. 30).

Whether the direct source of the theory for any of the above passages of English poetry, may not have been a later Greek writer than Aristotle, I have not inquired. And I dout whether even Dryden had in mind any of the theories of the science of his own day.

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BYRON AND SHAKESPEARE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Among the many good points of Mr. Ernest Hartley Coleridge's editing in the recent *Murray Byron* (London, 1898-1904) is the care with which the poet's frequent reminiscences of well-known authors are recorded. There are, however, a few Shaksperian imitations that Mr. Coleridge has not noted, and which, too, have escaped the notice of Ludwig Fuhrmann (*Die Belesenheit des jungen Byron*, Berlin, 1903), and Ernst Zabel (*Byrons Kenntnis von Shakespeare und sein Urteil über ihn*, Halle a. S., 1904). Let me call your attention, for instance, to the following parallels between *Sardanapalus* and *Julius Cæsar*:

- (1.)
 (a) It were to die
 Before my hour, to live in dread of death,
 Tracing revolt. (*Sard.*, I, ii, 393-395.)
 (b) Cowards die many times before their deaths;
 The valiant never taste of death but once.
 (*Cæsar*, II, ii, 32-33.)
- (2.)
 (a) *Arb.* Our business is with night—'tis come.
Bel. But not
 Gone. (*Sard.*, II, i, 39-41.)
 (b) *Cæs.* The ides of March are come.
Sooth. Ay, Cæsar; but not gone.
 (*Cæsar*, III, i, 1-2.)

With all proper scepticism in regard to verbal accidents, I think we may feel it to be quite possible that Byron's unusually retentive mind was here reproducing vaguely remembered phrases from the great dramatist.

Macbeth is one of the plays most quoted by Lord Byron, according to the tabulation of Herr Zabel; but I have noted no references to Byron's *Marino Faliero* in this section of the German's study, although Mr. Coleridge has recorded at least these three clear parallels between this play and *Macbeth*:

- (1.)
 (a) *Cal.* But if we fail—
I. Ber. They never fail who die
 In a great cause.
 (*Mar. Fal.*, II, ii, 93-94.)
 (b) *Macb.* If we should fail,—

Lady M.

We fail!

But screw your courage to the sticking-
 place,
 And we'll not fail.

(*Macbeth*, I, vii, 59-61.)

- (2.)
 (a) Would that the hour were come! we will not scotch,
 But kill. (*Mar. Fal.*, III, ii, 268-269.)
 (b) We have scotch'd the snake, not kill'd it.¹
 (*Macbeth*, II, iii, 13.)
- (3.)
 (a) And I repented; but 'twas not for me
 To pull in resolution: what must be
 I could not change, and would not fear.
 (*Mar. Fal.*, V, ii, 49-51.)
 (b) I pull in resolution and begin
 To doubt the equivocation of the fiend
 That lies like truth.
 (*Macbeth*, V, v, 42-44.)

With these cases to establish a presumption of relationship between *Marino Faliero* and *Macbeth*, I may perhaps allow myself to note a few other possible cases of similarity that have come to my attention:

- (1.)
 (a) *Doge.* There's blood upon thy face—how came it
 there?
I. Ber. 'Tis mine. (*Mar. Fal.*, I, ii, 334-335.)
 (b) *Macb.* There's blood upon thy face.
Mur. 'Tis Banquo's, then.
 (*Macbeth*, III, iv, 12-13.)
- (2.)
 (a) *I. Ber.* Let's away—hark—the Hour strikes.
Doge. On—On—
 It is our knell, or that of Venice.—On.
 (*Mar. Fal.*, III, i, 118-120.)
 (b) I go and it is done; the bell invites me.
 Hear it not, Duncan; for it is a knell
 That summons thee to heaven or to hell.
 (*Macbeth*, II, i, 62-64.)
- (3.)
 (a) When all is over, you'll be free and merry,
 And calmly wash those hands incarnadine.
 (*Mar. Fal.*, III, ii, 508-509.)
 (b) No, this my hand will rather
 The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
 Making the green one red.
 (*Macbeth*, II, ii, 62-64.)

It is possible, of course, to go too far in drawing parallels, as I think Herr Zabel does in basing

¹ Cf. *Don Juan*, x, 19:

I "scotched not killed" the Scotchman in my blood.

proof of a Shaksperian reminiscence on the bare occurrence of the not uncommon noun "whereabouts." I do not believe that quite the same objection can justly be lodged against the much rarer "hands incarnadine," nor, perhaps, against the word "bodements," which occurs in the next quotation.

(4.)

(a) Those horrible bodements which, amidst the throng,
I could not dissipate. (*Mar. Fal.*, iv, i, 107-108.)

(b) Who can impress the forest, bid the tree
Unfix his earthbound root? Sweet bodements! good!
(*Macbeth*, iv, i, 95-96.)

(5.)

(a) Will the morn never put to rest
These stars which twinkle yet o'er all the heavens?
I'm settled and bound up, and being so,
The very effort which it cost me to
Resolve to cleanse this Commonwealth with fire,
Now leaves my mind more steady.
(*Mar. Fal.*, iv, ii, 71-76.)

(b) I'm settled, and bend up
Each corporal agent to this terrible feat.
(*Macbeth*, i, vii, 79-80.)

In this case the inaccuracy of Byron's memory in regard to the expression "bound up" does not necessarily disprove the resemblance.

Finally, I should like to mention a reminiscence of Ariosto that I have hit upon in *The Vision of Judgment*, stanza XCIII:

The Bard Saint Peter prayed to interpose
(Himself an author) only for his prose.

Compare *Orlando Furioso*, xxxv, 28 (Saint John is speaking):

Ch'al vostro mondo fui scrittore anch'io.

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THE SPANISH NOVEL.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—I should like to bring to the attention of those readers of *Modern Language Notes* who are interested in Spanish literature and especially the picaresque novel, a book on Mateo Alemán, to which I have seen no reference in this country. It is the discourse read before the Spanish Academy in October of 1907 by D. Francisco Rodríguez Marín, author among other works of a critical edi-

tion of *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, *Cervantes estudió en Sevilla*, *Luis Barahona de Soto* and several books of folk-lore.

Taking as a basis what was already known about Alemán, as given in the discourse read before the Academy in Sevilla in 1892 by D. Joaquín Hazañas, and a work by D. José Gestoso written in 1896 and entitled "Nuevos datos para ilustrar las biografías del maestro Juan de Malara y de Mateo Alemán," el Sr. Rodríguez Marín searched through the various archives of Sevilla, Madrid, and Alcalá de Henares for new details, which he found in abundance. Among them are Alemán's "partida de bautismo," various references to his courses of study in Sevilla and Alcalá de Henares, a notice of his taking passage for the new world and of the exportation of his books, besides more than sixty "escrituras del ilustre autor sevillana ó referentes á él."

Beginning with the removal of Hernando Alemán to Sevilla a few years before the birth of his son Mateo, these facts new and old are woven together into a succinct biography, closing with Alemán's taking passage for Mexico in June, 1608; but of his stay there "no sabemos sino lo que se colige de su Ortografía castellana, que allí terminó y publicó en 1609 y lo que en su libro inédito dijo Bartolomé de Góngora." This last is a short reference to Alemán as a friend whom he had known before they left Spain together.

Occasionally the author offers his own suggestion or explanation, as when he acknowledges that he could not find out in what academy Alemán studied the humanities and adds: "presumo que las cursaría en la del ínclito Juan de Mal-lara": or is obliged to confess that he cannot reconcile certain data that he has found. But on the whole the biography, though short, is one of facts with the references to the different archives and authors quoted, carefully noted that there may be no difficulty in verifying them.

In conclusion Sr. Rodríguez Marín says that in Alemán's works one is able as in a far-off vision, to get the principal events of his life and the memories of the different countries and cities that he visited, but that it is only by a study of the facts that one can understand and rightly judge his works.

The author has thrown much light on the life until recently little known, of one of the most important Spanish writers, and so aided greatly in

the understanding of what he calls "indiscutiblemente el príncipe de nuestros libros picarescos"—Guzmán de Alfarache. Indirectly the discourse furnishes an interesting comparison between the lives and characters of Alemán and Cervantes.

The book also contains the discourse of Sr. Menéndez Pelayo in answer to that of Sr. Rodríguez Marín. It is published by Francisco de P. Díaz, Plaza de Alfonso XIII. 6 and is for sale in the Madrid bookstores. Price two pesetas.

ALICE H. BUSHEE.

CARLYLE'S *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Carlyle's translation of Goethe's work appeared in May, 1824, and several of the British magazines contain reviews of it in their August or September numbers, most of them being far from eulogistic in tone. In fact, the narrow, petty view which English critics took at that time of German literature is almost ludicrous. Think of a reputable critic saying of Goethe's *Faust* that—"on the whole, the absurdities of this piece are so numerous, the obscenities are so frequent, the profaneness is so gross, and the beauties are so exclusively adapted for German relish, that we cannot conscientiously recommend its importation, and still less the translation of it, to our English students of German literature!"¹ Some fifteen years later the literary critic of the same magazine suggests that it would have pleased his English readers better if Carlyle had omitted from his translation of *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* the passage describing Wilhelm's adoration of the fair Mariana.² In contrast to such criticism the present writer would call attention to what seems to be the earliest public praise of Carlyle's translation, as the criticism is dated "July 31, 1824." It is found in the little publication called *The Drama; or Theatrical Pocket Magazine*, vol. 6, pp. 375 ff., and reads as follows:

¹ *The Monthly Review* (1810), vol. 62.

² Book I, chap. xvii. On this point compare Carlyle's defence in the "Translator's Preface to the First Edition of Wilhelm Meister."

"It certainly has been with no little pleasure that I have lately perused a work, translated from Goethe, the title of which is "*Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*," and which I most strongly recommend to the lovers of the drama, as containing more real knowledge and a deeper insight into that noble art, than any work which for a long time has appeared in this country.

"German literature has been unknown to us, excepting in those tales of horror which form so large a portion of the works of all their authors; and the authors themselves seem to be lost upon us, if indeed we were ever acquainted with them." For the translations usually fall so far short of the spirit of the original, that it may be said to be almost another work. *Wilhelm Meister* has brought us much nearer to a knowledge of Goethe, than any work of that admirable author which has appeared in English dress, and it is really gratifying to the feelings of an Englishman, to hear and read with what reverence his favourite part is spoken by one of the greatest geniuses that ever graced his country. The rapture with which Goethe speaks of *Shakespeare*, shows that he is really worthy of that high esteem in which he is held—all ages and all countries are happy to bear testimony of the worth of our immortal Bard. The character of *Hamlet* has fallen more particularly under the hand of Goethe—and as it will be more acceptable to hear the author's own words, I have selected a few passages out of numerous other ones, which shew the opinions of the Germans on that highly drawn character.

"In the present dearth of theatrical news, I hope these extracts will be acceptable, but to those who have the books themselves from which these are taken, I can only say they must read and admire. I am, *Mr. Drama*, Yours respectfully, *Philo Kean*."

The critic then quotes the famous passages from Vol. II, pp. 72 ff. and 165 ff.³ An amusing typographical error occurs in the quotation of Carlyle's statement of the "disturbances in Norway, the war with Young Fortinbras," etc. The critic has it, "the disturbances in Norway, the bear with Young Fortinbras."

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³ Cf. Beer's *English Romanticism in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 171, and Carlyle's preface (p. vii) to his *German Romance*, 1827.

⁴ The passages are those treating of the composition and plot of the drama, and particularly the conception of Hamlet's character. They are found in Book V, chapters 4 and 5. Lack of space prevents their quotation in this note.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXIV.

BALTIMORE, MAY, 1909.

No. 5.

A NEW TRACE OF SHAKESPERE'S INFLUENCE UPON SCHILLER'S WALLENSTEIN.

Prof. Max Winkler in his excellent edition of *Wallenstein* refers to the celebrated speech of Illo in *The Piccolomini* (Act II, Sc. 6, ll. 928 ff.), as being out of keeping with Illo's general character. He says: 'The elevated tone of this whole speech is hardly in keeping with Illo's character.'

In this speech Illo makes a supreme effort to bring Wallenstein to realize how critical is the position in which Wallenstein and his generals are placed. The only possible escape is through immediate and decisive action. Wallenstein's whole career has been marked by hesitation and doubt, which if persisted in at this critical moment will prove fatal. Illo makes this final and supreme appeal to bring Wallenstein to act. Illo is a sagacious man of the world and he can see things here in their true relation. He knows that only an unconditional surrender of Wallenstein's destructive theories in regard to astrology and only an absolutely uncompromising attitude towards his enemies can avert an otherwise inevitable catastrophe. Now is the time to bring Wallenstein out of the darkness into which that mysterious personality was plunged, into the light of resolute action. To act meant victory and glory; to hesitate meant an inglorious death. But how does Illo express this? Certainly not as he has hitherto expressed himself to Wallenstein and his generals. Here he is transformed from a sagacious man of the world into a subtle philosopher. His speech is adorned with highly involved metaphors. His trend of thought has become philosophical and rhetorical rather than persuasive and characterized by a mere practical wisdom. This, to be sure, is out of keeping with Illo's general character. How are we to justify such an abrupt metamorphosis in so important a character as that of Illo? My answer is that Schiller, the philosopher and the poet, has invested his character with an element of his own idealism. Filled with the

grandeur of the tragic situation Schiller could not refrain from putting into the mouth of his hero this elevated passage of sublime thought, regardless of the general character of the man. He has perhaps violated a dramatic principle of consistency in the character and temperament of a personality like that of Illo; a violation which Henrik Ibsen, for instance, never would have allowed himself. But he has, thereby, enhanced the dramatic tension of the play and cast a halo of poetry about the two figures of Illo and Wallenstein as they stand there on the threshold of uncertainty. This, it seems to me, explains at least in part the discrepancy between Illo as he is in this sublime effort and the Illo of the commonplace world of selfish intrigue. Schiller like all great idealists has invested his dramatic characters with himself.

But there are other influences which were undoubtedly brought to bear upon Schiller's mind, when the thought of this passage presented itself. We know that Schiller was influenced in the structure of *Wallenstein* and in a great many individual features of the play by Goethe's *Egmont*. In a letter to Körner, April 10, 1796, Schiller admits this. We know he made a thorough study of *Egmont*, criticized it severely and prepared a new version of it for the stage in 1796. We know also that *Egmont* was filled with Shakesperian ideas and allusions. Indeed, Goethe had intended to write a play based upon Shakespere's *Julius Caesar*. He had even progressed considerably in its composition, as his letter to Schönborn, June 1, 1774, testifies. It was Goethe's interest in *Egmont* which prevented the completion of his *Julius Caesar*. But he has interwoven in *Egmont* much that flavors of Shakespere's play, which undoubtedly impressed the poet Schiller.¹ Take, for instance, the scene in the second act of *Egmont* where Jetter, Vansen and the peasants discuss the matter of constitutional authority.

¹These passages are also referred to by Prof. Winkler in his edition of Goethe's *Egmont*.

Jetter. Schafft uns das Buch.
Ein Bürger. Ja, wir müssen's haben.
Andere. Das Buch! das Buch!

Compare this with *Julius Caesar*, Act III, Scene 2, ll. 139 ff. in Mark Antony's famous funeral oration :

Fourth Cit. We'll hear the will ; read it, Mark Antony.
All. The will, the will! We will hear *Cæsar's* will.

And farther on in the same scene :

All. The will! the testament!

Also *Egmont*, Act II, where Egmont disperses the rabble and bids each one to return to his own peaceful occupation :

Egmont. Geht aus einander, geht an euer Gewerbe. Es ist ein übles Zeichen, wenn ihr an Werktagen feiert, etc.

Compare this with the opening lines of *Julius Caesar* where the tribune Flavius scatters a rabble of citizens with the following words :

'Hence! home, you idle creatures, get you home :
 Is this a holiday? What! know you not,
 Being mechanical, you ought not walk
 Upon a laboring day, without the sign
 Of your profession? Speak, what trade art thou?'

Also *Egmont*, Act IV, where Vansen compares the Duke of Alva not to "einer dickbäuchigen (Spinne), die sind weniger schlimm, aber so einer langfüßigen, schmalleibigen, die vom Frasse nicht feist wird und recht dünne Fäden zieht aber desto zähre."

Compare this with *Julius Caesar*, Act I, Sc. 2, ll. 192-195 :

Cæsar. Let me have men about me that are fat,
 Sleek-headed men and such as sleep o' nights ;
 Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look ;
 He thinks too much : such men are dangerous.

Further, *Egmont*, Act V, where Klärchen makes her animated appeal to her fellow country-men. She says : "Da hobt ihr eure Kinder auf der Thürschwelle in die Höhe und deutetet ihnen : 'Sieh, das ist Egmont, der Grösste da : Er ist's!'"

Compare this with *Julius Caesar*, Act I, Sc. 1, ll. 40 ff., in the speech of the tribune Marullus to the people :

'Many a time and oft
 Have you climbed up to walls and battlements,
 To towers and windows, yea, to chimney tops,
 Your infants in your arms, and there have sat
 The live-long day with patient expectation
 To see great Pompey pass the streets of Rome :' etc.

To return to Schiller : *Wallenstein* was strongly influenced by *Egmont*, and *Egmont* in turn by *Julius Caesar*. Therefore, it is not strange that the tragedy of *Julius Caesar* impressed itself strongly upon Schiller's mind during the composition of *Wallenstein*. In the passage under consideration (*Piccolomini*, Act II, Scene 6, ll. 928 ff.), a tremendous question is raised, a question which may be applied to all men under all possible conditions. It is a question of universal import ; when life's crisis has come, when the tidal wave of life is about to break, whether we shall be equal to the situation and be able to seize the garland of victory from the hand of circumstance. The thought is Shakesperian in its universality and in the tremendous scope of its significance. When we consider the remarkable similarity in the general thought of this passage with that expressed by Shakespeare in *Julius Caesar* (Act IV, Sc. 3, ll. 218-224), as well as the coincidence in metaphors in both Shakespeare and Schiller, we cannot, I believe, deny that we have here traces of Shakesperian influence ; especially in view of the facts recorded above. Let us compare the two passages :

Schiller, *Piccolomini*, Act II, Sc. 6, ll. 928 ff. :

"O! nimm der Stunde wahr, eh sie entschlüpft,
 So selten kommt der Augenblick im Leben,
 Der wahrhaft wichtig ist und gross. Wo eine
 Entscheidung soll geschehen, da muss vieles
 Sich glücklich treffen und zusammenfinden—
 Und einzeln nur, zerstreut zeigen sich
 Des Glückes Fäden, die Gelegenheiten,
 Die, nur in einen Lebenspunkt zusammen-
 Gedrängt, den schweren Fruchtknoten bilden.
 Sieh, wie entscheidend, wie verhängnisvoll
 Sich's jetzt um dich zusammenzieht," etc.

Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act IV, Sc. 3, ll. 218-224. Brutus in urging Cassius on to decisive action says :

'There is a tide in the affairs of men,
 Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune ;
 Omitted, all the voyage of their life
 Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

On such a full sea are we now afloat ;
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures,'—etc.

If we compare the two passages carefully we shall see that Illo's speech is simply another rendering of Brutus's. But it is rather a philosophical and rhetorical rendering of Shakespeare's thoughts. We have Shakespeare here, "verschillert," so to speak. Even though such a passage far outreaches the prosaic temper of Illo's mind, Schiller could not refrain from making him express such a sublime thought. At this point it was that Shakespeare guided Schiller. The grand thought of Brutus upon the same question of life loomed up before the poet and led him to idealize the thought in Illo's prosaic mind. The temptation was too great for such a sensitive poet as Friedrich Schiller.

Notice that further along in this same speech Illo employs the same general metaphor which Brutus does. He speaks of 'the high tide which lifts the heavy ship from the strand,' (ll. 945-946, "die hohe Flut ist's, die das schwere Schiff vom Strande hebt"), even as Brutus says :

'There is a *tide* in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the *flood*, leads on to fortune.'

When, in this same speech, Illo rebukes Wallenstein for his superstitious reliance upon astrology and urges him instead to rely upon self, for 'within his own breast were the stars of his destiny'

(ll. 961-962 : Glaub' mir
In deiner Brust sind deines Schicksals Sterne):

we inevitably turn to the same thought in *Julius Cæsar*. In speaking of great Cæsar's destiny Cassius says (*Julius Cæsar*, Act I, Sc. 2, ll. 139-141) :

'Men at some time are masters of their fates :
The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.'

To be sure, Schiller expresses the same idea elsewhere, for this is by no means a thought confined to Shakespeare or foreign to those who believe in the agency of free will. In the *Jungfrau von Orleans* (Act III, Sc. 4, ll. 2134-5) where Sorel demands of the Jungfrau a prophecy of her own destiny the Jungfrau refuses to give it on the

ground that such a destiny lies within Sorel's own self to fulfill. She says :

"Mir zeigt der Geist nur grosse Weltgeschicke ;
Dein Schicksal ruht in deiner eignen Brust."

I believe that these parallel passages in both *Wallenstein* and the *Jungfrau* go back originally to the thought expressed in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, with which Schiller was undoubtedly familiar during the time of the composition of *Wallenstein*.

When we consider how this whole speech of Illo (ll. 928 ff.) is a mere modification or transformation of a Shakesperian idea in *Julius Cæsar*, we are inevitably led to the conclusion that Illo's next words (ll. 961-962) must likewise have had their origin in *Julius Cæsar* since they bear such a striking resemblance to the thought expressed by Cassius in the same play (Act I, Sc. 2).

Indeed Wallenstein himself is twice compared to Cæsar, once by Max Piccolomini and once by himself. In *Wallenstein's Tod* (Act II, Sc. 2, ll. 733-735), Max compares Wallenstein to the fixed star of the north which has always served him as an unswerving guide in the conduct of his life :—

"Ziemt solche Sprache mir
Mit dir, der, wie der feste Stern des Pols,
Mir als die Lebensregel vorgeschienen !"

even as great Cæsar himself says (*Julius Cæsar*, Act III, Sc. 1, ll. 60-63) :

"But I am constant as the northern star
Of whose true-fixed and resting quality,
There is no fellow in the firmament."

When Max accuses Wallenstein of high treason, Wallenstein defends his action by referring to the example of great Cæsar, whose act of treason resulted in his greatness. He feels himself akin to Cæsar at this decisive moment of his life. He says (*Tod*, Act II, Sc. 2, ll. 835-843) :

"Was thu' ich Schlimmres
Als jener Cäsar that, des Name noch
Bis heut' das Höchste in der Welt benennet ?
Er führte wider Rom die Legionen,
Die Rom ihm zur Beschützung anvertraut.
Warf er das Schwert von sich, er war verloren,
Wie ich es wär', wenn ich entwaßnete.
Ich spüre was in mir von seinem Geist ;
Gieb mir sein Glück ! Das andre will ich tragen."

The influence of Shakespere's *Julius Cæsar*, therefore, is found in Schiller's *Wallenstein* at a point where the universal import of both dramas coincide. Cæsar was great because he made his own greatness. He 'took the tide at the flood and rode on to fortune.' Wallenstein 'omitted to take the tide at the flood and the voyage of his life was bound in shallows and in miseries.' The fate of both men lay 'not in their stars but within their own hearts.'

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AN EARLY ANALOGUE OF CHAUCER'S PRIORESSES TALE.

In his article, "Chaucer's *Prioresses Tale* and its Analogues,"¹ published in 1906, Professor C. F. Brown has made so exhaustive a study of the group of stories which have as their theme the murder of a boy by the Jews and the miracle wrought by the Virgin for his mother's sake, that it may well seem unnecessary to pursue the subject further. His study, however, leaves the origin of the legend in the dark, except that he conjectures a primary version, "which can hardly have been later than the twelfth century," with its home "either in Germany or in the Netherlands."² Whether or not the latter statement be accepted, the former is most reasonable, as is his further suggestion that "the authors of these thirteenth century collections became acquainted with this legend through oral transmission."³

Back of such hypothetical versions, unless the general course of legends was not followed by this particular one, it is altogether probable that at least the materials of the story had long been in existence. The discovery of them would not only throw considerable light on the genesis of the miracle, as the tale came to such writers as Cæsarius of Heisterbach and Thomas Cantimpré, but it would considerably assist in the classification of later variants. For these reasons I may perhaps be pardoned for suggesting as an analogue

of Chaucer's story a miraculous tale that, at best, is only remotely related to it.

In the first book⁴ of his *Miracula*, the justly celebrated *De gloria martyrum*, written between 586 and 590, Gregory of Tours relates a miracle that took place at St. Maurice (Agaunum) in Switzerland, fourteen miles from the head of Lake Lemman, where was situated the shrine of St. Mauritius and his companions of the Theban Legion. I copy part of the chapter that concerns us.

"Magna est etiam virtus ad antedictorum martyrum sepulera, de quibus relictis pluribus pauca perstringere libuit. Mulier quædam filium suum unicum ad hoc monasterium adducens, abbati tradidit erudiendum, videlicet ut factus clericus, sanctis manciparetur officiis. Verum cum jam spiritalibus eruditus esset in litteris, et cum reliquis clericis in choro canentium psallerat, modica pulsatus febre, spiritum exhalavit. Cucurrit mater orbata ad obsequium funeris plangens, sepelivitque filium. Verumtamen non suffecerunt hæ lacrymæ dolori, quæ in exsequiis sunt effusæ: sed per dies singulos veniebat, et super sepulcrum nati sui, emissis in altum vocibus, ejulabat. Cui tandem apparens per visum noctis beatus Mauricius, ait: Quid tu, o mulier, incessanter filii obitum plangens, nunquam desistis a luctu? Cui illa: Dies, inquit, vitæ meæ hunc planctum non expleat; sed dum advixero, semper deflebo unicum meum, nec unquam mitigabor a lacrymis, donec oculos corporis hujus debita mors concludat. Cui ille: Noli ita, ait, quasi mortuum flere, sed æquanimiter age, nam scias eum nobiscum habitare, et sedentem⁵ vitæ perennem consortio nostro perfui. Et ut veraciter credas certa esse quæ loquor, surge crastina die ad matutinum, et audies vocem ejus inter choros psallentium monachorum. Et non solum die crastina, sed etiam omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ, cum veneris audies in psallentio vocem ejus; ideoque ne flevieris, eo quod gaudere te oporteat potius quam lugere. Surgit mulier, longaue ducit suspiria, nec obdormit in stratu suo, donec signum ad consurgendum commoveatur a monachis: quo commoto, accedit ad ecclesiam, aliqua de visione quam viderat probatura. Nihil enim præterit de pollicitatione sancta, sed quæ fuerant divinitus nuntiata, mox impleta noscuntur. Verum ubi cantator respon-

⁴Cap. lxxvi. Migne, *Patr. curs. comp. lat.*, LXXI, 771-772.

⁵The Bollandists in *A. S. S.*, 22 Sept., vi, 318, quoting this miracle, give as a variant reading "sede" and add "forte legendum est in sede."

¹*Publ. Mod. Lang. Association of America*, XXI, 486-518.

²P. 499.

³P. 500.

sorium⁶ (*Al.*, cantato responso), antiphonam caterva suscepit monachorum, audit genetrix, parvuli vocem cognoscit, et gratias agit Deo. Sed et illud quod Martyris ore promissum habebatur, prorsus impletum est, ut omnibus diebus vitæ suæ eum accessisset mulier ad psallentium, vocem audiret hujus infantuli inter reliqua modulamina vocum."

The reader will observe that the only points of correspondence between this tale and *The Boy Killed by the Jews* are these: (1) the son is a school-boy⁷ who has learned to sing; (2) his mother is distracted by grief at his loss; and (3) she is consoled by hearing him sing after death. There is no question, as in the later stories, of the Virgin's intercession, for the miracle is in praise of St. Mauritius. It lacks, moreover, the fundamental element of Jew-baiting that doubtless contributed very much to the success of the later cycle. It does seem to me, however, to suggest that the genesis of Chaucer's story is to be found in a miracle by which a grief-stricken mother was consoled through hearing her son's voice. If so, one should be chary of accepting the theory, proposed by both Professors Skeat and Brown, that the so-called "happy ending" is necessarily the earlier. With full recognition that the parallel is vague, I submit it to Chaucerian students in the hope that some one may be able to carry the history of the narrative one stage further back.

Gregory's book was so popular that it seems altogether likely that this particular story may have been copied from it by many later writers. I note that Jacobus a Voragine, in cap. cxli of his *Legenda Aurea*,⁸ condenses the narrative, using Gregory's words for the most part. Apparently Petrus de Natalibus and Vincentius Bellovacensis also took it over,⁹ but their works are not at present accessible to me.

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⁶ Emended in *A. S. S.*, place cited, to "cantato Responsorio."

⁷ See C. F. Brown, "Chaucer's 'Litel Clergeon'" in *Mod. Phil.*, III, 467-491.

⁸ Ed. Graesse, 3rd ed., 1890, p. 631.

⁹ See *Bibl. hagiographica latina*, under Mauritius.

USE OF *SUO* FOR *LORO* IN OLD ITALIAN.¹

Referring to Tobler's² treatment of this question G. Bertoni says³: "Il aurait pu ajouter que, dans un eas particulier, nos écrivains employaient toujours *suo*; c.-à-d. quand le possessif se rapporte à un complément direct (accusatif). Dans les autres eas, l'emploi de *suo* ou de *loro* était indifférent. Voici un certain nombre d'exemples confirmant cette allégation, qui pourrait sembler à première vue trop affirmative.

Pétrarque écrit (son. 310):

Volo con l'ali del pensiero al cielo
Si spesse volte che quasi un di loro
Esser mi par, che hann' ivi il suo tesoro.

Et Boceace (*Decameron*, v, 2 éd. Fanfani II, p. 19): *Poi che gli arcieri del vostro nimico avranno il "suo" saettamento saettato et i vostri il "suo";* tandis qu'ailleurs ils usent indifféremment de *suo* ou de *loro*." Again Bertoni says⁴: "Si nos grammairiens n'avaient pas fait erreur, en imposant à l'usage moderne une règle, que les anciens textes n'autorisent pas, nous pourrions maintenant à bon droit écrire: *i figli vonno bene a mamma "sua"* (Tigri, *Canti popol. toscani*) ou bien "*loro*," et devrions absolument dire avec Guadagnoli: *i preti son uomini e perciò dovrebbero avere la "sua" moglie e la "sua" famiglia*."

The statement that early Italian writers always used *suo* for *loro* when the noun modified by the possessive adjective was the direct object of a verb certainly has no authority to support it. The examples given below show clearly that *loro* was frequently used in such cases.

Grande noja mi fano i menzonieri
S' n'prontamente dicon lor mençogne.

Chrestomazia Italiana dei primi secoli,⁵ per Ernesto Monaci. Fascicolo primo. Città di Castello, 1889, p. 62, IV, 10.

¹ For a similar usage in Old French compare Adolphe Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, II, 81-82.

² See *op. cit.*, II, 81.

³ See *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXI, 495.

⁴ See *op. cit.*, p. 496.

⁵ Compare also p. 88, 42, 5; p. 97, IV, 7.

*Né furon folli Arcita e Palemone
Tenuti da chi seppe i fatti loro.*

La Teseide, v. 698, in *Antologia delle opere minori di Giovanni Boccaccio*,⁶ ed. by Giuseppe Gigli, Firenze, 1907, p. 59.

*Or fia giammai che quel bel viso santo
Renda a quest' occhi le lor luci prime?*

Rime di F. Petrarca, col commento di G. Biagioli. Tomo primo. Parigi, 1821, p. 331 (Sonnetto CCXIV).

*Non hanno in altro cielo i loro scanni,
Che quegli spirti che no l'appariro,
Nè all' esser lor più o meno anni.*

Dante,⁷ *Par.* iv, 31.

Evidently Bertoni has relied on the collections of examples cited by grammarians and has not taken the trouble to examine any texts. At any rate, the following statement would lead one to believe that this was his method⁸: "Pour justifier cette manière de voir, il suffit au lecteur de faire l'application du principe que nous venons d'exposer, sur les exemples de *suo* et *loro* rassemblés par les différents grammairiens, tels que Fabriani, Corticelli, Fornaciari, etc., dont le premier avait déjà touché à cette distinction."

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SOME DEBTS OF SAMUEL DANIEL TO DU BELLAY.

A distinguished critic¹ has drawn attention in general terms to Daniel's debt to Du Bellay; and

⁶ Compare also p. 142 (*Il Filocolo*):

*Ma Racheo, pieno di sottile avvedimento,
veggendo i loro atti, incontanente conobbe
il nuovo fuoco acceso ne' loro cuori.*

For further examples of this usage in Boccaccio compare Giuseppe Gigli, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 153.

⁷ See *Par.* xiv, 79:

Le vostre cose tutte hanno lor morte.

Compare also *Inf.* v, 46, vii, 33; xiii, 10; xv, 8; xvi, 23; xvii, 39; xviii, 89; xxii, 2; xxvii, 16; xxix, 72; *Purg.* v, 27; xiv, 40; xv, 133; *Par.* v, 113; vi, 103.

⁸ See *op. cit.*, 496.

¹ Sidney Lee, Preface to *Elizabethan Sonnets*, Vol. 1, pp. liii and liv.

in a recent thesis² Mr. A. H. Upham points out, more precisely, the reflection to be found in certain sonnets of Daniel's *Delia*³ of ideas in the *Antiquités de Rome* and in the *Regrets*. It has not however, I believe, been noted that two of Daniel's sonnets are very close imitations of sonnets in the *Olive*, one indeed an almost verbatim rendering. The first of these is Sonnet xiv⁴ of the *Delia*, reprinted with slight variations from the poems appended to the *Astrophel and Stella* (edition of 1591⁵). Except for the final couplet, which is Daniel's own addition, this renders exactly sonnet x of the *Olive*:—

DANIEL.	DU BELLAY.
Those snarey locks are those same nets, my Dear!	Ces cheveux d'or sont les liëns, Madame,
Wherewith my liberty, thou didst surprise!	Dont fut premier ma lib- erté surprise,
Love was the flame that fired me so near:	Amour, la flamme autour du cœur esprise.
The dart transpiercing were those crystal eyes.	Ces yeux, le traict qui me transperce l'âme.
Strong is the net, and fer- vent is the flame;	Fortis sont les nœuds, aspre et vive la flamme,
Deep is the wound, my sighs do well report.	Le coup, de main à tirer bien apprise,
Yet do I love, adore, and praise the same	Et toutefois j'aime, j'adore et prise
That holds, that burns, that wounds me in this sort;	Ce qui m'estraint, qui me brusle et entame.
And list not seek to break, to quench, to heal	Pour briser doncq', pour esteindre et guarir
The bond, the flame, the wound that festereth so,	Ce dur liëns, ceste ardeur, ceste playe,
By knife, by liquor, or by salve to deal:	Je ne quiers fer, liqueur, ni medecine:
So much I please to per- ish in my woe.	L'heur et plaisir que ce m'est de perir
Yet lest long travails be above my strength;	De telle main ne permet que j'essaye
Good Delia! Loose, quench, heal me, now at length!	Glaive trenchant, ni froi- deur, ni racine.

M. Vianey⁶ has pointed out that Du Bellay

² "The French Influence in English Literature from the Accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration" (to be published by the Macmillan Company in the series of Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature, in 1908).

³ *I. e.*, in sonnets xi and i.

⁴ *Elizabethan Sonnets*, Vol. 1, p. 121.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 91.

⁶ Joseph Vianey, *Les Sources Italiennes de l'Olive*, in *Annales Internationales d'Histoire* (Paris, 1901), p. 85.

here imitated Ariosto (sonnet vi), noting the addition by Du Bellay of a third metaphor,—that of flame—to the two developed by Ariosto.

The sonnet in question reads as follows :

La rete fu di queste fila d'oro,
In che il mio persier vago intricò l'ale,
E queste ciglia l'arco, e'l guardo strale
E'l feritor questi, begli occhi foro ;
Io son ferito, io son prigion per loro ;
La piaga è in mezzo al cor aspra e mortale ;
La prigion forte : e pur, in tanto male,
E chi ferimmi e chi mi prese adoro.
Per la dolce cagion del languir mio,
O del morir, se potrà tanto il duolo,
Languendo godo e di morir disio ;
Pur ch'ella, non sapendo il piacer ch'io.
Del languir m'abbia o del morir, d'un solo
So spir mi degni, o d'altro affetto pio.

In view of his close adherence to Du Bellay, where the latter diverges from Ariosto—not only in the introduction of the third metaphor, but in the intricate development of the theme,—it becomes idle to point out that the French, not the Italian, sonnet was Daniel's model.

The combination of the three metaphors used by Du Bellay, which—so Vianey points out—occurs also in a song of Gerolamo Parabosco's,¹ became one of those pieces of common property which the poets of the Renaissance bandied about among themselves. Ronsard uses it in a sonnet (*Amours*, i, iii) containing also the idea of the poet's pleasure in his torment which Du Bellay, and after him Daniel, took from Ariosto's sonnet. Ronsard, however, arranges the metaphors in a different order :

Entre les rais de sa jumelle flamme
Je vois Amour qui son arc desbandoit,
Et sus mon cœur le brandon espandoit
Qui des plus froids les mouëlles enflame,
Puis çà, puis là, près les yeux de ma dame,
Entre cent fleurs un ret d'or me tendoit,
Qui tout crespé blondement descendoit
A flots ondez, pour enlacer mon ame.
Qu'eussé-je fait ? L'archer estoit si doux,
Si doux son feu, si doux l'or de ses nouds,
Qu'en leurs filets encore je m'oublie ;
Mais cest oubly ne me tourmente point,
Tant doucement le doux archer me poingt.
Le feu me brule et l'or crespé me lie.

In another place (*Amours*, i, xvii) Ronsard,

while replacing the metaphor of the dart by that of seizure, and leading up to a different conclusion, again strongly recalls Du Bellay's sonnet, above all in the intricate repetition of ideas :

Par un destin dedans mon cœur demeure
L'œil, et la main, et le poil délié,
Qui m'ont si fort brûlé, serré, lié,
Qu'ars, prins, lacé, par eux faut que je meure.
Le feu, la serre et le ret, à toute heure
Ardent, pressant, noiant mon amitié,
Occise aux pieds de ma fière moitié,
Font par sa mort ma vie estre meilleure.
Oeil, main et poil, qui bruslez et gennez,
Et enlancez mon cœur que vous tenez
Au labyrint de vostre crespé voye,
Hé ! que ne suis-je ovide bien disant ?
Oeil, tu serois un bel astre luisant ;
Main, un beau lis ; poil, un beau ret de soye.

Desportes, too, in a sonnet (*Diane*, i, xlvii), otherwise dissimilar from Du Bellay's, repeats the three metaphors in somewhat the same style :

Helas ! je suis tousjours en obscure prison ;
Helas ! je sens tousjours une brûlante flamme ;
Helas ! un trait mortel sans relâche m'entame,
Serrant, brûlant, navrant, esprit, ame et raison.

In yet another sonnet (*Diane*, i, xi) Desportes outdoes Ronsard by the addition of a fourth metaphor to the three in the last quoted sonnet of the latter :

Du bel œil de Diane est ma flamme empruntée,
En ses yeux blonds dorez mon cœur est arrêté,
Sa main victorieuse a pris ma liberté,
Et sa douce parole a mon ame enchantée.
Son œil rend la splendeur des astres surmontée,
Ses cheveux du soleil ternissent la beauté,
Sa main passe l'yvoire, et la divinité
De ses sages discours a bon droit est vantée.
Son bel œil me ravit, son poil doré me tient,
La rigueur de sa main mes douleurs entretient,
Et par son doux parler je sens croistre ma flamme.
Ainsi tourne ma vie, et n'ai plus de repos
Depuis l'heure qu'amour m'engrava dedans l'ame
Son œil, son poil, sa main, et ses divins propos.

The second sonnet which Daniel plainly owes to Du Bellay is Sonnet xi of those inserted in the *Astrophel and Stella* of 1591.² Only the eighth and fourteenth lines, and the substitution of "Hyrcan tigers and ruthless bears" for "lions" are Daniel's own, and the only lines of Du Bel-

¹ I have been unable to avail myself of it for comparison.

² Cf. Sidney Lee, *Elizabethan Sonnets*, Vol. I, p. 94.

lay's sonnet (*Olive*, xci) which he omits are the sixth, part of the second, and—for an obvious reason—the twelfth. Even the changes in order are of the slightest :

DANIEL.

Restore thy treasure to the
golden ore !
Yield Cytherea's son those
arks of love !
Bequeath the heavens, the
stars that I adore !
And to the Orient do thy
pearls remove !
Yield thy hands' pride
unto the ivory white !
To Arabian odour give thy
breathing sweet !
Restore thy blush unto
Aurora bright !
To Thetis give the honour
of thy feet !
Let Venus have the graces
she resigned !
And thy sweet voice yield
to Hermonius' spheres !
But yet restore thy fierce
and cruel mind
To Hyrcan tigers and to
ruthless bears !
Yield to the marble thy
hard heart again !
So shalt thou cease to
plague, and I to pain !

DU BELLAY.

Rendez à l'or ceste couleur
qui dore
Ces blonds cheveux, rendez
mil' autres choses,
A l'Orient tant de perles
encloses
Et au soleil ces beaux yeux
que j'adore.
Rendez ces mains ay blanc
yvoire encore,
Ce sein au marbre, et ces
lèvres aux roses,
Ces doux soupirs aux fleu-
rettes decloses,
Et ce beau sein à la ver-
meille Aurore.
Rendez aussi à l'amour tous
ces traits,
Et à Venns ses graces et
attraits :
Rendez aux cieux leur
céleste harmonie.
Rendez encor ce doux nom
à son arbre,
Ou aux rochers rendez ce
cœur de marbre.
Et aux lions cest humble
felonnie.

Vianey⁹ has shown that Du Bellay went for this sonnet to Bernardino Tomitano (*Giolito*, II, p. 39), and he quotes the original :

L'alto, chiaro, immortal, vivo splendore,
Ch'è nei vostr' occhi e nel sereno viso,
Donna, rendete al' sole, e al paradiso
I pensier casti e' l suo natio valore.
Rendete a me la libertate e 'l core,
Che da me havete sì lontan diviso,
A Cipri bella il bel soave riso,
L'arco e li strali al mio avversario Amore.
De la soavi angeliche parole
La celeste harmonia rendete al cielo,
L'odor, l'oro e le perle a l'Oriente,
Ch' altro non sera in voi, che l'ire sole
Co vostri ferì sdegni, che sovente
Mi fan d'huom vivo adamantino gelo.

Here, too, it is more than evident that Daniel

either did not know the Italian original, or, knowing it, ignored it and preferred to follow Du Bellay step by step.

In yet another sonnet (No. III, of those included in the *Astrophel and Stella*), Daniel, while making use of a comparison which was a commonplace of the Renaissance,¹⁰ as well as of the Middle Ages,—that of himself to the reviving Phoenix,—seems to follow Du Bellay (*Olive*, xxxvi) in his treatment of it :—

DANIEL.

The only bird alone that
nature frames,
When weary of the tedi-
ous life she lives
By fire dies, yet finds new
life in flames ;
Her ashes to her shape
new essence give.
When only I, the only
wretched wight,
Wearry of life that
breathes but sorrow's
blasts ;
Pursue the flame of such a
beauty bright,
That burns my heart ;
and yet my life still
lasts.
O sovereign light ! that
with thy sacred flame
Consumes my life, revive
me after this !
And make me (with the
happy bird) the same
That dies to live, by
favour of thy bliss !
This deed of thine will
show a goddess' power ;
In so long death to grant
one living hour.

DU BELLAY.¹¹

L'unicq' oyseau (miracle
esmerveillable)
Par feu se tûe ennuyé de sa
vie :
Puis quand son âme est par
flammes ravie,
Des cendres naist un autre
à luy semblable.
Et moy qui suis l'unique
miserable,
Fasché de vivre, une flamme
ay suivie,
Dont conviendra bien tost
que je devie
Si par pitié ne 'm'estes
secourable.
O grand' douceur ! o bonté
souveraine
Si tu ne veux dure et inhu-
maine estre
Sous ceste face angelique et
seraine,
Puis qu'ay pour toy du
Phoenix le semblant,
Fay qu'en tous points je
lui sois ressemblant,
Tu me feras de moy-mesme
renaistre.

Sidney Lee considers still another sonnet of Daniel's (*Delia*, xxxviii) as founded upon one of Du Bellay's (*Amours*, x) ; but here the debt is less obvious ; especially as its theme was one so common with the poets of the Renaissance :—

¹⁰ Compare, for example, Desportes (*Diane*, II, xv) :

Vous estes le soleil qui me donnez le jour,
Et je suis le phoenix qui se brûle alentour ;
Puis, quand je suis brûlé, je renaiss de ma cendre.

¹¹ Vianey has found no Italian original for this sonnet.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 100, 101.

DANIEL.

Thou canst not die, whilst
any zeal around
In feeling hearts, that can
conceive these lines :
Though thou, a Laura, hast
no Petrarch found ;
In base attire, yet, clearly
beauty shines,
And I, though born within
a colder clime,
Do feel mine inward heat
as great (I know it).
He never had more faith,
although more rhyme :
I love as well, though he
could better show it.
But I may add one feather
to thy fame,
To help her flight
throughout the fairest
isle ;
And if my pen could more
enlarge thy name,
Then should'st thou live
in an immortal style.
For though that Laura bet-
ter limned be ;
Suffice, thou shalt be loved
as well as she !

In fact, though Daniel's sonnet contains the opening idea of Du Bellay's, *i. e.*, the comparison of his lady to Laura and the depreciation of his own gifts as compared to Petrarch's, yet the lines expressing the poet's conviction that his love if not his genius, equals Petrarch's are closer to Desportes, who thus ends a poem on the same subject ¹² :

Celle qui dans ses yeux tient mon contentement,
La passant en beauté, luy cede seulement
En ce qu'un moindre esprit la veut rendre immortelle.
Mais j'ay plus d'amitié, s'il fut mieux écrivant,
Car sa Laure mourut et il resta vivant ;
Si ma dame mourroit, je mourrois avec elle.

Again, the image of the flight of fame suggests its finer predecessor at the end of Ronsard's sonnets (*Amours*, I, lxxii) :

Si vive encor Laure par l'univers
Ne fuit volant dessus les thusques vers,
Que nostre siecle heureusement estime,
Comme ton nom, honneur des vers françois,
Victorieux des peuples et des rois,
S'en-volerait sus l'aile de ma ryme.

DU BELLAY.

Vous avez bien cest' ange-
licque face,
Ce front serein, et ces
celestes yeulx,
Que Laure auoit, et si auez
bien mieux
Portant le nom d'une plus
noble race.
Mais ie n'ay pas ceste
diuine grace.
Ces haults discours, ces
traicts ingenieux,
Qu'auoit Petrarque, et
moins audacieux
Mon vol aussi tire une
aile plus basse.
Pourquoy de moy avous
done souhaitté,
D'estre sacree à l'immor-
talité,
Si vostre nom d'un seul
Petrarque est digne :
Ie ne sçay pas d'ou vient
ce desir là,
Fors qu'il vous plaist nous
monstrer par cela,
Que d'un Corbeau vous
pouuez faire un Cygne.

This sonnet, then, can hardly be regarded as a serious debt to Du Bellay on Daniel's part.

On the whole, we may conclude that Daniel's admiration of Du Bellay appears rather in closeness of imitation in special cases, than in the diffusion throughout his poems of any general influence such as, for example, the poetry of Ronsard, appears to have exercised upon the whole body of the *Delia*.

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BEN JONSON'S GRAMMAR.

"The English Grammar, made by Ben Johnson for the benefit of all strangers, out of his observation of the English Language, now spoken and in use." So stands the title page, in the folio of 1640, of Jonson's *Grammar*. The whole work is comprised in pages 30-84, between the translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica* and the *Discoveries*. Published three years after Jonson's death it comes to us without his proof corrections, and, tho we take no liberties with its statements, we must wish that Jonson himself could have seen the possibilities for amendment that stand out in the cold print. We would perhaps sacrifice some of the learned passages on the letters for an expansion of Book II, on Syntax as far as it had been reduced to rule by the Elizabethans ; and gladly exchange Gower and Lidgate for the existing usage of Shakespeare or Jonson themselves.

Fragmentary and unsatisfactory it certainly is ; and yet with all its omissions and incompleteness, we cannot spare it. Though we may find his reference to the Latin as authority for our alphabet, phonetically as well as orthographically, somewhat tedious and of doubtful value ; though we may be a little impatient of his consideration of English as written for foreigners, and wish that his notes on syntax were fuller ; still this grammar attracts the student by its sturdy effort to write down the honest truth about the English language in the seventeenth century, so far as known or reducible to system. And if, in his desire "to free it from the opinion of rudeness and barbarism," Jonson has not given us the complete treatment of the syntactical license of

¹² "Pour mettre devant un Petrarque," "Diverses Amours," ed. Michiels, 1858, p. 427.

Elizabethan English that we are always looking for, still we are grateful for such record of sixteenth century English as is given. It is a milestone in the History of the English Language. It marks a stage not otherwise noted by Elizabethan writers, or by the students of the Stuart reigns. For the student of the development of our language it is a helpful document of that period; and for the general student, watching the drift of language from Chaucer to Henry James, the *Grammar* of Ben Jonson is a monument not to be passed by.

Beginning with the alphabet, Jonson examines source after source of the elements of speech, from the Latin and Greek grammarians. In some cases he compares his Latin authorities with what *Smithus* has set down from the Anglo-Saxon, thus trying to establish our vowels and consonants on a firm foundation, and to elevate plain English Smith to the rank of a classical authority. Jonson's many quotations from Scaliger, Terentianus, and Quintilian look learned and imposing in the Latin. When we have them translated they seem rather simple. Indeed we should quickly pass over the end of Chapter II, "The figure is an Accident," if it were not reinforced by the Latin from "Jul. Cæs. Scal." "Figura autem est accidens ab arte institutum; potestque attributa mutari." Then it seems to have attained importance, English speech is at once established on a basis that has the dignity of history, and of grammar.

In the folio of 1640 the Latin stands facing the English text; vowel by vowel, consonant over against consonant.

"All our vowels are sounded doubtfully."

"Omnes vocales anceps sunt."

"L is a letter half-vowelish."

"Qui nescit, quid sit esse Semi-vocalem, ex nostra lingua facile poterit discere."

With many another and more involved passage the Latin and the English come marching down upon us from 1640 hand in hand. This equality of rank Gifford and Cunningham, in their editions, have obscured, by reducing the Latin to the place of footnotes, or of parenthetical remark. The double-page arrangement more truly gives us the mental attitude of the scholars of that day, as seen in Jonson and Bacon. Bacon supervises the trans-

lation of his essays into Latin, with the hope of thus preserving them to posterity. He writes of them as "made more perfect, well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens which forsake me not. For these modern languages will at one time or other, play the bankrupt with books: and since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it with posterity." One of these "good pens" was that of "Mr. Benjamin Johnson (the learned and judicious poet)," according to the testimony of Archbishop Tenison, 1679.

In the *Discoveries* we see how entirely Jonson's taste was directed by his studies in classical literature. They sometimes echo the classical quotations from the *Grammar*. We find our "Consuetudo, certissima loquendi magistra, utendumque planè sermone, ut numero cui publica forma est" which stands in the majesty of its Latin on the title-page of the *English Grammar*, freely translated to introduce a remark on style in the *Discoveries*: "Custom is the most certain mistress of language, as the public stamp makes the current money. But we must not be too frequent with the mint, every day coining, nor fetch words from the extreme and utmost ages: since the chief virtue of a style is perspicuity, and nothing so vicious in it as to need an interpreter. Words borrowed of antiquity do lend a kind of majesty to style and are not without their delight sometimes."

As grammars, the Latin and the Greek are the only authorities Jonson finds worth quoting. The modern tongues, French, German, and Italian, he uses; but only as a body of material for comparison with English, illustrating mere usage and not authority.

Though Jonson quotes Sir Thomas Smith on the usage of the Anglo-Saxons, it is as of a remote ancestry and that somewhat barbaric. According to a note by Cunningham, Jonson had a Saxon Grammar and a Welsh; but there is no evidence in his own work that he had made any research into the Anglo-Saxon, or had any further knowledge than his references to the runes for *th* and *w*. We may notice throughout the *Grammar*, aside from the direct quotations, how much Jonson's thought followed the bent given by his classical reading; as in his adherence to syllable for syllable; his elaborate play on breath and spirit (Chapter 4, H.):

"H. whether it be a letter or no, hath been much examined by the ancients and by some too much of the Greek party condemned, and thrown out of the alphabet as an aspirate merely, and in request only before vowels in the beginning of words, when it added a strong *spirit* which the Welsh retain after many consonants. But be it a letter or spirit we have great use for it in our tongue."

Again, in his close of Chapter 6 Jonson endeavors to bring English to an equality with Latin and Greek in rhythm :

"Not that I would have the *vulgar* and *practised* way of making abolished and abdicated (being both sweet and delightful, and much taking to the ear) but to the end our *tongue* may be made equal to those of the renowned countries Italy and Greece, touching this particular."

This apologetic attitude toward our English rhythm recalls the efforts of the Areopagus, and may be but another expression of what Sidney and Spenser had tried to accomplish in English verse.

If the *Grammar* were so closely modeled on the Latin in all its parts, and if the native genius of Jonson did not overtop his classical studies, giving vitality to his work, the book might perish without any one's lifting a voice to call it back from oblivion. But even in the discussion of letters as letters, we are struck by the lively play of figure, invigorating his style. It is the same vivid personality which turns the *Discoveries* from a mere commonplace book of quotations into a commentary on the literary times that is a significant part of Ben Jonson himself. So in Chapter 4, in considering the reduplication of sounds in *k*, *c*, *q*, he breaks forth in figure :

"Q is a letter we might very well spare in our alphabet, if we would but use the serviceable *k* as he should be, and restore him to the reputation he had with our forefathers. For the English Saxons knew not this halting Q with her waiting woman *u* after her." "W. has the seat of a consonant."

The letter H. may not be "the queen-mother of consonants ; yet she is the life and quickening of them." So too, "Time and person are the right and left hand of a verb." The first con-

jugation is "the common inn to lodge every stranger and foreign guest." "I. would ask to enjoy another character." And twice Jonson uses the figure translated from Scaliger that prosody and grammar are diffused like the blood and spirits through the whole : Book I, Chap. 1 ; Book II, Chap. 9.

The Board of Simplified Spelling in our own day could not speak more strongly than Jonson does of our "pseudography" ; the unphonetic quality of some of our superfluous letters, and the overworked part that others play ; as in his remarks quoted above on *q* and *k* and his severe comment on the illogical nature of our orthography, though he has no hope that it can be amended. Of mickle, pickle, he writes, "which were better written without the *c*, if that which we have received for orthography would yet be contented to be altered. But that is an emendation rather to be wished than hoped for, after so long a reign of ill custom amongst us." Again of *-gh* in cough, might, he recalls our present spelling reform. "For the *g* sounds nothing," he says, "only the writer was at leisure to add a superfluous letter, as there are too many in our pseudography."

In his observations on Syntax, Jonson makes some points developed by later students of usage, though he fails to carry them out. He notes that *order* is a governing principle of Syntax ; but he merely notes the fact, adding little to his incidental comment in the *Discoveries*, "Order helps much to perspicuity as confusion hurts." And in the agreement of pronouns with nouns (Book II, Chap. 2) he says, "And in this construction (as also throughout the whole English Syntax) order and the placing of words is one special thing to be observed." "The syntax of conjunctions is in order only." To show how order is a governing principle of syntax was left to the nineteenth century.

Jonson gives us a different perspective on the passing of some forms that we have been inclined to relegate to Chaucer's day. If there was in the seventeenth century a chance of holding to *-en* for the plural of the verbs, the passing of that form seems within easy call.

"In former times," writes Jonson, Chap. 16, Of a Verb, "till about the reign of Henry VIII

they (plurals) were wont to be formed by adding *-en*; thus *loven*, *sayen*, *complainen*. But now (whatsoever is the cause) it hath grown quite out of use, and that other so prevailed that I dare not set this foot again; albeit (to tell you my opinion) I am persuaded that the lack hereof well considered will be found a great blemish to our tongue. For seeing time and person be, as it were, the right and left hand of a verb, what can the maiming bring else, but a lameness of the whole body."

Though he writes thus strongly in favor of the old plural, Jonson himself did not fly in the face of a custom already established, even though recently, to the extent of using the *-en* plural of verbs in his plays with the freedom that other Elizabethans did. As Shakespeare in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. 1,

"And then the whole quire hold their hips and laugh,
And *waxen* in their mirth,"

or Spenser, *Faery Queene*, III. 4, 15,

"Words fearen babes"—

The *Shepherd's Calendar*, May,

"Thilke same *bene* shepherdes for the Devil's stedde,
That *playen* while they flockes be unfedde."

"Of other, that *caren* as little as they."

The transition from the use of the third person singular of the verb in *-th* to *-s* is interesting. In his Chapter 16, Of a Verb, Jonson notes the change. "The second and third person singular of the present are made of the first, by adding *est* and *eth*; which last is sometimes shortened into *z* or *s*," a change which he frequently illustrates in this work as well as in his plays. Speaking of *O*, "It holds up and is sharp where it ends the word or syllable," and in the same discussion, "It *varieth* the sound." His *-eth* ending is more frequent, though inconsistent, closely associated with the *s* ending. In his Masque, *Pan's Anniversary*,

"His moon now *riseth* and invites,"

and again in the Masque of *Augurs*,

"See, Heaven expecteth my return,
The forked fire begins to burn,
Jove beckons me to come."

Had the eighteenth century writers kept sight of Ben Jonson's *Grammar* they need not have gone astray after their possessives as they did. "The

Genitive plural is all one with the plural absolute," which Jonson writes without an apostrophe; then he adds an exception not enforced by later usage, and subjoins, "which distinction not observed brought in first the monstrous syntax of the pronoun *his* joining with a noun betokening a possessor; as the prince his house, for the prince's house." Writing on this same subject, Professor Lounsbury says, "A somewhat peculiar use of *his* to take the place of the ending of the genitive case developed itself in Old English, and prevailed somewhat extensively in the early portion of the Modern English Period. We can see it exemplified in the following passage from Shakespeare's fifty-fifth Sonnet,

'Nor Mars *his* sword nor War's quick fire shall burn,
The living record of your memory.'

Traces of this usage can be discovered even in Anglo-Saxon. In the first text of Layamon, written about 1200, it occurs rarely, but is frequently found in the second text, supposed to be about fifty years later. But it was not till the sixteenth century that it began to appear often." —T. R. Lounsbury, *English Language*, p. 281.

Ben Jonson's *Grammar* is interesting then to the present age, not only for what it classifies as the practice of the time, but as in itself giving "the abstract of the time." "Little more than a rough draft," it yet furnishes an invaluable document of English as far as it was then reduced to a system, and it repays the study of the present time as the best exponent of theory and usage in combination, from the writers of Elizabethan times.

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SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE.

HENRIK IBSEN: *Brand*. Et Dramatisk Digt. Edited with Introduction and Notes by JULIUS E. OLSON, Professor of Scandinavian Languages and Literatures in the University of Wisconsin. Chicago: John Anderson Publishing Co., 1908. lvi + 349 pp.

Professor Julius Olson's edition of *Brand* is, in every way, a welcome publication—chiefly, per-

haps, to teachers of Norwegian: 'it is hoped,' says the editor, 'that it may also be found of assistance to the rapidly increasing number of men and women outside of academic circles who are attempting either to maintain or to acquire a knowledge of the language of Ibsen.'

By way of introduction, Olson presents an ably condensed story of Ibsen's life previous to his exile, with special reference to the experiences and works that are the necessary presuppositions for the composition of *Brand* which 'is the great central fact of Ibsen's life and authorship. . . . *Brand* would not be a great work of literature, if it could not be read and enjoyed without any knowledge of the life of the author and the particular circumstances under which it was written. . . . But in the case of *Brand*, especially, the difficulties and seeming incongruities of the poem are cleared by a knowledge of its author's struggles, and an appreciation of the whole work is correspondingly enhanced' . . . and 'All the paths of his preceding life lead to Rome, so to say, and find their culmination in *Brand*.'

Following this, we are given a critical estimate of the æsthetical value of the poem, and a conservative interpretation of its main strands of meaning. This portion of the book is a highly useful epitome, within reasonable limits, of the best in the voluminous literature that has sprung up around the poem. It is a great pity, however, that the editor had not, as I am informed, sufficient time to work into it the results of Karl Larsen's study of the recently found 'Epical *Brand*' which is important, by no means only to literateurs, but throws a flood of light on Ibsen's poetic methods and the (hitherto unknown) genesis of the poem. Moreover, it is to be regretted that no selections are furnished from the fragment itself (besides the weighty introductory poem 'Till de Medskyldige,' printed in the appendix); for it does contain passages of striking beauty and eloquence that have not been incorporated into the drama, though, to be sure, as a whole it is vastly inferior to the poem in its present dramatic shape.

A future edition will, undoubtedly, make good the deficiency in this respect; and also, by the way, correct the formal inelegance of quoting the sources, now in the original, now in English. A somewhat more fastidious taste might also prefer

as frontispiece Werenskjold's or Eilif Petersen's painting of the poet in his vigorous manhood to the photograph of Ibsen in his old age.

The most interesting and valuable portion of the work for the Ibsen student will, unquestionably, be the notes, furnishing a running linguistic and interpretative commentary on the more difficult passages and idioms of the text; and in them I take to lie the lasting merits of the work. In fact, one feels so grateful for having the ground broken, at last, by a competent hand, and so great and many are the difficulties, that an even more generous allotment of space than the ca. 70 pages devoted to these notes, would have been welcome.

Taking into account that the number of these notes is considerable, it is to be regretted that no reasoned index is furnished. Matters would have been helped greatly, moreover, by the introduction of a continuous numeration of lines (instead of page and line) which would facilitate comparison with other editions and the various translations. These are but minor considerations, however, that do not interfere with an appreciation of the fund of instructive material condensed in this part of the book.

As particularly helpful I shall mention the notes on 56:8; 57:7; 175:9; 243:12—which, by calling attention to ludicrous mistakes of translators, pointedly emphasize the necessity for the literary student, of constantly keeping in mind Goethe's saying:

Wer den Dichter will verstehn,
Muss in Dichters Lande gehn,

in the sense of fully entering into the cultural atmosphere by which a work is conditioned;—furthermore, those on 28:26; 68:10; 77:19; 227:29, which are essentially acceptable, and clear up some obscure passages.

The notes on 72:12–13; 78:3–4; 157:10; and 265:13–14 are particularly valuable, as they have reference to an interesting discovery of Olson—that, in cases of doubt, the fifth and sixth edition of the poem are to be followed. As is well known, there came a decided change over Ibsen's whole external appearance and bearing, after his huge success with *Brand*. At the same time he deliberately changed his handwriting from a rather careless, unsteady cursive to the exquisite, aris-

tocratic *steil skrift* (back-hand) of his *later* MSS., which thus are the final instance for all future editions. 'The MS. of *Brand*, however, . . . was found to contain many erasures and corrections. As *Brand* was the first of Ibsen's works issued by the great Gyldendal publishing house in Copenhagen, the author seems to have taken unusual pains in proof-reading. Letters to the publishers show that he called attention to misprints in the first editions. As a result, the fifth edition (1868) is free from errors. The sixth edition is an important one, for in this the orthography was changed to accord with the recommendations made at the Stockholm Congress of 1869.' Ibsen does not seem to have taken such care with the following editions. The tenth edition, already, 'contains several misprints, some of such importance as to obscure the meaning. The majority of these were carried down to later editions, even to the Memorial Edition (Minde Udgave) of 1906, the first and only Norwegian edition of Ibsen's works.'

Some few of the notes, however, will hardly be acceptable to all.

40:18. '*jøklens vold*' is scarcely to be translated 'the glacial plains'; for *vold* in the sense of 'a plain', prevailing carries the connotation of 'grassy plain, greensward' (Old Norse *vǫllr*). A better reading is obtained by translating it with 'wall' (ultimately from Latin *vallum*): 'deroppe messer fos og skred/der præker vind på jøklens vold'—with the glacier as pulpit.

The element *løftning*—in the numerous compounds mentioned in the note on 110:23 has more of the meaning of '(active) inspiration, uplift' (vaekkelse, in a revivalist sense), than of 'exaltation' or 'exhilaration.'

The word *flugt* in 73:24 ('det står mig for some lys og flugt') is interpreted by the editor as 'flight (*i. e.*, of fleeting light).' It means, however, surely, 'noble, soaring thoughts, fire,' as will be seen by comparing with 62:16; 111:17; 236:14, etc. Cf. also Dahl og Hammer, *Dansk Ordbog*, under *flugt* 4.

78:8-9 deserved a less laconic note, to clear up what Herford cautiously called a 'somewhat awkward' passage; for I entertain great doubts whether the average present-day college student remembers that 'after this lived Job an hundred and forty years'!

In this connection I may remark that I have no

great faith in Ibsen's biblical learning, constant reader of the Scriptures though he was, like Goethe. He has the 'philosophical' memory—the one that is not much concerned about details. Thus I wonder whether (210:23) '*oberst Urian*' (instead of *Uriah*, Greek *Urias*) is intended to cap the climax of the Dean's delightful exhibition of his shallow Biblical learning; or is not rather—just a little, harmless, human error of the great poet himself?—*Urian*, it is to be remembered, is a German comic quasi-surname used when one will not, or cannot, call a male person by his right name, thus also as an appellation of the devil. (Sanders Wb.)

Et diplomatisk himmelbrev (117:25) is decidedly not 'a diplomatic correspondence'; but must be understood as a word newly coined by the poet in analogy with *kongebrev* 'special license, dispensation,' here granted by heaven.

I was somewhat disappointed in not finding a note on 34:19 ('Se, det er dampen;—din og min'), where *dampen* for *dampere* seems to me a most questionable makeshift,¹ nor any suggestion how to read that metrically abominable line 250:26 ('regnbue over majvangen').

But, as was remarked above, notwithstanding a few flaws, the edition as a whole is a most creditable piece of book-making, and thoroughly to be recommended as a guide, both for the classroom and for the private study of this mighty poem. May it add to the number of the lovers and learners of Scandinavian letters!

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THE PLAYS OF MOLIÈRE.

CURTIS HIDDEN PAGE: *Molière*. A new translation. Two volumes. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1908.

Dr. Curtis Hidden Page in his preface to the translation of Molière's Plays calls attention to

¹ I faintly remember having heard the form 'dampen' in the lively Bergen dialect (so fond of abbreviations); but it is surely unknown elsewhere in Norway. It is not found in Fvar Aasen's nor in Ross' collections.

the fact that, in all these years, no verse translation of the great dramatist's work has appeared. Dr. Page accepts the handicap which translation must always mean, and takes Rossetti's dictum concerning translation, making the stricture even more strict; for he would have not only fidelity, the fidelity of beauty, but literality also; from which, he modestly tells his readers, so compelling is the speech of the master dramatist, he cannot escape. And faithful to the full meaning of Molière, Dr. Page always is; that he is successful in literality is not so invariably true.

The translator believes that this verse of Molière's is the best dramatic verse ever written; simple, direct, humorous, subtle, strong. The final test of Dr. Page's success is to forget the French of the dramas and witness that in the English they are still the plays of Molière. To some of the plays I was an outsider when I took up these two volumes, a vantage ground for a critic of the English verse into which many of them have been rendered, for it is the outsider who will pronounce the final criticism on them as English verse, and, indeed, for that matter, as English prose. After turning to the French I realized that Professor Page has accomplished the "impossible and charming task" which he had set himself. The excellent English, dramatic, blank verse is still fulfilled with the dramatic French alexandrines of the master. Indeed, Mr. Page's rendering is so accomplished, that without any of the too detailed explanation of the method of his work which he gives, it would stand on its own merit. We have a little of the legalist's love for a fact, and the fact here, is the published translation.

The expression of the plays may seem to one who knows his Molière in the original, stronger in the English than it is in the French. And so it is, but, as the translator has written elsewhere, "that effect is in the nature and genius of the English language." We say things more strongly and baldly than the French do, and their *nuances* are not to the manor born of English language. Many of the sentences convey more strength than the French. In *Tartuffe*, for example, when Orgon says (Act I, scene 2),

"Oui, je prétends, ma fille,
Unir, par votre hymen, Tartuffe à ma famille,"

in the English we have "graft" Tartuffe into his family. Again (Act III, scene 3), for "*Heureux, si vous voulez; malheureux, s'il vous plaît*," "Blest, if you will; but damned, by your decree." In Act IV, scene 1, of *Tartuffe* there is a decided question of the harmony of tradition of the French phrase and its translation, "*contre toute raison*," and "dead against" as it is rendered. Also, in Act V, scene 1, instinctively one questions whether the use of "cozened" is in the same tradition as the idiom "dead against." But one may be too particular, and it is a question whether one has a right in Act IV, scene 1, of *Tartuffe*, for example, to resent Elmire's expression, "branded me a liar." The perspective of English is different from that of French, and in the overstatement of a French phrase one may be getting only the proper distances or effects for the English. But here, at least, one is at liberty to prefer Elmire's way of expressing herself in French.

There is a certain vigor, largely physical, I think, about the English idiom, the defect of whose good quality is perhaps a lack of refinement. There are times when Dr. Page's vigorous and somewhat unusual phraseology is out of keeping. Where he translates, "*et de faire le maître*" by "and rule the roast" (*Tartuffe*, Act I, scene 1), we have translation—dangerously like something else, the typesetters know what—which is not quite so admirably direct as Mr. Page's characteristic English. How unaffected and intelligible to the lay reader these translations are, is illustrated by a line from *Tartuffe* (Act I, scene 1), "*Et c'est tout justement la cour du roi Pétard*," translated, "It's perfect pandemonium." And there are whole scenes not only unforgetably good in French, but also unforgetably good in English. The famous scene where Orgon inquires for his family, Mr. Page translates with the highest success, keeping the manner and spirit of the original. When one reads this scene, or the last scene of Act II of *Tartuffe*, there is good reason to believe that these volumes will become the standard English translations of Molière's plays.

The translator quotes some memorable words from Goethe in "The Miser": "Molière is so great that you are newly amazed every time you re-read him. He is unique. His plays border on the tragic, . . . and are beyond imitation. His "Miser" especially, in which the contest

between father and son destroys all natural piety, is of unusual grandeur, and, in a high sense, tragic. . . . I always read a few of Molière's plays every year, just as I often look over the engravings from great Italian masters. For we tiny men are not capable of retaining in our minds the greatness of such things as these, and must, therefore, return to them constantly, to renew their impressions upon us." But fun in plenty there is, too, in these plays: *the comedy that teaches*. Where can one find more contagious laughter than Molière has at the expense of Madelon in "The Affected Misses?" Nor has "commodities of conversation" as a circumlocution for chair, gone entirely out of vogue among the *precieux* of to-day. And when one sees a religious body putting into print denunciations regarding the declining morality of our day—this day, that sees more attempts at a just, human brotherhood than the world has ever seen—one realizes that over the drivel and cant of a Tartuffe, men may still break a godly lance, if they but will. "'Tis a mighty stroke," said Molière, "at any vice to make it the laughing stock of everybody; for men will easily suffer reproof; but they can by no means endure mockery. They will consent to be wicked but not to be ridiculous." Nor is the Medical Faculty of Paris, at which Molière laughed in "The Doctor by Compulsion," an entirely ancient Faculty. Our physicians have given up talking Latin and using Greek names; they no longer deny the circulation of the blood, but many of them still deny one the cure that comes by intelligent prescription of fresh air, sunshine, pure water, good food and remedial exercise, and continue to pin their faith to drugs.

Professor Brander Matthews, in his Introduction to these volumes, has summed up, in words not readily forgotten, the dictum of Sainte-Beuve: "To love Molière, to love him sincerely, is to have a guarantee against many a defect and many a fault; it is to be antipathetic to all pedantry, all artificiality of style, all affectation of language; it is to love common-sense in others as well as in yourself; it is to be assured against the dangers either of over-estimating our common humanity, or under-estimating it; it is to be cured forever of fanaticism and intolerance." In his Introduction, Professor Matthews makes the assertion that there are only four poets admitted by all "to

stand together on the higher peak of Parnassus": Homer and Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe. Of Professor Matthews' assertion that the supreme dramatists are three, there can be, I think, no question: Sophocles, Shakespeare and Molière. He then goes on to distinguish among the structures of the best plays of Sophocles, the Greek, Shakespeare, the Englishman, Molière, the Frenchman; calling one ancient; the second, semi-medieval; the third, modern.

Nothing is, I think, more astonishingly evident than the modernness of Molière's plays. The fifteen years preceding the appearance of "Pilgrim's Progress" (1678 to 1684), that is, from the year '63 on, saw, among other plays, Molière's "Tartuffe" (1664, first three acts), "The Misanthrope" (1666), "The Miser" (1668), "The Merchant Turned Gentleman" (1670), "The Learned Ladies" (1672), and "The Imaginary Invalid" (1673). If it seems to anyone that it is not quite fair to let even so popular a voice as "Pilgrim's Progress" show, at least, a portion of the state of literature in England, then take the years identical with those in which Molière's greatest plays were written, that is, from 1663 to 1673. These are the beginning years in the Restoration Drama, modern assuredly in nothing but its viciousness. Of the immediate sense in which Molière is modern "Paradise Lost" knows nothing. Run through a list of Dryden's dramas, the very titles reveal much heroic antiquity, in which the modern world is not at all interested, when even the staging of Molière's plays remains to-day precisely what the master intended it to be.

Not only is Molière one of the greatest dramatists of all time, but he has this added claim, of making an appeal more modern than that of our own Shakespeare. Has the English public recognized the claim of Molière as the European public has recognized that of Shakespeare? Where have been the translations of Molière's plays comparable with those made of Shakespeare until these volumes of Dr. Page's appeared? The translator is indeed a pioneer and the discoverer of a great need.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Ebernand von Erfurt: Zu seinem Leben und Wirken. By GEORGE M. PRIEST, Ph. D. Inaugural dissertation, Jena, Kämpfe, 1907. ix and 102 pp.

One cannot help feeling in laying down this interesting monograph that its author has been most fortunate in his choice of a subject, and, we may add, no less successful in his treatment of it. A contemporary of Wolfram, Gottfried, Walther and all the best known poets of the classic mhg. literature, Ebernand von Erfurt has nevertheless been scarcely more than a shadow, not only to the general reading public but to many careful students of this period as well. In various standard histories of German Literature one will look in vain for any mention of the poet's name. I venture to predict that the dissertation before us will make it impossible for any future historian to pass over Ebernand in silence.

Let it be said, however, that Dr. Priest makes no effort to vindicate high poetic ability for his hero. Esthetic considerations do not enter. His object is rather to establish the basic facts in the life of Ebernand, his relation to the world in which he lived, the occasion and sources of his poem, *Kaiser und Kaiserin*, and its connection with later works treating of the same historico-legendary events.

While space forbids even a resumé of Dr. Priest's argumentation and conclusions, I would call attention to one or two topics discussed, partly as an illustration of the author's method of procedure and partly for their interest to the general reader.

Bechstein in his edition of *Heinrich und Kunegunde* (this is the title he uses for the poem) and Bech in his review of the same, were of the opinion that Ebernand must have been a monk and this view has prevailed without further investigation since their day. To the cursory reader the poem indeed sounds monkish. Heinrich and his spouse are presented as model christian rulers, there is much praise of life in the cloister and in general a pious and religious tone prevails. But thru a study of contemporary legal documents of the city of Erfurt, Dr. Priest shows that Eber-

nand the poet is identical with a *civis* or *burgensis* of that city, who, together with other laymen, appeared as a witness in various legal proceedings between the years 1212 and 1227.

From these documents it also appears that Ebernand was a member of the city council and accordingly a man of some distinction in his day.

Before these substantial facts the stylistic arguments of Bechstein and Bech fall to the ground. The praise of cloister life is shown conclusively to be purely objective, proceeding from a man of affairs who looks with envy, real or assumed, upon the quiet life of the ecclesiastic. And no further explanation of the religious tone of the poem is required when we find that it was composed at the instigation, and probably with the help, of a Cistercian monk, Reimbote, with whom Ebernand stood on terms of intimate friendship and to whom he refers as *mîn frânt*, an appellation which surely no monk would apply to one of the *fratres*.

Scarcely less convincing, tho in itself less important, is the proof advanced to show that while Ebernand remained a life long citizen of Erfurt, he must have visited Bamberg, in all probability for the purpose of collecting material at first hand for his projected poem.

On the other hand, Dr. Priest finds good reason for believing that the poem was actually composed in Erfurt, not in Bamberg, as Paul surmised.

As *terminus a quo* the year 1201 is established. No certain date can be given for the *terminus ad quem*. General considerations induce the author to place it not later than 1227. Valuable for a future editor of the poem are the discussion and suggestion of new readings and punctuation to which ten pages of the dissertation are devoted.

Interesting material for the literary historian is found in the third section of the monograph, which comprises a study of later treatments of the same theme, particularly in their relation to Ebernand's work.

The subject, however, is much too complicated to consider in detail here. Dr. Priest's investigations have resulted in a distinct addition to our knowledge of the literature of the thirteenth century, and it seems certain that the more important of his conclusions will be incorporated in time in all histories dealing with this period.

Turning from the public to the author, I should like, in conclusion, to submit one or two questions which the latter may find more or less suggestive. Is not the keen desire of Reimbote to have himself justified before the world an evidence that the *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the poem must have been within a few years of the *terminus a quo*? If twenty or even ten years had elapsed since the events which led up to his departure from Bamberg, it seems unlikely that he would have still been so eager to have his friend address a semi-apologetic poem to the ecclesiastics of that city.

Would it not be more reasonable to assume that Ebernand the elder and Ebernand *juvenis* stood in the relation of *Pate* and *Patenkind*, or possibly in no relation at all, rather than in that of father and son?

In the relatively small and fixed circle of *Bürger* it would be necessary in any case to distinguish two men of the same name. The question is whether at a time when family names were not yet in use it was customary for a father to bestow his own name upon his son.

If further proof were needed that Ebernand was a layman could it not be found in the fact that he begs indulgence of the *meister tihtære* and evidently wishes to be considered not unworthy to join their circle?

The *meister tihtære* of this period were perhaps without exception *Ritter* or *Bürger*, in no case ecclesiastics. The leadership in literary production had passed a generation earlier from the churchmen to men of the world, and it was therefore quite in accord with the general situation that Reimbote should seek a protagonist outside of the walls of the cloister.

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ENGLISH RHETORIC.

A College Manual of Rhetoric, by C. S. BALDWIN, Longmans, Green and Company, 3d edition, revised, 1903.

It is surprising to find the author of a text-book of rhetoric himself guilty of some of the commonest

improprieties of speech, and in not a few instances committing the very same solecisms against which he warns his inexperienced readers. Yet such charges may fairly be brought against Professor Baldwin's *Manual*, for the book is frequently marred by pedantry, inaccuracy, and obscurity of style, which is all the more surprising in view of the fact that it is the third edition, revised. The author informs us, furthermore (p. xiv), that the *Manual* has been subjected to a "generous criticism that has saved the book at more than one point from deviation." One is tempted to believe that this criticism has been almost too generous.

Prose composition Professor Baldwin divides into two classes: composition for business and composition for pleasure (p. 2). "The former . . . may be called logical composition; the latter . . . may be called literary composition. . . . The former is covered by the rhetoric of the ancients. For the latter, since they had comparatively little prose composition, except histories, outside of the former, the ancients had no separate body of theory; but since in their principles of the drama verse is not considered an essential element, some of the fundamental aspects of our second class are developed at length in the ancient poetries."

The use of the terms "former" and "latter" may be criticised as awkward and obscure.¹ In the sentence beginning "For the latter," the reader is held in doubt till he reaches the semicolon whether 'for' is a conjunction or a preposition. There is an awkward heaping of phrases in "except histories, outside of the former," and the reference to "our second class" is not at once clear. Indeed, the sentence as a whole requires several readings before the intended meaning becomes apparent.

Apart from a question of style, however, there is a question of fact. Is it true that the ancients had comparatively little prose composition except histories? And can it be shown that "in the principles of their drama verse is not considered an essential element?"

The concluding sentence in this same paragraph

¹For cautions against the excessive use of such objectionable devices for avoiding repetition, see A. S. Hill, *Principles of Rhetoric*, page 84; Newcomer, *Elements of Rhetoric*, page 171.

is even more obscurely expressed: "But since the division, on the one hand, that sort of composition which everybody practises and everybody may learn to practise well, and on the other hand, that sort which only the few practise well, it serves as a sound basis for practical discussion." In this sentence, as in the foregoing, the meaning and grammatical relation of the first word, 'since,' remain ambiguous till the close of the sentence is reached. After settling the question, however, and concluding that 'since' is a conjunction with verb suppressed, the reader is still more puzzled to discover the noun to which 'it' in the principal clause refers. These two sentences might both have been cited on p. 27 as violations of coherence.

On p. 251 there is an emphatic statement, supported by little weight of authority, as to 'half-clauses': "In like manner there must be no half-clauses (*i. e.*, locutions beginning with a conjunction but having no predicate). Either complete the clause by adding a verb, or else reduce it to a phrase.

When in Rome he saw the late King Humbert

Should drop the conjunction:

In Rome he saw the late King Humbert."

Yet in the very sentence quoted above, beginning "But since the division," the author makes use of the half-clause which he so dogmatically condemns and which, in this case at least, leads to serious ambiguity.

Page 9, § 7. In this paragraph for the space of eight lines the topic has been the speech of St. Paul. Suddenly and abruptly, with no preparation for the transition, the student is brought back to his own theme work, so that it is not at first clear whether he is to make a 'separate revision' of St. Paul's speech or of his own essay. Here is a clear lack of that explicit reference 'that is so important a part of coherence.'

P. 177. In the following sentence the effort to avoid repetition results in an awkward, disagreeable collocation of words and tends to obscurity: "Every place may thus be individualized, and of course every person must be, under pain of failing to be a person."

P. 186. "Not only may a man be described

by his effects, but also a scene." A man's 'effects' are usually considered to be his worldly goods, and not the impressions, good or bad, which he may make on those around him.

P. 199. The examples here chosen are not such as the average undergraduate is likely to be perfectly familiar with. How many will understand and appreciate the references to the style of Bossuet's sermons, the mawkishness of *Manon Lescaut*, the 'monstrous lie' in the second chorus of Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon*, and the 'hideous moral obliquity' of Cellini's autobiography? Are there not simpler and better known examples, which from their very familiarity will make a stronger appeal and convey a much clearer meaning?

P. 202. "Such men have the same aversion from strained or affected language as from commonplace language." The weight of authority is now altogether in favor of *to* rather than *from* in this construction.

Webster's International: "*Aversion* is now generally followed by *to* before the object. Sometimes *towards* and *for* are found; *from* is obsolete."

The *Century* is almost as positive: "This word (*averse*) and its derivatives are now regularly followed by *to*, and not by *from*, although the latter is used by some modern writers. The word itself includes the idea of *from*; but the literal meaning is ignored, the affection of the mind signified by the word being regarded as exerted toward the object of dislike. Similarly, the kindred terms *contrary*, *repugnant*, etc., are also followed by *to*."

The *Oxford Dictionary* is even more decisive: "The use of the preposition *to*, rather than *from* after *averse* and its derivatives, although condemned by Johnson as etymologically improper, is justified by the consideration that these words express a mental relation analogous to that indicated by *hostile*, *contrary*, *repugnant*, *hostility*, *opposition*, *dislike*, and naturally take the same construction. *Aversion* in the sense of an action which would properly be followed by *from*, is now obsolete."

Curiously enough, on p. 209 appears the expression *abhorrence toward*, which if etymological accuracy is to be insisted on, should by analogy be *abhorrence from*. By the very process of analogy, however, through which we now have

averse to, rather than *averse from*, Professor Baldwin has, with apparent 'unawareness,' been led to use the construction *abhorrence toward*, rather than the more usual, and certainly more natural, *abhorrence of*.

P. 251. "In like manner there must be no half-clauses, etc." See above. It would be interesting to know upon what grounds objection is made to a construction so common and so well established.²

Besides these stylistic defects criticism might be made of the arrangement of the book. Prose composition is divided arbitrarily, and not altogether logically, into composition for business and composition for pleasure. Composition for business, which includes persuasion and exposition, is called 'logical composition'; composition for pleasure, which includes narration and description, is termed 'literary composition.' "These two classes are not to be thought of as more than convenient abstractions. Business and pleasure are not terms mutually exclusive, nor logic and art. An essay, for example, must be logical to the extent of having a clear and reasonable sequence. It may also be artistic, have literary charm, and the more of this the better. But since the division, . . . it serves as a sound basis for practical discussion." One is led to question the propriety and utility of such a division. Indeed, as a working basis it does not seem as practicable as Professor Baldwin would have us believe, for in seeking to carry it out consistently, he lays too great emphasis upon the logical side of persuasion and exposition, and pays scant attention to the literary forms of these two divisions. The essay is dismissed in a brief paragraph (§ 78), with passing reference to Macaulay, Huxley, Tyndall, Arnold, and Pater; and the speeches of Webster and Lincoln receive slight notice in a final sentence (p. 125).

The chapters on literary composition (narration and description) and on prose diction are more interesting and more suggestive, and the appendix contains many helpful notes and references for the teacher. The references should, however, cite the

page on which the selections may be found, as there is nothing whatever to indicate that the illustrative extracts are more than a hundred pages further on. One is prompted to ask why might not the notes have been placed where they would seem naturally to belong, after the selections for reading?

The illustrative extracts with which the volume closes are poorly selected, and with the exception of Cardinal Newman, are uninteresting. With almost unlimited material to draw from, it seems odd that Professor Baldwin should have selected, among others, a chapter from a somewhat crudely written bulletin of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and a very technical essay on Japanese art. To succeed in interesting a class of college students in these selections, for which the notes are not altogether adequate, is by no means an easy task.

In its present form the *College Manual of Rhetoric* is not a thoroughly teachable book, and it is hoped that, should a fourth edition be in preparation, it will have a more careful and thorough revision than the third.

NOTE.—This review was written in November, 1906, shortly after the writer had vainly struggled for a half session to interest in the book a class of sophomores in the University of North Carolina. Since that time a fourth edition, revised, has appeared, dated 1907. Though the numbering of the pages does not correspond exactly in both editions, there will be little difficulty in finding the passages referred to or quoted in the review.

In the preface to the fourth edition the author makes acknowledgment for "highly valued suggestions" and speaks of the "thorough" revision that has been made. Of the passages criticised in my review, however, only one has been subjected to revision. The hopelessly involved sentence beginning "But since the division" has been "improved" as follows: "But a division that sets on the one hand that sort of composition which everybody *practises* and everybody may learn to *practise* well, and on the other hand that sort which only the few *practise* much and only the few have the gift to *practise* well, serves as a sound basis for *practical* discussion" (italics mine). Whatever criticism may be made of the elegance and force of the sentence in its revised form, at least it has the merit now of being not absolutely obscure in meaning.

It is difficult to see how either the author or his generous critics could have allowed so many other faulty passages to stand unchallenged and unchanged. The chief defect, however, lies not in the mere mechanics of expression,—bad as that is,—but in the tone and point of view. The book is totally lacking in spontaneity and freshness, and reveals at times a complacent ignorance of what is

²See Krüger, *Englische Syntax*, § 1762; Onions, *An Advanced English Syntax*, 57a 5; Sweet, *A New English Grammar*, II, § 2346-8; C. A. Smith, *Our Language*, p. 71, note.

good and what is bad in English prose style. The following passage, which is quoted in full from the fourth edition, revised, will serve to illustrate these fundamental defects (pp. 178-180):

"192. The second counsel means to avoid explanatory interpolations (§ 150).

When we had reached the bare little station we were refreshed by the sight of wooded mountains all around it,

is a typical instance of description clogged by worthless lumber. All it means is,

The sight of wooded mountains all around the bare little station was refreshing;

and it ought to be still further reduced by combination with what follows.

The refreshment from wooded mountains all around the bare little station prepared us to enjoy the view of far blue peaks from the first ridge.

This is the negative way of descriptive conciseness. The positive way is to charge each word with suggestion: instead of depending altogether on nouns and adjectives, to force contribution from the verbs too (§ 162). The best-stored mind has not adjectives enough for description. The exhaustion of epithets overtaking a coaching party in a new country is typical of what happens to every student of letters very early in his practice. Happy he, if he learns then and there that the effort to make adjectives suffice is futile. From time to time a passing success is achieved thus by the sensational torturing of language. But the strain of this kind of writing is no more obvious than its failure. The surer way is to exact of each word its share.

A waft from the pines darkening the hills about the shanty stimulated us to laugh at the far glimpse of our own blue peaks from the first rise.

This is better than the first sentence because it accomplishes more in the same space by cutting out the lumber: but also better than the second because *pin*es is more concrete and specific (§ 226) than *wooded*, *waft* and *laugh* than *refreshment* and *enjoy*, *stimulated* than *prepared*. The description is both stronger and easier because nearly every word is suggestive."

It would be an interesting experiment to read aloud to a class the original sentence together with its various "improvements" and ask for honest expressions of opinion. How many, for example, could explain in the last sentence the state of mind of the pedestrians who by a "waft from the pines" are "stimulated to laugh at the far glimpse of their own blue peaks"? The most plausible explanation would be that the party made too many stops at public houses on the way.

In the appendix the author has wisely substituted in place of Bulletin 24, U. S. Department of Agriculture, an interesting chapter on "The Glacier Lakes," by John Muir; and instead of the difficult and technical treatise on Japanese art, has inserted a selection from Lafcadio Hearn, on "The Genius of Japanese Civilization," with the "idiosyncrasies of punctuation retained."

Even in its revised form the book is calculated rather to

repel the student than to beget in him a love of good English style.

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ANGLO-SAXON LITERATURE.

Grundriss der germanischen Philologie. II Band, VI Abschnitt, Literaturgeschichte. Englische Literatur von ALOIS BRANDL. Angelsächsische Periode. Strassburg: Trübner, 1908.

One of the most important contributions to the history of Anglo-Saxon literature which has appeared for many years has now been added to the second edition of Paul's *Grundriss*. In form it is only a section of this larger work, but in scope and minuteness it far exceeds the measure of most single volumes on similar subjects. The entire Anglo-Saxon period, which Professor Brandl believes should be extended into the middle of the twelfth century, is treated in considerable detail. The book is one for the scholar rather than the general reader, being condensed as far as possible, and practically presupposing some familiarity with the subject. Great labor, erudition, and judgment have been combined in its making. The copious bibliographical references will be exceedingly useful, and the critical discussions based on recent researches make the whole perhaps the best existing scientific presentation of the beginnings of English literature. A judicial and conservative attitude is generally assumed towards disputed questions. There will be many cases in which the conclusions expressed will not meet with assent, but if the author has occasionally failed to indicate that a given point is open to controversy, it is doubtless from the conviction that a somewhat dogmatic attitude is necessary where lack of space makes discussion impossible.

The first edition of the *Grundriss* contains, as will be remembered, only the unfinished outline of early national poetry; the completion of the section on Anglo-Saxon literature was prevented by the untimely death of ten Brink. The present work, then, is in no sense a revision, even of the small portion actually completed, but is entirely independent. The mere statement that it consists

of a hundred and ninety-three pages gives no adequate idea of the wealth of material presented, or of the terseness and suggestiveness of the treatment. In a short review, many interesting pages must of necessity be ignored. Only the more important matters can be touched upon, and then only with a brevity that will serve rather as a suggestion and caution to the reader than as an elucidation or solution of difficulties. The chapters on the prose may be passed over more rapidly, both because they involve fewer disputed problems and because nearly four times as much space is devoted to the poetry as to the prose texts.

Professor Brandl employs an elaborate schematic division of the material, partly chronological, but largely according to types, the effect of Germanic tradition being best illustrated in this way. A slight inconsistency appears in including Section D, *Prosa vor Alfred* (pp. 1051-61), under the grand division I, *Altheimische Dichtung vor Alfred* (p. 947). The general remarks on the separation of English literature into periods (pp. 941-47) are worth noting, a more philosophic grouping being here insisted upon than that usually followed. To the bibliography on page 943 should be added the new *Cambridge History of English Literature*, the first volume of which, although not wholly satisfactory, is not to be neglected by the student of this epoch. A few statements about the *Charms* are not quite accurate. The *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie* contains only eight verse-charms, not nine; the one printed in II, 202 being merely a more exact transcript of No. 8, Vol. I. Another, which is really a verse-charm, is printed in the *Bibliothek der ags. Prosa*, VI, 107. (Cf. Brandl, p. 957.) Again, it is at least doubtful if Wotan was the original deity of the *Hundesegen* (p. 956); the arguments of Priebisch, *Academy*, No. 1255, whom Brandl apparently follows, being inconclusive on this disputed point.¹ Two charms to recover stolen cattle are printed by MacBryde, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXI, 180 ff. This article might be added to the list noted pp. 957-8. Some new ideas in regard to the Anglo-Saxon *Dirges* are advanced by Schüeking, *Englische Studien*, xxxix, 1 ff.

Critical opinion in regard to *Widsið* is very well summarized. The author divides the poem into distinct sections, belonging to different periods, yet he thinks the present structure of the poem consciously artistic. He recognizes the impossibility of separating the different sections exactly, yet thinks stylistic differences define them fairly well. It is not certain that the *Rondings* are the *Rendigni* of Tacitus, and the *Myrgings* are certainly not to be identified with the *Maurungani* (p. 966, cf. Heinzel, *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akademie*, Phil-Hist. Klasse, 1889, p. 25). *Wilna* (*Wids.* 78) is better taken as an abstract noun than as the name of a country. The expression *þearfe secgað*, *þone word sprecað* (*Wids.* 137) hardly indicates that memory-verses were spoken rather than sung, whatever the fact may have been. Recent criticism has shown how much greater is the importance of lists of names in the development of epic than used to be thought the case. The monograph of Gudmund Schütte, *Oldsagn om Godtjod*, Cop. 1907, would strengthen the bibliography on this point. Brandl thinks the poem was completed in the eighth century, but before the time of Cynewulf, and in Mercia.

Throughout the book a distinction is made in quotations between vowels long both by origin and usage, and original long vowels later shortened in pronunciation, by marking them as follows: *liclēop* (cf. p. 948, note). The macron is used differently in such words as *geōmor*, in which the *e* shows the quality of the preceding consonant. It seems on the whole doubtful whether these distinctions are really necessary, but this procedure will doubtless meet with much more approval than that adopted by Holthausen in his recent edition of *Beowulf*.

The discussion of the lyrical and elegiac poems is disappointing. The summaries of the situations in such pieces as the *First Riddle* or *The Wife's Lament* are of very questionable accuracy. I have elsewhere tried to show (*Mod. Phil.*, v, 397 ff.) that it is often impossible to reconstruct these situations purely from the evidence of the lyrics themselves. The *First Riddle* Brandl recognizes as a lyric in the *ljōðahǫtt* form, but he regards previous efforts to bring the story into connection with saga as unsuccessful, although he thinks it likely it may belong to some form of the Odoacer story, or perhaps be an isolated outlaw-

¹ Cf. the forthcoming monograph by F. Grendon, *The Anglo-Saxon Charms*. I am indebted to Mr. Grendon for information about the Charms.

narrative. He is of the opinion that the *Husband's* (or *Lover's*) *Message* is connected with the *Wife's Lament*. This is doubtful, to say the least. The reader should be warned against the conclusions of Imelmann, who revives this theory (cf. Bradley, *Mod. Lang. Review*, II, 365 ff., and Schücking, *Zs. f. deut. Alt.*, XLIX, 163 ff.). It is hard to agree with Brandl that the meaning of the runes at the end of the *Message* is "leicht zu erraten." Certainly his explanation is obscure enough. The most convincing explanation thus far offered is that proposed by Bradley, *loc. cit.* The *Seafarer* Brandl states to be a dialog (p. 979), not telling the reader that the "old and young sailors" may well exist only in the imagination of critics.

The treatment of the Anglo-Saxon epic is particularly interesting. The discussion of *Beowulf* is the most detailed and important section in the whole volume, of which it occupies about one-fifth—pp. 988–1024. A preliminary sketch of it may be found in the paper read before the Berlin Academy, *Archiv*, CVIII, 152 ff. The author first takes up the *Finnsburg Fragment* (pp. 983–86), showing the stylistic contrast to the longer poem, which leads to the assumption that the *Fragment* is only a part of an epic lay, which in its entirety did not exceed two hundred lines. The "harsh joy of battle" in this vivid scene has no counterpart in the "tender elegiac mood" of the Episode in the epic. In his interpretation of the relation of the *Fragment* to the Episode Brandl agrees in general with the Grein-Bugge theory. It is worth remarking that he arranges the two *Waldhere* fragments in reverse order to that generally adopted, and that he believes an ecclesiastic is responsible for the latest form of the poem.

The outline of the plot of *Beowulf*, and the analysis of its linguistic and metrical characteristics may be passed over, though it may be noted that the MS. is Vitellius A XV, fol. 129–198, not Vitellius A XXV, fol. 132–201. The problem of origins, in which there is such small agreement, is one of the most difficult matters to dispose of in such a book as this. Mythical and imaginative sources are first considered, then historical elements. A good deal of importance is attributed to myth, the figure of Brea "beruht auf der menschenartigen ausmalung eines Naturvorgan-

ges; aufgebrochen und offen gehalten wird das südkandinavische Meer im Winter durch den Wind, im westlichen Norwegen aber sorgt der Golfstrom für freies Fahrwasser" (p. 992). Grendel is likewise apparently considered mythical, though not to be interpreted with satisfying certainty; the monster was originally overcome by Beowa, "ein Schutzheros des Ackerbaues." The well-known passage in the Wiltshire Charter, which mentions *Grendles mere* and *Beowan hammes hecgan* proves this early connection. The original mythical hero—"die eigentliche Sage galt wohl dem mythischen Beowa" (p. 999)—was displaced in time by the historical Beowulf. All this sounds quite orthodox and Müllenhoffian. Various Scandinavian stories are admitted to show a close resemblance to the Grendel-episode,—the tales of Grettir and Ormr Storfsson, and a number of märchen. The attempt to reconcile with later researches into the appearance of the story in Scandinavian the view that myths elaborated among the Anglo-Saxon formed the basis of the poem produces something the same impression of inconsistency in Brandl's summary as in the final edition of Müllenhoff's *Untersuchungen* (cf. Sarrazin, *Engl. Studien*, XVI, 72). Brandl says: "Die Sagenvergleichung ergibt demnach für den Kern der Grendel-Geschichte folgende Resultate: Zu Grunde liegt eine Erzählung von gründlicher Austilgung einer räuberischen Riesensippe, und zwar nicht durch das Schwert, da dies nach altem Aberglauben gegen Dämonen nicht ohne weiteres aufkommt, sondern durch Ringen und durch Anrufung höherer Mächte. Ursprünglich in skandinavischer Berglandschaft gedacht, kam sie mit den Angelsachsen nach Britannien, lebte aber auch bei den kontinentalen Nordgermanen fort und gelangte mit solchen nach Island. An verschiedenen Orten brachte man sie auf unabhängige Weise mit verschiedenen Lokalgrößen in Zusammenhang, bei den Angelsachsen mit der Gestalt des Beowa-Beowulf" (p. 995). It is not clear, however, just what Brandl's hypothesis of the combination of the different elements is,—how far he considers that the Grendel story had a double origin, in the Scandinavian material and in the mythical conceptions which he seems to regard as primitive. It is impossible to enter upon a dis-

cussion of this here.² The adventure with the mother was not a "Nachdichtung," he continues, and the original order of the adventures was probably not that in the *Grettissaga*, since it is the male demon's duty to sally forth first, although this may involve an artistic anticlimax later. Brandl does not seem to make enough allowance for the possibility that the two adventures circulated in the form of independent lays, which were differently arranged as elaborate narratives grew up. The dragon episode is recognized as originally independent of the Grendel theme, and the Fahlbeck-Bugge hypothesis of the location of the Geats finds no support in these pages (p. 997). The Offa-Thrytho material appears a "ziemlich gesuchte Erwähnung," yet there is no reason to consider it an interpolation. This reference to East-Anglian material, however, supports the theory that the poem in its present form was put together at the Mercian court (pp. 998, 1001). The Christian elements are rightly said to be integral parts of the poem,—“wer die unheimlichen Elemente aus dem Beowulfepos vollständig entführen will, muss es umdichten.” One might take issue with the chance statement that Beowulf is “bescheiden.”

The remarks on the architectonics of the poem are particularly good. It is clearly shown how the limits of the rhapsody-form break down, and yet how far the whole is from attaining the symmetry and tranquillity of the ideal epic. In the section dealing with “higher criticism” Brandl flatly breaks with the theories of ten Brink and Müllenhoff. The general line of argument against the “liedtheorie” is well known, and this is concisely and convincingly summarized for *Beowulf*. More stress might have been laid on the fact that the weakest part of the old hypothesis is that it started from a purely imaginary conception of what the style of the heroic epic really was. Certain similarities to the *Aeneid* are pointed out, and the interesting idea is advanced that the classical poem exerted an influence on the composition of *Beowulf*! The very useful bibliographical section is modestly entitled “Versuch einer Beowulf-Bibliographie.”

² I hope to publish shortly a somewhat detailed investigation of these questions.

Brandl's review of the Christian poetry may be considered more briefly. Stylistic questions are given the most prominent place; the characteristics of the literary epic and the minstrel lay, which appear in varying proportions in the Cædmonian poems, are clearly defined. The name Cædmon is etymologised as connected with Celtic *cad*, “battle.” In the dating of these poems, as indeed throughout the whole volume, Brandl places great confidence in Barnouw's test,—the absence of the article before the weak adjective and substantive. Largely on the strength of this, apparently, he has dated *Christ I* before *Cynwulf*, also *Genesis A*, *Daniel*, *Azarias*, *Guthlac A* and *Andreas* (pp. 1034–36). Elsewhere the same criterion is applied to relatively short pieces, as the *Ruin* (p. 978), in which three instances of absence of the article are held sufficient to form a judgment. It is admitted (p. 1034) that the normalizing of later scribes somewhat destroys the value of this test. The tendency to archaize, to use traditional formulas and expressions, so strong in Anglo-Saxon poetry, should also be taken into account. Altogether, it is impossible to attach quite as much weight to this test as Brandl does.

The autobiographical details which are put together from the epilogues in the Cynewulfian poems should also be taken with caution. The statement that “er (Cynewulf) war kein Gelehrter, doch ein kirchlich gebildeter Mann” is a little surprising (p. 1041). The recent investigations of Professor C. F. Brown (*Englische Studien*, xxxviii, pp. 196–233) show that far less information in regard to Cynewulf's life is afforded by the epilogues in the signed poems than has hitherto been supposed. “The explicit statement that he was an old man at the time he wrote *Elene*, . . . that his composition of poetry did not begin until after his conversion, . . . these two statements, together with his signature in the runes, constitute, I believe, the sum of the personal information imparted by Cynewulf to his readers in the epilogues of the four poems which he is known to have written” (p. 220). As to his learning, Professor Brown remarks, “He was no ordinary priest, but a man of uncommon erudition.” Professor Brandl is, however, much more cautious than many scholars about this autobiographical material, rejecting the minstrel theory, and add-

ing, further on, "darf man Cynewulfs autobiographische Äusserungen als bare Müuze nehmen," etc. A surprisingly small amount of space is allotted to the signed poems. Nothing appears to be said of the possibility of a connection between the *Andreas* and the *Fates of the Apostles*. Cf. Krapp's ed. of *Andreas*, pp. xxxvii ff. Perhaps the author feels that reference to dubious theories, even much-discussed ones, is better omitted. The section closes with an admirable summary of the changes in poetic ideals and technique observable through this period.

The discussion of prose in the time of Alfred and later consists largely of description and of re-statements of established facts. It may be noted, however, that Brandl disagrees with the theory that the prose portion of the *Paris Psalter* is the work of Alfred, siding with Bruce as against Wichtmann (p. 1070). He believes that Alfred relied more than usually in the translation of Bede upon the assistance of another, in this case a Mercian. Sedgfield's edition of the *Battle of Maldon*, Bos., 1904, might be added to the bibliography, p. 1097. In contrasting the *Rhyming Poem* with the *Höfuð-lausn* of Egil Skallagrímsson, Brandl comes to the conclusion that it is more likely that the Iclander was imitating an Anglo-Saxon tradition than that he was introducing a foreign form himself (p. 1081). This may not command universal agreement. He places *Judith* in the tenth century, inclining to Foster's theory that it is a eulogy on Æthelflæd, the Lady of Mercia, a hypothesis which seems to be finding more favor, on the whole, than Professor Cook's, which assigns the piece to the ninth century.

The book as a whole is remarkably free from misprints. A few, which are not registered among the Druckversehen at the end, are noted below.³ Many such must in the nature of things occur in pages so full of minute detail as these.

³ P. 944, l. 29 read behielten das ; p. 947, l. 34 read Wulfstan ; p. 962, l. 16 read zunächst ; p. 969 read F. B. Gummere ; p. 977, heading, read Gemahls ; p. 976 read der, l. 23 ; p. 969, l. 12 from bottom read F. Klaeber ; p. 980, l. 31 read Seaf. ; p. 998, l. 17 from bottom, read Thrytho for Thryth (?) ; p. 1034, l. 13 read Christ I for Christ II ; p. 1052, l. 31 read Ine. P. 957, last line, what is Archiv IC?

One lays the volume aside with the feeling that it is impossible to do it justice in a brief review, or to avoid creating a false impression in the reader's mind by the criticism of doubtful questions and the correction of inevitable errors. Hearty congratulations are certainly due to Professor Brandl on the admirable performance of a difficult task.

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MIDDLE ENGLISH POETRY.

The Seven Sages of Rome. Edited by Killis Campbell (Albion Series of Old English and Middle English Poetry). Boston : Ginn & Company, 1907. 8vo., pp. 217.

The *Seven Sages* marks the appearance of volume four of the Albion Series of Old English and Middle English poetry. In keeping with the aim of the Series, the present work is critically edited with introduction, explanatory notes, glossary, and index. The volume bears witness to a most painstaking scholarship in the vast amount of reading and comparing of authorities, texts, and manuscripts entailed in the editing of one of the most popular romances of the Middle Ages. And the results obtained have generally been presented in a form that is admirably usable. For bibliographical purposes, however, the index is incomplete, as it omits a number of references to authorities quoted in the book.

Some 114 pages of introduction, generously supplemented with foot-notes, attest the editor's familiarity with his subject, of which he has already given proofs in his dissertation, *A Study of the Romance of the Seven Sages with Special Reference to the Middle English Versions* (1898). The early history of the romance extends from its oriental genesis, believed to be Indian, of perhaps the fifth century B. C., through the Eastern group, which survives in eight versions,—one in Syriac, one in Greek, one in Hebrew, one in Old Spanish, one in Arabic, and three in Persian,—down to its transmission to Western Europe. The wide gap separating the Eastern and Western groups leads to the conclusion that this transmission was oral.

The parent Western version, to be dated not later than 1150 A. D., gave birth to some forty different versions of the *Seven Sages* proper, which exist in no less than 200 manuscripts. A detailed comparison setting forth the distinguishing features of the Continental versions of the Western group leads over to the discussion of the English versions.

The latter represent two distinct lines of tradition: the Middle English, extant in nine manuscripts of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries; and the Early Modern English, of which the earliest is a prose translation printed by Wynkyn de Worde (c. 1505-1515).

All the nine Middle English manuscripts are next described and their interrelations explained. Of the nine no one depends on another, and only two are copies of the same text—*C* (Cotton Galba E IX, printed as the text in this volume) and *R* (Rawlinson). The oldest is *A* (Auchinleck), written in the Kentish dialect of about 1320. Most careful has been the working out of the genealogies of the manuscripts; it is here that the editor's capacity for taking pains fairly revels in intricacies. Indeed the minutiae devoted to the collation of manuscripts, their agreements and antecedents, and the constant criss-crossing of references make it difficult to follow the line of argument. Moreover, farther on, in the special section given up to the manuscripts *C* and *R*, part of the same ground is gone over again; for instance, the date of composition is discussed in three different places.

C has been placed in the first quarter of the fifteenth century; *R* in the middle of the fourteenth; and *cr*, the problematical parent, in the first quarter of the fourteenth. That *C* and *R* belong to the Northern dialect is evident almost at first sight. As the editor points out, O. E. *ā* is regularly represented by *ǣ*; the present participle ends in *-and*, the inflection of the present indicative for the second and third persons singular is invariably *(e)s(e)*, and for the plural *-es*. The prefix *ge-* of the perfect participle is always omitted; O. E. palatal *c* usually becomes *k*; *sal* and *suld*, *sho* and *scho*, together with an abundance of Northern words, are sufficient ear-marks of Northern dialect. The place of composition the editor rather unsatisfactorily dismisses with the remark that there is nothing to show that the

redaction was not made in the neighborhood of York. For verification the student must make his own linguistic comparisons with Northern texts whose locality is definitely fixed.

In the "Originals and Analogues," we have what was evidently a labor of love to Mr. Campbell. Here he has classified all the originals, analogues, variants, derivatives, and reflections of the fifteen stories related in the *Seven Sages* that he has been able to discover. And we may well believe that he has gleaned the field very thoroughly. Two additional analogues may be noted here: one to *Vidua*, the other to *Virgilius*. The former was pointed out by Dr. Joseph Q. Adams, of Cornell University, in the March number of the *Modern Language Notes*, 1908. The latter is found in the Old Irish legend of the *Voyage of Maelduin*,¹ the oldest copy of which is in the *Book of the Dun Cow* (1100). Herein is told how the voyagers land on a certain island, on which stands a beautiful palace. Within they find a table spread as for a feast, but with no living being in sight except a cat that spends its time jumping from pillar to pillar. Having satisfied their hunger, the travellers take their departure. Against the advice of Maelduin, one of his foster-brothers carries off a torque that is hanging on the wall. In an instant the cat launches itself at the offender and, passing through him like a blazing arrow, consumes him to ashes. After the torque is replaced, the cat returns to its pillars.

It has apparently escaped the notice of Mr. Campbell that J. Loth, the noted Celtic scholar, has called attention, in the *Revue Celtique*,² to the resemblance existing between a passage found in the Welsh version of the *Seven Sages* and a passage occurring in *Mabinogi of Kulhwch and Olwen*. The passages in question begin so:

Mabinogi.

Et un jour elle vint à la maison d'une vieille sorcière excommuniée, à un seuloeil, sans une seule dent dans la tête, etc.

Seven Sages.

Un jour la reine alle se promener; elle vint chez une vieille sorcière qui se trouvait à la ville, sans une dent dans la tête, etc.

¹ Edited and translated by W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, Vols. ix, x, 1888, 1890.

² "La Version Galloise des Sept Sages de Rome," J. Loth, *Revue Celtique*, vol. xxiii, 1902.

The fact that the incident is found only in the Welsh version of the *Seven Sages* and is told in almost precisely the same terms as in the *Mabinogi* leads to the conclusion that the obligation of borrowing rests upon the Welsh redactor.

As has been stated above, the text printed by Mr. Campbell is that of *C*, which numbers 4328 lines, with variants from *R* as footnotes. This arrangement saves space, to be sure, but is, on the whole, less satisfactory than running the two texts through on opposite pages. Linguistically *C* is quite barren of interest. One meets no such bewildering richness of forms and constructions, and no such surprising turns of expressions as reward the student who wades through that other Northern store-house of mediæval legends—the *Cursor Mundi*. True it is, as Mr. Campbell remarks, that, in smoothness and correctness, the *Seven Sages* is far superior to the oldest surviving text of the *Cursor Mundi*. But the English author of the *Seven Sages* lacked imagination and individuality of style; his spelling is fairly settled, and his expressions seldom deviate from the normal. As would be expected, the text is liberally besprinkled with words of French origin, some of which by this time being part and parcel of the language, and others having come in with the French original, which was but one text removed. To the list of Northern words cited on pages lxxv and lxxvi may be added one of unmistakable Northern parentage—*slik* for *suche* or *swich*. There is frequently met, too, the Danish construction of *sal* without the infinitive. *Fra*, in the sense of *when*, which turns up constantly in the *Cursor Mundi*, never occurs in the *Seven Sages*.

Among some of the curiosities of idiom may be noted the following: *þi son unto me take* (97) = "commit thy son to my care"; *he bad þe traitur sold as sone Be nakend and in preson don* (562) = "should be made naked"; cf. with the use in the *Cursor Mundi* of the word *naked* as an active transitive verb, also with the instance of *the bestes mekand* = "making themselves meek"; *Wald þou þarfore lose his lyfe* (746): here *lose* has causative force; cf. with *Cursor Mundi* (16102), where *forfare*, which meant in Old English "to die," has come to mean "to cause to die." Several times *went* is used as a past participle:

þai er wightly went (363). The uninflected genitive is common: *þi whif tales* (3220), *for my son sake* (4296), etc. The verbs *to do*, *to be*, and *to go* not infrequently retain, contrary to general Northern practice, the termination *u* in the infinitive when at the end of a line. There is a tendency, not so consistently carried out, however, as in the *Cursor Mundi*, to preserve a pseudo-Latin inflectional ending to proper names terminating in *-us*: *by Ihesu fre* (933); *by dere Ihesu* (1306); but *by swete Ihesus* (2973). Cf. with the *Cursor Mundi*: *lazarum* (acc.), *lazar* (voc.), *lazaro* (dat.).

Of the personal pronouns *seo* and *seho* occur regularly: *þou* and *ze* are used pretty indiscriminately for the nominative singular; *þe* for the singular oblique and *gow* for the plural oblique are generally stable. To the uniform employment of *þai* (third pl. nom.) and *þam* (third pl. obl.) in the *Seven Sages*, the *Cursor Mundi* shows a refreshing variety. *þai* and *þei* are usually ascribed to Scandinavian influence. And certainly *þei* does bear a closer resemblance to the O. N. demonstrative plural *þeir* than to the O. E. *þā*. Kluge³ rightly admits, however, that there are difficulties in the way. Morris⁴ disposes of the subject by saying that *þei* is O. E. *þā*, probably modified by Scandinavian influence. Perhaps it comes from O. Dan. or O. Sw. *þe*.

The most northerly dialects prefer *ai* to *ei*; *ei* is a mark of the Midland dialect. Accordingly, in the *Seven Sages* and texts *C*, *G*, and *F* of the *Cursor Mundi*, we find *þai*, and in *T*, of the latter, *þei*. These two diphthongs must have approximated to the same sound, viz., *ēi*. There was a tendency in the North to turn into the diphthong *ai* or *ei* O. E. *ǣ*, *ē*, *ā̄*, *ē̄*, *ā* (O. N. *ei*).⁵ This tendency was extended by Scottish writers of a later period to nearly all the O. E. vowels: *ā* > *ai*, *ē* > *ei*, *ō* > *oi*, etc.

It is scarcely necessary to state that the relative in the *Seven Sages* is not *qua*, *wha*, *who*, etc., but *þat*. In the *Cursor Mundi* is found in addition *at*, *atte* (*F*), a form that became predominant in the later Northern writers—Barbour, Wynthoun, Doug-

³ Kluge, *Geschichte der englischen Sprache*, p. 1066.

⁴ Morris, *Outlines of Historical English Accidence*, 1899.

⁵ Hupe, *Introduction to Cursor Mundi*, I, 198.

las, etc. This is still the form used in vernacular Scotch of to-day; hence "Scots wha hae" is a literary furbishing up of "Scots at hæs." At doubtless came into English from the Danish.

The *Seven Sages* exhibits no trace of the labialized guttural *qu*, *quh*, which was domiciled in the more northerly dialects. This sound farther north, in Aberdeen and Angus, close to the Gaelic border, passed through the stage of the gutturalized labial *wh* into the labial *f*, e. g., *quhon* > *fone*, *quat* > *fat*, etc.

It remains in conclusion to give the accuracy of proof-reading its due praise. One error in reference is to be noted: on p. 209 for *Cursor Mundi*, lxxviii read lxxvii.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY.

MARIAN EDWARDES, *A Summary of the Literatures of Modern Europe (England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain) from the Origins to 1400*, compiled and arranged by —. London: J. M. Dent and Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1907. 8vo., xvi and 532 pp.

The plan of this bibliographical work of the first rank for the student of Mediæval literatures and the skill and thoroughness with which it has been carried out are such as to commend themselves to every worker in this field.

As the print is relatively small and the pages many, it necessarily contains a great amount of the very latest information about the chief literary works of the period and countries treated. The central idea of the compiler appears to have been to write a manual for the use of students of English literature, with such other information concerning European literatures of the same epoch as would be most useful to them.

But as three of the literatures included in the book are the chief Romance literatures and only two are Teutonic, the manual is of nearly equal interest to both Teutonic and Romance scholars.

In addition to the long lists of names and dates to be expected in a manual of this kind, there

have been introduced a great number of short summaries of the chief literary works mentioned, and this feature is probably of equal value with that of the more strictly bibliographical part of the work.

As this seems to be the author's first venture of the kind, a few criticisms may not be out of place. On pp. vii–viii a short summary is given which is entitled: *MSS. in English Libraries, etc.*; it is to be regretted that similar summaries have not been given for the other four countries. Similarly on p. 3 there is given a synoptic statement headed: *Periods of Literature for England*, but there are no similar synopses for Germany, France, Italy or Spain.

In a work containing so many details there can hardly help being a number of careless errors which will be brought to light gradually as the manual is put to the test of use. One of these occurring on pp. 11 and 14 (and probably elsewhere) is the word "Bonner," which is printed as though it were the name of a modern scholar instead of a proper adjective referring to the University of Bonn. On pp. 146–147 we find the erroneous statement in reference to the Strasburg Oaths: "The compact between Charles the Bald and Louis the German, when the latter, with his soldiers, took the oath of allegiance in French, and the former and his soldiers in German." Quite a number of errors in the spelling of Latin words have been noticed.

The number of pages devoted to the respective literatures varies greatly. Thus, 142 pages are given up to the treatment of English Literature, 162 pages to French, 88 pages to German, 76 pages to Italian, and only 39 pages to Spanish.

After the main body of the work come a few *Addenda*, and then finally a somewhat meagre *Index* of 22 pages.

However familiar a scholar may be with any particular field of Mediæval literature, he is almost certain to find some additional information in this manual bearing on his own studies, and *A Summary of the Literatures of Modern Europe* is decidedly a book of reference which should be found on every mediævalist's study table.

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GERMAN POETRY.

WILHELM MÜLLER: *Gedichte. Vollständige kritische Ausgabe.* Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen besorgt von JAMES TAFT HATFIELD. Nebst Porträt und einer Facsimilebeilage. Berlin: B. Behr's Verlag, 1906.

We have here the first critical edition of the poems and songs of one of the most attractive German writers. It is true, much of Wilhelm Müller's poetry has not stood the test of time. His astonishing gift of versifying, his flow of language, his sense of rhythm too often betrayed him into committing to print what should have remained within the circle of his friends and boon companions. There is enough of real value in his poetry, however, to make a critical edition distinctly worth while and desirable.

Wilhelm Müller possessed neither great depth nor originality. Even if he had lived longer, it is doubtful whether he would have produced greater poetry than some of the lyrics of the *Waldhornist* or the *Griechenlieder*, but why quarrel with a poet on this score who delights us with his love of nature, his childish simplicity, his rich humor, his joy of living. In reading through the poems we feel the heart-beat of that romantic and dreamy Germany that was the delight of foreigners, that Germany which we find in Longfellow's *Hyperion* or in Bayard Taylor's *Views on Foot*. In present-day Germany Wilhelm Müller is considered old-fashioned and out-of-date. With the exception of a few songs that have been set to music by eminent composers, his poems are almost forgotten, his *Griechenlieder*, which even twenty-five years ago were memorized by German school-boys and recited on public occasions, are looked upon to-day as a literary curiosity; the passionate note of freedom which ennobles these poems in spite of much rhetoric, finds no response in the soul of the modern German. The temper of the German people has changed since the days of forty-eight and the great Chancellor.

The edition is clearly a labor of love. The editor has long been known as an admirer of Wilhelm Müller's poetry. He has given us in the past excellent English renderings of some of

Müller's poems. The text has been carefully prepared (I have noticed only three errata: p. 12, l. 20, insert *ich* after *will*; p. 234, l. 24, read *auffpflanz*; p. 309, no. 17, read *Fortunat*); the arrangement of the poems enables the reader to follow the growth of Müller's talent. The most reliable editions have been used, the critical apparatus supplies the variants. The introduction gives a short biography of the poet, but is somewhat disappointing. The external events of Müller's life are faithfully related, new material has been utilized, but the inner development of the man and poet, his position among his contemporaries, his place in German literature are not adequately presented. The volume as a whole is a distinct contribution of American scholarship to the study of modern German literature.

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Kin AND *kinde* IN HAMLET.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—As the author of the article on the First Folio in *MLN.*, xxiv, 2, rightly remarks, there is "good authority for the statement that the vowel sound of *kin* and *kinde* in Hamlet's speech was similar." It seems, however, doubtful whether *kind(e)* had "its older sound rhyming with *wind* (n.)." From the rhyme-index in my book *Shakespeare's Pronunciation*, I, p. 152, it will be seen that Shakespeare makes *kind* rhyme not only with words of its own class, but also with *confined*; likewise *find* with *assign'd* and *inclined*, &c. In all probability Shakespeare's long *i* was only slightly diphthongised, as in the pronunciation of Gill, who remarks that it was almost a diphthong, and counts "*ei pro I*" among the "*Mopsarum fictitiæ*" which he proscribes. Cf. also such rhymes as *quickly: unlikely*, *V. & A.* 990, and *live: contrive*, *J. C.* II, iii, 15 (l. e., p. 28).

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“YSOPETE” IN SPANISH.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In an article on the “Ysopo” of Burgos, published by Mr. Laubscher in the issue of the *Modern Language Notes* for March of this year, there occurs (p. 70) the following statement in regard to the earliest use of the word “Ysopete” in Spanish:

The word “Ysopete” found in the *explicit* is unusual in most Spanish collections. It may, therefore, be of interest to note that the earliest use of it known to the Romance Seminary of Johns Hopkins University is in an inventory of 1460: “Otro librete que es quesopete en papel, etc.”

In view of this, it is worth mentioning that more than a century earlier, Juan Ruiz, in *copla* 96 of his *Libro de Buen Amor*, explicitly refers to a fable-collection “Ysopete” as the source of one of his fables:

Como la buena dueña era mucho letrada,
sotil, entendida, cuerda, bien messurada,
dixo ala mi vieja, quele avja enbiada,
esta fabla conpuesta, de *ysopete* sacada.

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CHAUCEER AND THE *Cléomadès*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Mr. Hinckley’s recent communication to *Modern Language Notes* (xxiv, 95) in regard to my contention that Chaucer before writing his *Squire’s Tale* had known the *Cléomadès*, raises an objection to which I am by no means blind. It is indeed somewhat perplexing that we should find in the English poem neither phraseology nor names at all similar to anything in Adenet’s romance. Yet I regard this circumstance, though possibly injurious, as by no means fatal to the hypothesis which I hold. The tired parallel passage argument often fails to prove anything in particular,—except, perhaps, that parallel passages meet at infinity. May not one make shift with a cautious assumption of borrowing,

without buttressing his position with parallel passages? Some time ago I virtually rested my case for Chaucer’s acquaintance with the *Cléomadès* in an article to which Mr. Hinckley has kindly referred in his *Notes on Chaucer*. To this I resorted somewhat casually in a note to my recent study, “The *Cléomadès* and Related Folk-Tales.” That I did not mention Mr. Hinckley’s opinion there was doubtless due to my feeling that he was only one of many excellent scholars who disagreed with me. I sincerely regret that I should seem to have ignored his *Notes on Chaucer*, which I have consulted more than once with a great deal of interest.

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A SOURCE FOR *Christ*, LL. 348–377.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Professor Cook’s excellent work in discovering the sources of Cynewulf’s *Christ* is, on his own frank admission, subject to correction and supplementation. I venture, therefore, to offer some emendations.

Lines 348–377 he hesitatingly bases on the antiphon

O Radix Jesse, qui stas in signum populorum,
super quem continebunt reges os suum,
quem gentes deprecebuntur: veni ad liberandum nos, jam noli tardare.

The only apparent correspondences with this in the text of the *Christ* are line 373 *ne lata tō lange* = *jam noli tardare*, and line 374 *æt þū ūs āh-redde* = *ad liberandum nos*. These lines, as will be pointed out later, may be otherwise explained; the rest of the passage has no obvious relation with *O Radix*.

There is, however, a curiously indirect piece of evidence which seems to indicate that Cynewulf, while composing the passage in question, was thinking of

O Sapientia, quæ ex ore altissimi prodisti,
attingens a fine usque ad finem, fortiter
suaviterque disponens omnia: veni ad docendum nos viam prudentiæ.

In the antiphon itself, the clause 'quæ ex ore altissimi prodiisti' is based on *Ecclus.* 24. 5: 'Ego ex ore altissimi prodii, primogenita ante omnem creaturam.' The curious fact is that Cynewulf apparently uses not the part which appears in the antiphon but the last four words of the verse. His lines are as follows (348-354):

Ēalā þū hālga heofona Dryhten,
þū mid Fæder þinne gefyrn wære
efenesende in þām æþelan hām.
Næs ænig þā giet engel geworden,
nē þæs miclan mægenþrymnes nān
ðe in roderum ūp rice biwitiġað,
þōdnes þrýðgesteald ond his þegnunga,—

Here it seems probable that Cynewulf has seized on the words 'primogenita ante omnem creaturam' and used them as a basis for poetic comment on his favorite doctrine of the eternal co-existence of the Son with the Father 'in that noble abode, ere yet any angel was created nor any of the heavenly host.' It is quite in keeping with Cynewulf's method that he should thus depart from the content of the antiphon to follow up a theme in which he was especially interested.

Lines 355-6

þā þū ærest wære mid þone ðcan Frēan
sylf settende þūs sidan gesceaft,
brāde brytengrundas—

are perhaps a reminiscence of the 'fortiter suaviterque disponens omnia' of the antiphon, though the resemblance here is more remote.

Now it is necessary to dispose of lines 372-4:

ne lata tō lange. Cym nū, hæleþa Cyning;
þæt þū ūs āhredde. Ūs is lissa þearf,—

This passage resembles, as has already been mentioned, the 'veni ad liberandum nos, jam noli tardare,' which is the petition in *O Radix*. But at the head of the list of the Greater Antiphons in the Sarum Use (and hence immediately preceding *O Sapientia*, the first of the group), appears this versicle and response:

Festina, ne tardaveris, Domine: et libera
populum tuum. Veni, Domine, et noli tardare:
relaxa facinora plebi tuæ.

This versicle, the gloss states, is always sung before the antiphon (ad initium hujus antiphonæ). The association in Cynewulf's mind of the versicle

with *O Sapientia* is thus natural and almost inevitable; and the similarity between his words and the words of the versicle is quite evident.

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CUMBERLAND'S EDITION OF CHAUCER.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In *Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual*, Miss Eleanor P. Hammond describes an edition of Chaucer published by John Cumberland. A copy of this edition in the Yale University Library corresponds in every detail to that described by Miss Hammond. She dates the edition prior to Singer's edition of 1822; but a footnote on page 18 of the first volume of Cumberland's edition is as follows: "See Bowring's translations of German epigrams—*London Magazine*, 1824." The date of this edition must therefore be after 1824 instead of before 1822. In 1826, when he began to publish the *British Theatre*, Cumberland was at 19 Ludgate Hill, and remained there until August 1, 1828, when he moved to 2 Cumberland Terrace. In March, 1829, he was at 6 Brecknock Place, where he stayed until March 1, 1831, when he again moved to 2 Cumberland Terrace, and remained there. The edition of Chaucer must have been issued either between August 1, 1828 and March, 1829, or after 1831, unless we can surmise that between 1824-26 he was at 2 Cumberland Terrace, and already engaged in publishing.

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HAMLET.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Your February number (p. 41) contains a perfectly valid criticism of a note in the Porter and Clarke edition of *Hamlet* explaining the line,

"A little more than kin, and less than kind."

The critic's own explanation, however, leaves much to be desired. The context itself would seem to be sufficient to make the meaning clear.

Moreover, in Karl Elze's edition of *Hamlet*, Leipzig, 1857, p. 120, the question is settled for good and all. He writes :—

“‘Kin’ bedeutet die Verwandtschaft ausserhalb der Familie, die Vetterschaft; ‘kind’ die Art, das Geschlecht, die Blutverwandtschaft, Familie, und dann die zur Fortpflanzung und Erhaltung des Geschlechtes erforderliche sittliche Ordnung. Vielleicht in keinem englischen Schriftwerk kommt ‘kind’ so häufig und in so unzweideutigem Sinne vor, als in *The Tragedie of Gorboduc*.’”

Following this note are copious examples to illustrate the author's statement. I have counted twenty-three cases of the occurrence of ‘kind’ in *Gorboduc*, often in antithesis to ‘kin,’ and almost always with the unmistakable sense of the immediate family relationship. I subjoin in addition some examples of ‘kin’ in antithesis to expressions synonymous with ‘kind’:

“Great is the love which nature doth inforce
From kin to kin, but most from sire to sonne.”

Misfortunes of Arthur, III, i, 41–42.

“Kin or sonne.” *Ib.*, 46 and 48.

Arthur says of Mordred, who is “Nephew, Sonne, or both,”

“My blood and kinred doubled in his birth,
Inspires a mixt, and twice descending love.”

Id., v, i, 91.

And for ‘kind,’ in *The Birth of Merlin*, v, i, where Merlin rescues his mother from the devil, he says:

“Nature and kind to her commands my duty;
The part that you begot was against kind.
So all I owe to you is to be unkind.”

Doubtful Plays of William Shakespeare,
Tauchnitz, p. 347.

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BRIEF MENTION.

A GOETHE LIBRARY.

Verzeichnis einer Goethe-Bibliothek von FRIEDRICH MEYER (xii and 707 pp., 8vo.). Leipzig: Dyk'sche Buchhandlung, 1908.

We have before us a large volume, enumer-

ating 7683 publications, by or on Goethe. The list mentions first a facsimile of the “Ordentliche Wöchentliche Frankfurter Tag- und Anzeigungsnachrichten” of Sept. 2, 1749, containing the announcement of Goethe's birth. The last book mentioned is volume 28 of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* of 1907.

Mr. Meyer, who is a bookseller in Leipzig, actually possesses all publications mentioned in the catalogue, except a few ones marked with asterisks. To this collection belong about 5000 articles from newspapers and periodicals which are not listed in the catalogue.

Meyer's Goethe-Bibliothek is with the sole exception of the famous Goethe-Library in Weimar the most complete collection of Goethe books in the world, and it would be impossible to duplicate it. It contains practically everything pertaining to text criticism and has all first editions with only one exception, *i. e.*, *Von deutscher Baukunst D. M. Erwin a Steinbach*. Very complete is the collection of Goethe's contributions to periodicals and almanacs. The polemic writings of young Goethe and almost the entire literature concerning Werther's *Leiden* and the *Xenien* are at hand.

Goethe's administrative bulletins which he had to issue to his subordinate officials in the Grand Duchy of Weimar are to be found here. Their circulation has, of course, been always very limited.

Excellent bibliographical knowledge and great persistency in collecting rare books are evidently shown by Mr. Meyer. His work is not only of high credit to German industry but also shows the high educational standard which is to be found among German booksellers.

It is very much to be desired that a collection like this should be bought by some American Institution. No similar opportunity will occur, ever again. The author of this article is willing to give any other information on Meyer's Goethe-Bibliothek, which he may be able to supply.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXIV.

BALTIMORE, JUNE, 1909.

No. 6.

NOTES ON BROWNING.

THE SOURCE OF *Christmas Eve — Saul* — THE TITLE, *Men and Women — Pauline*.

Last year I pointed out (*Independent*, 14 May, 1908) that in a letter to Elizabeth Barrett, 16 August, 1846, Robert Browning definitely if unconsciously, made a sketch which was later strictly followed in the poem *Christmas Eve* (published 1 April, 1850). Miss Barrett had written to him the day before a remarkable letter in which she commented on the various forms of religious worship from Roman Catholicism to Unitarianism. She said, "Wherever you go, in all religious societies, there is a little to revolt, and a good deal to bear with—but it is not otherwise in the world without; and, *within*, you are especially reminded that God has to be more patient than yourself after all. Still you go quickest there, where your sympathies are least ruffled and disturbed—and I like, beyond comparison best, the simplicity of the dissenters . . . the unwritten prayer, . . . the sacraments administered quietly and without charlatanism! and the principle of a church, as they hold it, *I* hold it too, . . . quite apart from state necessities . . . pure from the law." She then goes on to point out unpleasant things in non-conformist worship—"you feel moreover bigotry and ignorance pressing on you on all sides, till you gasp for breath like one strangled. But better this, even, than what is elsewhere." (*Letters*, Harper edition, II, 427.)

To this letter Browning replied, "I know your very meaning, in what you said of religion, and responded to it with my whole soul—what you express now, is for us both . . . those are my own feelings, my convictions beside—instinct confirmed by reason. . . . If in a meeting house, with the blank white walls, and a simple doctrinal exposition—all the senses should turn (from where they lie neglected) to all that sunshine in the Sistine with its music and painting, which would lift

them at once to Heaven,—why should you not go forth?—to return just as quickly, when they are nourished into a luxuriance that extinguishes, what is called, Reason's pale wavering light, lamp or whatever it is. . . . See the levity! No—this sort of levity only exists because of the strong conviction, I do believe! There seems no longer need of earnestness in assertion, or proof . . . so it runs lightly over, like foam on the top of a wave." (*Letters*, II, 434.)

Observe that in his letter Browning in imagination attends a simple bare meeting-house, from which he flies to the church of Rome, and then back to the meeting-house; and this is exactly (with the German interlude) what happens in the poem *Christmas Eve*, and for precisely the same reasons. Furthermore in the poem, he definitely chooses the meeting-house, with all its stupidity, in preference to other forms of worship—"I choose here!" Again, he makes at the end of the poem, exactly the same defense of what might seem to others levity, that he makes in his letter:

And if any blames me,
Thinking that merely to touch in brevity
The topics I dwell on, were unlawful,—
Or, worse, that I trench, with undue levity,
On the bounds of the Holy and the awful,
I praise the heart, and pity the head of him,
And refer myself to *THEE*, instead of him;
Who head and heart alike discernest,
Looking below light speech we utter,
When the frothy spume and frequent sputter
Prove that the soul's depths boil in earnest!
—*Christmas Eve*, first edition, Section XXII.

Compare the last two lines with the last line of letter, quoted above.

These facts seem to me to prove two things, first—that the poem *Christmas Eve* sprang directly from this correspondence. Secondly—that *Christmas Eve* is not primarily a dramatic poem, as many have claimed, but that it is the deliberate expression of Browning's own religious convictions. This has been denied by some authorities, and questioned by others (see Ethel M. Naish, *Browning and Dogma*, London, 1906, and Professor Cun-

liffe's excellent article in *Modern Language Publications*, June, 1908). In view of what I have directly quoted from Browning's letter above, I cannot agree with Professor Cunliffe, when he says of Browning's reply to Miss Barrett's letter, "like a wise lover he concurs without saying anything definite on his own side, beyond the safe: 'What you express now is for us both.' " It appears to me that he was quite definite, very different indeed (for example) from the way in which Faust dodged Margaret's point-blank question, *Glaubst du an Gott?*

A POSSIBLE SOURCE OF *Saul*.

One of my undergraduate students, Mr. Paul Moore of New York City, called my attention last year to a poem by Dr. John Brown (1715-1766), *The Cure of Saul* (London, 1763), which he came across in a miscellany. I find two copies of the earliest editions of this book in the Yale Library, one with the plain text, the other, "as it is performed at the Theatre-Royal in Covent Garden," with directions for singing. Mr. Moore thinks that it is at least possible that Browning had read this poem and taken a hint from it in composing his own work, and I am inclined to agree with him. Dr. Brown was not much of a poet, for in his verses declamation roared while passion slept. Yet there is one passage in *Saul* where Browning uses the splendid figure of the rocky side of the mountain revealed after the Spring snow-slide, that might have been inspired by Dr. Brown. In the latter's version, David sings of the processes of Creation from primeval chaos to light and life, while

"In dumb surprise the list'ning Monarch lay."

Then

"Ocean hastens to his Bed:
The lab'ring Mountain rears his rock-cumbe'r'd Head:
Down his steep and shaggy Side
The Torrent rolls his thund'ring Tide."

In Browning, we read

"Have ye seen when Spring's arrowy summons goes right
to the aim,
And some mountain, the last to withstand her, that held
(he alone,
While the vale laughed in freedom and flowers) on a
broad bust of stone

A year's snow bound about for a breastplate,—leaves
grasp of the sheet?

Fold on fold all at once it crowds thunderously down to
his feet."

Incidentally, we may note that the *Dictionary of National Biography* miscalls Dr. Brown's work "The Curse of Saul."

THE TITLE, "MEN AND WOMEN."

While teaching Browning's *Men and Women* in the University of California last summer, Mr. John B. Alexander, of Honolulu, suggested to me that possibly Browning might have taken the title, *Men and Women*, from the *Mimes* of Sophron. In Nairn's edition of the *Mimes of Herodas*, Oxford, 1904, page xxiii, we find, "he wrote two kinds of *μίμοι*, called *ἀνδρείοι* and *γυναικεῖοι*; . . . The subjects of these pieces were drawn from the world of ordinary men and women." Nairn refers in a footnote to Suidas, who said of Sophron, *ἔγραψε μίμους ἀνδρείους καὶ μίμους γυναικεύς*. Mr. Alexander says, "Browning, who had much out of the way knowledge, might have adapted the above expression as the title of his *Men and Women*, his poems being far off descendants of the mime." This seems to me at least possible, as Browning delighted in reading just such things as the above. Yet it is also barely possible that Browning took the title from a statement that Richardson made just before the appearance of *Grandison*; he said, "the subjects are still the same [as in *Pamela* and *Clarissa*] love and nonsense, men and women."

THE TEXT OF *Pauline*.

There are really three separate texts of *Pauline*; the first edition of 1833, the edition of 1868, with misprints corrected, and the final and standard edition of 1888, with the diction thoroughly revised. In the preface to the 1868 edition of his collected works, the poet remarked that he retained *Pauline* with extreme repugnance, but was forced to print it owing to the certain appearance of transcripts. "By forestalling these, I can at least correct some misprints (no syllable is changed)." Browning of course believed that the words in the parenthesis were literally true; but they are not. I have made a

very careful collation of all three texts, which I may be able to publish some time, and it appears that besides the correction of a few misprints, there were some syllables (very few) absolutely changed; enough to make the text of 1868 a different text from that of 1833.

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NOTES ON BAIST, GRAMMATIK DER SPANISCHEN SPRACHE,² 1906.

The following lines, in their first draught, were meant to serve as a foot-note in an article on the etymology of *duecho*. Baist, Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie VIII, I p. 201, makes the statement: "*duecho* ist nur einmal handschr. bei Berceo überliefert, neben sonst einzig vorhandenem regelmässigen *ducho*." I wanted to show that such statements as "nur einmal überliefert," even when made by an authority like Baist, are generally wrong. My remarks having outgrown the space of a foot-note, I beg to publish them here separately. B. § etc. refers to Baist, Gramm. d. span. Sprache,² 1906=Gröber, Grundr.² I p. 878.

1. B. § 20 (p. 887): "nie [steht] *lingua*."

Munthe, Anteckningar, 1887, p. 25, observes: "*i* mot kast. *e* i *tsingua* . . . [BL (= bablelitteraturen) *lingua* och *lleng.*, gal. pg. *ling.* . . .]." Menéndez Pidal, Manual,² 1905, § 11, 2: "*lingua* . . . hace en . . . ast. occid. y central *llingua*." Cf. e. g. La Olla asturiana p. 101 *lingua*. In Fuero Juzgo (1815) *lingua* occurs at least three times: pp. 67 V. L. 13 Esc. 1.; 115 V. L. 33 Bex.; ib. V. L. 34 B. R. 1.¹

2. B. § 23: "[es heisst asp.] nicht *cobdo*."²

Diez, Et. Wb.⁴ I s. v. *Cúbito*; Gessner, Das Leonensishe p. 10; Menéndez Pidal, op. cit. § 60, 1, claim an Old Spanish *cobdo*. Instances of *cobdo*, *cobdos* are indeed not lacking. Cf. P. Cid

501. Alex. (Janer) 993 (= Morel-Fatio 1021). Fuero de Sepúlveda pp. 67; 94; 105. Espejo (1836) pp. 116; 117. Siete Partidas (1807) I p. 159. Prim. Crón. Gen. p. 598 a 18. Libros de Astr. I pp. 23; 25; 29; 30; 37; 53. II pp. 284; 285. Carlos Maynes (Bonilla) p. 514a. Corvacho (Pérez Pastor) p. 143. In 1534, Valdés, Diál. de la lengua (Böhmer) p. 368, 19, writes: "M[arcio]. Veo en vuestras cartas que en algunos vocablos poneis b donde otros no la ponen, y decis *cobdiciar cobdo dubda subdito*; querria saber porque lo hazeis assi. V[aldés]. Porque a mi ver los vocablos estan mas llenos y mejores con la b que sin ella y porque toda mi vida los he scritto y pronunciado con b."

Cf. also *cobdal* < *cubitale*. S. Domingo (Sanchez) 490 *truchas cobdales*.³ Siete Partidas I p. 159 *palo cobdal*, *que se entiende por de un cobdo en luengo*.

3. B. § 29: "*Fidem* [ist] nur *fed fe* überliefert."

Of the forms *fee*, Tratados de Cabreros (1206) (Esp. Sagr. xxxvi Apend. pp. cxxxiii; cxxxv; cxxxvii) etc., *fey*, Fuero Juzgo p. 60 V. L. 23 Esc. 5. and similar phenomena I shall treat on another occasion.

4. B. § 60: "Alt *la pro*." More categorically Krit. Jahresber. IV (1898-1900) I p. 301: "*la pro* (nur so altspan.)." Cf. also Krit. Jahresber. VIII, 1. Heft (Dec. 1906) I p. 198.

This error has been corrected, in the meantime, by Hanssen, Sobre un Compendio de Gramática castellana anteclásica, Santiago de Chile, 1908, p. 12. Hanssen quotes *pro* g. m. from P. Cid (add 1112 *en nuestro pro*), Berceo, the Bible, Prim. Crón. Gen. (add p. 77a 41 *pro ninguno*), Lucanor, Don Quixote, in the whole fourteen cases. But the instances are much more numerous. Cf. Alex. 358 *el proe* (-1) (= M.-F. 366 *el pro*); 400 item (= M.-F. 408 *el pro*); 719 *Algun proe* (+1) (= M.-F. 746 *algund pro*); Fuero Juzgo pp. 7a *Del pro, ó del danno*; 20a *Del pro ó del dampno*; 21a *el pro y danno*; 147 V. L. 6 Toled. and Malp. 2. *el pro* (Text *la pro*); 153b *el pro* (cf. also V. L. 21). Boc. Oro pp. 87 *el pro e el*

¹Contrary to Menéndez Pidal, I do not believe that the *i* in *viuda*, *mingua*, *lingua* is due to *umlaut*.

²How does this statement agree with the one in § 52 (p. 905) concerning Leonese *coldo*? Does not *coldo* presuppose *cobdo* just as *delda*—*debda* etc.?

³Fitz-Gerald, in his edition, writes with MS. E *cabdales*. MS. V (Sanchez) is here, as in other cases (cf. p. xxix), preferable.

danno; 143 *poco pro*; 360 *pro ninguno*; 376 *La pro que ha omne en el oyr con sus orejas es propia para si, e el pro de la su lengua es para los otros*. Buen. Prov. pp. 16 *tamanno pro*; 51 *en cuyos pros*; 57 *pro ninguno*. Calila (Allen) pp. 26, 299 *algun pro o daño*; 30, 431 *enel daño e enel pro*. Espejo pp. 5 *los proes*; 90 *todos los proes*; 384 *todo el pro*; 390 *el pro*; 410 item. Siete Partidas I pp. 25 *al pro*; 35 *el pro*; 44 item; 55 *La virtud et el pro* (however 78 *la virtud et la pro*; 94 item); 162 *el grant pro*; 204 *el pro ó el daño*. III pp. 288 *por cuyo pro*; 289 *otro pro*. Libros de Astr. I pp. 34 *el pro et el danno*; 68 *á nuestro pro*. Coneillos de Leon (1267) (Esp. Sagr. xxxvi p. 234) *los prodes*. Berganza II pp. 487 (1274) *el pro*; 489 item; 490 item. Vigil pp. 69a (1274) *el proe comunal*, 121a (1305) *el pro. ó el danno*. Juan Manuel, Libro del Infante (Gayangos p. 306a) *el mayor pro*. Crón. D. Pedro (1779) p. 490, 26 *el pró*. Villasan-dino (Canc. Baena, 1851, p. 114) *al pro*. Cane. d'Herberay (Gallardo I c. 516) *el pro presente*.

5. B. § 84 (p. 914): "im Alex. . . einmal soy." ⁴

In the eds. of Sanchez and Janer *soy* appears at least four times: 1542 (—2); 1953; 2049; 2092 (+1). Morel-Fatio, in the corresponding places (1684; 2095; 2190; 2234 (+1)), reads *so*.

6. B. § 85: "Starke Perfekta . . . In 3 (mit Ausnahme von *fué*; je einmal *vie* und *fiz* wahr-scheinlich Fehler) [ist] -o der älteren Gestalt von III (*audtut*) entnommen."

a) By the side of *fué*, Baist could have mentioned *dié* (3) (Echo) Ann. Éc. Haut. Ét. 1901, p. 113 note 2. Saroïhandy says: "*Ganeron*, *torneron*⁵ ont été refaits sur *dieron*. Ces formes ont servi à leur tour pour former les personnes

⁴ According to Baist, Zeitschrift xvi p. 532, all the mss. of Juan Ruiz have "durchweg" *so*, except ms. T. 1330 (= Ducamin 1356) which reads *soy*. But *ssoy* (*soy*) is read ms. S. 76, 173, 317, 460, 465, 1028; ms. T. 1133, 1135, 1360; *son* (1) ms. T. 1435.

⁵ Not noted B. § 82 where, however, *costé* (3) (Ann. p. 113) etc. are recorded. The latter forms are connected by Baist with *betait*, Altspan. Glossen 266 < *vctavit*. That is possible. An old instance is Crónica de S. Juan de la Peña (1876) p. 48 *Remiro* . . . *absentés* (Lat. text *absentavit se*) *del dito Regno*. Still older would be Vida S. Maria Eg. (Janer) p. 318b *Contéles* (sc. *Gozimas*) *del leyon*. The Barcelona ed. of 1907, however, reads 1431 *Contolcs*. Does

correspondantes du singulier: *dié* (cast. *dió*), *gané* (cast. *ganó*), *torné* (cast. *torló*). Ou bien, faudrait-il considérer *dié* comme le représentant du latin *dedit* (**diede*, **díee* *die*)? . . . I think not, but see in *dié* an analogie form.

b) Koerbs, 1893, p. 58, and Gassner, 1897, §§ 318, 428, have indicated *vie* (3) twice in P. Cid: 1096 *Ya vie myo Cid que Dios le yua va-liendo*. 2439 *Algo vie myo Cid delo que era pagado, Algo sos oios estena adelant catando, E vio venir a Diego* . . . Whether Baist has in mind one of these cases or another, *vie* (3) belongs to the impf.⁶ and is not a mistake.

Other examples of the impf. *vía* *vies*, resp. *viés*, etc. are: P. Cid 2773 *Ellos nol vien ni dend*

this ed. deserve any more confidence than that of Janer? The editor conceals his name, a procedure against which a strong protest is justified, and which might lead one to answer the question in the negative. At any rate, *costé* may also be due to the influence of *costeron* (Saroïhandy), of *costemos*, cf. Ann. p. 111 *ganemos*, García Arista, Cantas baturras p. 62:

Saquemos el Santo Cristo
pa ver si llovía, maña,
y ahura hay que sacar la Virgen . . . ,

finally of *costé* (1).

⁶ I would not deny the possibility of old *vie* perf. 3, but I deny the possibility of proving it.

Modern *vie* is perf. 1. Andalusian instances are:

Marin III p. 456 Cuando te bie 'n la cama
A mi corason de ducas
Se le cayeron las alas.
P. 460 Faltigas me dieron,
Ganas e yorá,
Cuando yo bie-qu'á mi compañera
La iban á enterrá.

From *vide* (1): Leyendas mor. I pp. 167; 168 etc. Nuñez Delgado (Gallardo III c. 981). Diego Sanchez I p. 117. II pp. 115 *vide*: *pide*; 174. Lope de Rueda I pp. 94; 313. Autos (Rouanet) I p. 25, 96. Novelas ej. (Leipzig, 1883) p. 31. Quatorze romances judéo-espagnols, Rev. hisp. x p. 600. Marin II pp. 66 *bide*; 143 item. Rimas infantiles, Rev. de Extremadura v p. 62 *bide*.

The latter form is not mentioned by Baist § 85. He has, however, along with -*si* perfects *vise* about which one would like to hear more.

⁷ In Fernan Gonz. (Marden) 97 the ms. has *Vyen se de nuevo* . . . With Menéndez Pidal, Arch. f. neuere Sprachen cxiv p. 251, I prefer *v[e]yen se de n.* José (Schmitz) 11 reads *i nunca mas le rien : bien : Zarayél : xazien*, but *Yácnf* (Menéndez Pidal) 21 *i nunka lo beriván : bu'eno : Xeyana : jazivana*.

More frequently I have met with *vía*, *vías* etc. In Fernan Gonz. 68 the ms. reads *vya lo el diablo*. I see no cogent reason to change to *vio*. Plácidas p. 220 *las gentes que su*

sabien Ragion. Prim. Crón. Gen. 586a 26 *et quando los moros vien que los querien matar, quitauarlos a pleito que . . .* Horozco, Canc. (1874) pp. 165b *vié* (3) : *que : fê : fué.* 166a *viedes : avriedes : vedes : abredes.* Autos (Rouanet) II p. 184, 511 *vié* (3). III pp. 308, 351 item. 440, 398 *vien : Moysen.*

Cf. *rie* (impf. 3). Prim. Crón. Gen. 165a 43 *E el menor era tan brauo et tan esquiuo de natura, que numqua rie por cosa quel fiziesen. Et el padre era muy alegre, et quando fazien iuegos, ríye* (V. L. rie N, rrye CQ . . .) *mucho.*

c) Of *fiz* (3) I know several cases.

S. Lor. 61 *Fiz el ome bueno man à mano su ida.* The correct reading is without doubt *Fizo*.

Rim. Pal. 150 *Como fis cada vno non se podrá ençelar.* As Knust, Jahrb. VIII p. 369, has no remark on this line, I suppose Janer (copy of the Campo Alange ms.) and the Escorial ms. have both *fiz*. By reading *fizo*, the first hemistich would become a *verso de romance* as the second is. It is also easy to read *fizo* and yet make the first as well as the second hemistich an alexandrine. But is a change necessary? This question involves several other questions and among them this one: Are we allowed at all and if so, to what extent, to surmise that the later poets of the *cuaderna via* have written, by the side of alexandrines, *versos de romance*? For the present I shall refrain from any opinion.

P. Alf. XI 74 *La reyna donna Maria Este mal fis departir.* Baist, Span. Litt. p. 422, asserts: "[Das Gedicht] ist in seiner kastilischen Überlieferung sicher [cf., however, C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Port. Litt. p. 204] Transskription eines portugiesischen oder gallizischen Gedichts." Could *fiz* be a compromise of the author between *Port. fez* and *Span. fizo*?

sennor conoscián e vian aquel mercador. Santillana pp. 128 *vían*; 345 *vía* (1); 372 item; 380 *vía* (3); 399 *vía* (1); 404 *vía* (3); 430 *vías.* Gómez Manrique II p. 17 *vía* (3). Leyendas mor. I p. 331 *vía* (3). Torres Naharro II pp. 318 *Vías*; 366 *vian.* Valdés, Diál. pp. 377, 12 *vía* (1); 414, 32 *vian.* Horozco, Canc. p. 163b *vía* (3). Primavera I p. 74 *vía* (3). S. Teresa (B. A. E.) II pp. 35b *vía* (3); 79a *vía* (1); 176a item; 199b item. Autos I p. 128, 383 *vías.* D. Quixote I (1605) 12 *vía* (3) (cf. Clemencin I p. 251); 23 *viamos*; 28 *vian*; I (1608) 30 *vía* (3). Marin II p. 137 *bia* (3) (cf. p. 186 n. 17). III pp. 13 *bia* (1); 287 item. Canc. panocho p. 86 *vian.* La Olla asturiana p. 101 *vía* (3).

Cf. *vía* (impf. 3) La Olla asturiana p. 97.

Over against José (Janer-Gayangos) 165 *E mandó que diesen el drecho, así lo mandó fazer, E preço subido por el que fiz prender,* José (Schmitz) 154 reads *por el cafiz.* Gayangos, as Schmitz explains in a note, "[liess] sich durch die getrennte Schreibung *élka fiz* beirren."

Centon (B. A. E. XIII) p. 6ab etc. *fiz* (3). I mention these cases merely for the sake of completeness, but place no weight on them. Cuervo's assertion, Dicc. I p. li: "Fiz se dijo á cada paso en lo antiguo por fize, como diz por dice, pero jamás por fizo, como á menudo aparece en el Centón" may need modification. On the other hand it seems to me that C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos is likewise going too far when, Rom. Forsch. VII p. 126, she declares with regard to these cases: "[sie] gehören zwar der archaischen Sprache an, sind aber auch heute noch an den verschiedensten Stellen der Halbinsel durchaus volksüblich." One wants some proof.

d) With *fiz* (3) may be compared *estit* (3). Fuero de Avilés (Fernandez-Guerra) p. 102, 72 *estit en sua infirmitate.* Cf. Fuero de Oviedo (Vigil p. 15a) *foe en sua enfermedad.* The spelling *estit* (and not *estid*) may be considered a guarantee that the scribe did not carelessly omit a final vowel. So is *tot* a better proof of apocope than *tol*.

e) Also *quis* (3) is found. Estoria S. Maria Eg. (Knust) p. 321 *mas nuestro sennor non quis*. This story is preserved in ms. h-1-13 of the Escorial Library. The same ms. contains *un muy fermoso cuento de una santa emperatriz que ovo en Rroma et de su castidat*, edited by Mussafia, [Wiener] Sitzungsber. LIII p. 499. P. 508, 14 we have the statement *Et desto vos quiero retraer fermosos miraglos, asy como de latin fué tresladado en françés et de françés en gallego.* However this may have to be interpreted, a great number of Old Galician forms is found in all the parts of the ms. I consider *quis* one of them.

Gassner, § 426, refers for an instance of *quis* (3) to José (Schmitz) 4. The passage reads: *i no quis mas dudar.* Yúçuf (Menéndez Pidal) 13, however, has: *non kixo max dudar.*

f) *pris* (3)? Sacrificio 246 *quando priso la lanzada.* Sanchez remarks in a note to the line: "En este verso *priso* debe leerse *pris* por razon del numero, como en otros pasages semejantes se

observa." It is a pity that he has not been more explicit about the "otros pasages semejantes." Until more evidence is brought forward, I shall read *quand* (or *quant* or *quan*).⁸

g) Finally, as *fiz* (3) may be as well the apocopated form of *fizo* as of *fice*, in order to prove the survival of the Latin ending -it of strong perfects in Spanish, we need assured cases not of *fiz* (*fez*) (3) etc., but of *fice* (*fece*) etc. Even then caution is necessary. I have found once *feze*: Espejo p. 156 *E otrosi si alguno si* (sic) *querella de otro al merino, quel feze tuerto* . . . From Baist, Span. Litt. p. 409, we learn that the Espejo was written "unter starker persönlicher Beteiligung" of Alfonso. Supposing that the passage is due to the royal author of the Cantigas de Santa María, it is no great wonder to find the Old Galician form *feze* in the Castilian text. Alfonso uses *feze*, Cant. I p. 38a.⁹

7. B. § 85 (p. 915): "*feci* [flektiert] von 1 und 6 aus . . . *fizo* einmal *fezo*."¹⁰

I have sought for more cases and gathered the following without difficulty: Fuero Juzgo pp. 8 V. L. 29 Camp. and Bex.; 38 V. L. 22 Toled.; 58 V. L. 13 Camp.; 83b; 95 V. L. 34 Camp.; 129a *desfezo*; 147 V. L. 22 E. R. Prim. Crón. Gen. pp. 509a V. L. 42; 546a V. L. 36-40; 614b V. L. 23. Document from ? 1273 (Fernandez-Guerra, Fuero de Avilés p. 81). Plácidas pp. 126 *feso* (and so always; the ms. has most

likely *fezo*); 127; 140; 142; 153. Rrey Guillelme pp. 192 *feso* (same ms. as Plácidas); 209; 246. Carlos Maynes p. 504b. The form is probably not Castilian.

* * * * *

Since the above notes were written, I have collected the following additional material.

Ad 2) The form *cobdo*, *cobdos* is frequent in Fuero Gen. de Navarra (1869); cf. pp. 8b, 25a, 50b, 70a, 71b, 78b, 102a, 104a, 128a, 130b, 135b, 140b, 141a. It is still found in Judeo-Spanish, cf. Subak, ZrP. xxx p. 156.

Ad 6a) note 5) With regard to *conte* (3), Prof. Marden writes me (letter of Feb. 1, 1909) that this is the reading of the ms. Cf. also Tomás, Rev. dial. rom. no. 1 p. 116.

Ad 6f) and g) Cf. Crónica de S. Juan de la Peña (1876) p. 15 *Et aquesti prese* (Latin text *cepit*) *en España la prouincia de Tarragona*. The editor's work has been severely criticised by Baist, ZrP. II p. 473. From the fact, however, that he adds to *prese* the note "*prisió*" (!), one might conclude that at least in this case he has been careful.

Ad 7) *Fezo* is not limited to the Northwest, as I had thought at first. Cf. Fuero Gen. de Navarra pp. 1a, 13ab, 17a, 73b, 80a, 95a, 141ab. Brutails, Docum. des Arch. de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre (1196-1384) pp. 46; 74; 110. Libro del Principado de la Morea p. 59.

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⁸ Cf. Fuero de Avilés pp. 97 *Quan se tornar acasa* (F. de Oviedo p. 13 *quando*); 98 *Quant li utgaren* (F. de O. p. 13 *quando*). Razón de Amor (Menéndez Pidal) 21 *quan su amigo uiniese*; 24 *quan comiesse*; 98 *Quant la mia senor esto dizia*; 131 *quant conozco meu amado*; 133 *quant conozco meo amigo*. S. Millan 31 *quand fincar non podieron*. 79 *El Bispo quant lo río*. 156 *Sant Millan quant la río*. 410 *quant eran alvergadas*. Prim. Crón. Gen. pp. 391b 7 *quand esto río*. 437b 28 *Quand esto oyo*. 461a 11 *quand prisiera*. Libros de Astr. I pp. 61 *en uerano quan es el tiempo mas temprano*. Ib. *esto es quan el sol entra en canero*. Ib. *ell otonno quan entra el sol en el signo*. 80 *Et quand mars et saturno se ayuntan*. Ib. *dos planetas quand son en el signo*. 94 *et quand suben* (sc. las estrellas). Thus still in Graus (Aragon), cf. Ann. Éc. Haut. Ét. 1898 p. 86 *I cuan ya s'en iba su tío*.

In numerous cases where the text has *quando*, the apocopated form is required by the metre.

⁹ Quoted by Lang, Denis p. 133.

¹⁰ If Baist wants "einmal" to be understood here as a temporal adverb, the note is superfluous.

MARLOWE, DOCTOR FAUSTUS 13. 109.

In *Mod. Lang. Notes* for May, 1906, I suggested that Marlowe, in *Faustus* 13. 109, may have written 'Amymone's' for the printed 'Arethusa's.' I had then overlooked the fact that Marlowe was familiar with the legend of Amymone, as is evidenced by his translation of Ovid, *Amor*. 1. 10. 5-8. This, of course, is in favor of my conjecture. Ovid's first four lines are:

Qualis ab Eurota Phrygiis aucta carinis,
Conjugibus belli caussa duobus erat;
Qualis erat Lede, quam plumis additis albis
Callidus in falsa lusit adulter ave;

to which he adds :

Qualis Amydone siccis errabat in agris,
Cur premeret summi verticis urna comam—
Talis eras ; aquilamque in te taurumque timebam,
Et quicquid magno de Jove fecit Amor.

The last four lines are thus translated by Marlowe :

Such as Amydone through the dry fields strayed
When on her head a water pitcher laid,
Such wert thou ; and I feared the bull and eagle,
And whate'er Love made Jove, should thee inveigle.

Here we have three nymphs, and four lovers implied—Menelaus, Paris, Neptune, and Jupiter ; though the emphasis at the close is clearly upon Jupiter. Ovid certainly knew, and Marlowe could not have been ignorant, that the lover of Amydone was Neptune : witness *Ep.* 19. 129-132 (Hero to Leander) :

At tibi flammaram memori, Neptune, tuarum
Nullus erat ventis impediendus amor,
Si neque Amydone, nec laudatissima forma
Criminis est Tyro fabula vana tui.

—
CYNEWULF, *Christ* 930-940.

Crashes the deep creation, while from the face of the Lord
Rolls the billowing fire, broadening over the earth,
Hurling in horrible flame. Asunder the heavens are rent,
And from the heights of the air ruin the steadfast stars.
Then doth the sun, that erewhile shone for the joy of
earth's children,
Turn to the hue of blood, a blot on the face of the sky ;
Likewise the moon, a light for mankind in the night-time,
Plunges adown with the scattering stars, that, beaten by
tempest,
Fall through the furious air, and vanish in darkness.

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CHORLEY'S CATALOGUE OF COMEDIAS AND AUTOS OF FREY LOPE FELIX DE VEGA CARPIO.¹

The following notes may serve to correct and supplement in a modest way certain details of the only comprehensive bibliography of the great

¹ Reëdited in Rennert's *Life of Lope de Vega*, Glasgow, London, Philadelphia, 1904, pp. 419-549.

Spanish dramatist. It is taken for granted that the reader has before him the more recent publications of Professor Rennert bearing on the subject,² the Academy edition of Lope's works, more especially Vol. XIII (and in particular pp. xli-ii), and Restori's excellent reviews of this edition. Professor Rennert has made but scant use of modern contributions³ to the study of the Spanish drama, or of Lope in particular. But surely the work of Farinelli, Gigas, Holberg, Martineneche, Menéndez y Pelayo, Restori, Schwering, Stiefel, Te Winkel, and others, has not been wholly in vain !

The "Partes."

It is to be regretted that Chorley's census of extant copies has not been extended.⁴ Professor Schevill has attempted something of the kind for

² *Notes on some comedias of Lope de Vega*, *MLR.*, Jan., 1906 ; *Notes on the chronology of the Spanish drama*, *ibid.*, July, 1907 ; *The staging of Lope de Vega's comedias*, *RH.*, 1907 ; *Spanish actors and actresses*, *ibid.*

³ *I. e.*, since 1864, the date of Chorley's revision. The editor states, however (pp. 417-418), "I have embodied the supplementary information which Chorley would have included, had it been available in his time."

⁴ The National Library, Paris, has the following volumes,—as in the other libraries noted below, not always correctly catalogued:—I, Z., 1604, A., 1607 ; II, V., 1609, M., 1610, B., 1611, A., 1611 ; III, M., 1613 ; IV, P., 1614 ; VII, M., 1617 ; VIII, M., 1617 ; IX, B., 1618 ; X, B., 1618 ; XI, M., 1618 ; XII, M., 1619 ; XIII, M., 1620 ; XIV, M., 1620 ; XV, M., 1621 ; XVI, M., 1622 ; XVII, M. (F. Correa de Montenegro), 1621 ; XVIII, M., 1623 ; XIX, V., 1627 ; XX, M., 1625 ; XXI, M., 1635 ; XXII, Z., 1630, M., 1635 ; XXIII, M., 1638 ; XXIV, Z., 1641 ; XXV, Z., 1647 ; *La Vega del Parnaso*, 1637. It is very probable that there are copies in the Mazarine and Arsenal Libraries. The National Library, Florence, has the following : I, Z., 1626 ; III, B., 1614 ; VIII, B., 1617 ; XI, B., 1618 ; XIX, M., 1625 ; (so on title-page, but in the colophon we read, *En Valladolid Por la viuda de Francisco de Cordova. Año de MDCXXVII*) ; XX, M. 1625 ; XXI, M., 1635 ; XXII, M., 1635 ; XXIII, M., 1638. The Marciana has : I, V., 1609 ; II, M., 1618 ; VII, B., 1617. According to Teza (*JREL.*, XI), the following are in the University Library of Bologna : I, V., 1605 ; V, 1609 ; XIV, M., 1620 ; XX, M., 1625 (not 1623 as in Teza). There are, doubtless, many other copies in Italy, *e. g.*, at Naples (alluded to in Restori's studies). How rich in Lope's dramas some of the German and Austrian libraries must be, may be inferred from Julius', Münch.-Bellinghausen's, and Stiefel's stray references. Finally, from the works of Barrera, Menéndez y Pelayo, Pérez Pastor and other Spanish scholars some idea can be formed of the

P. I.⁵ Another cause for regret is that reference has not been facilitated by numbering the editions a, b, c, etc.

Attention may be called to an uncut copy of P. xxii in the National Library, Florence. It is probably unique(?), and shows that the volumes, originally fully one-half inch wider and three-quarters of an inch taller, with ample margins, were much more stately in appearance than is usually supposed by those who have seen only dumpy, cropped copies.

I. Z., 1604, bears in the colophon the date 1603. This may account for Salvá's contention that an edition was published at Z., 1603.—It is passing strange that a Salvá has not noticed the slight change in the title-pages of two copies of V., 1609, in the Brit. Mus.; 1072, K. 12 reads incorrectly *vendense*, corrected in 11726. K. 3 to *vendese*. Stiefel argues for the possibility of Z., 1624 (noted by Barrera); *ZRPh.*, xv, 222.

II. Restori, in *ZRPh.*, xxx, 226, notes an edition, published at Madrid, "por la viuda de Alonso Perez de Montalvan, 1621."—The Brit. Mus. has two copies of A., 1611. A., 1612 is in the Munich Library; cf. Stiefel, *ZRPh.*, xv, 223.

III. M., 1613, is in the Royal Library, Munich; cf. Stiefel, *ZRPh.*, xxiii, 100, n.

V. Chorley, doubtless, erred in assigning an edition to M., 1616. Tieck's copy in the Brit. Mus. has a defective title-page, and someone has written Madrid at the bottom of it. The copy is, however, identical, folio for folio, with the Barcelona edition of 1616. Pérez Pastor (*Bibliografía madrileña*, II, 397), who knows the volume only from Chorley's reference, likewise, doubts its existence.

VIII. Chorley had the Madrid edition (imperfect, with parts from B.), but not that of Barcelona. It is this factitious volume which the

Lope treasures in Peninsular libraries. I refrain from publishing here notes that I have myself made in Madrid. Not until something like a complete census is made, with accurate descriptions, will it be possible to solve certain outstanding difficulties in the complex bibliography of the greatest of Spanish dramatists.

⁵ *RF.*, 1907, 331. My copy of the Antwerp edition might be added; see, also, below.

Brit. Mus. catalogue terms "another edition." Pérez Pastor, *ibid.*, II, 371, doubts its existence.

XI. Chorley had M. (imperfect), but not B. The Brit. Mus. has, however, a sound copy of M., with a new title-page;—one whole set in the Brit. Mus. is redated 1667!

XII. Most assuredly there were not two issues in this year. The two editions are identical, except for the shield on the title-page. Salvá, commercial bibliographer as he was, grossly exaggerated when he called these editions "*perfectamente diversas*"; cf., also, Pérez Pastor, II, 511.

XIII. Surely it is a well-known fact that the Madrid edition consists of two parts and that the second part was approved of later than the first (September 19 and November 9, 1619, respectively). See, also, Pérez Pastor, II, 553-4, and Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxiii, 432.

XV. Why not note, also, that in the prologue to the previous volume, Lope states that he had written 900 plays? Similar remarks are found in other prologues.

XVI. The copies belonging to the Brit. Mus. and Chorley are more probably of the year 1622. The *fee de erratus* is dated December 15, 1621. Salvá had remarked that at least two copies changed 1621 to 1622; Chorley's copy has a manuscript title-page. It may, indeed, be doubted, despite Salvá's statement, whether there was more than one edition. The copies in the Brit. Mus. have the same number of folios as Salvá's. The copy in the Bibl. Nac., Madrid, described by Pérez Pastor, III, 65, is dated 1621, but is identical in other respects with those noted above. As the *fee de erratas* is dated December 15, 1621, it is possible that some title-pages were struck off with the date 1621.

XVII. Professor Rennert quotes Salvá's statement: "There were two issues in each of these years (1621, 1622)." But the work was printed only *once*. Fernando Correa de Montenegro first published this part in 1621. The foliation,—I have in mind 11726. K. 25 of the Brit. Mus.,—is correct up to 304; then come 205-212. Meanwhile Correa died, and his widow had a new title-page printed bearing her name (Brit. Mus.,

11726. K. 24). At the same time,—or before—the foliation was corrected up to 310 (followed incorrectly by 211). Salvá notes that the Viuda de Martín's edition was identical line for line, and that the last folio was wrongly numbered 212. Barrera erred in stating that the Brit. Mus. and Chorley (and Labouchere?) had editions of 1621 published by the Viuda de Alonso Martín. Did this mistake originate with Chorley?

XVIII. Salvá's statement that he had an edition dated 1622 is corroborated by Pérez Pastor's reference to a copy in the National Library, Madrid. The *tasa* was signed December 6, 1622. The Brit. Mus. has the 1623 edition, but not that of 1625, which probably does not exist.

XIX. There is no proof of the existence of a 1623 edition. The Brit. Mus. has not got a copy. Nicolas Antonio's statement alone remains; he may have intended the 1625 edition. The *tasa* was signed February 27, 1624.

XX. There are two editions (issues?) of 1625; one by the Viuda de Alonso Martín, 298 fols. (Brit. Mus., 11726. l. 3). The publisher's name is given in the colophon. Salvá notes the second edition, which is apparently identical, save that Juan González's name appears at the end. Restori, however, says that González's edition "ha fregi e caratteri tipografici meno belli" (*ZRPh.*, xxviii, 255). It may be noted that in the 1627 edition, Juan González used the same shield as the Viuda de Martín in the edition of 1625. The last folio of the 1627 edition is incorrectly numbered, 289 for 298; in one Brit. Mus. copy (11726. l. 2) this has been very cleverly corrected. Although the 1625 and 1627 editions have the same number of folios, they are not identical folio for folio.

XXII. Salvá's copy of the 1630 edition might have been noted. The Brit. Mus. (1072. k. 3) and the National Library, Paris, have copies of the 1635 edition with engraved title-pages. Other copies, including mine, have a printed page.

XXIV. What evidence is there for assigning an edition to the year 1632?

XXV. 1640? Cf. Stiefel, *ZRPh.*, xv, 222-3.

COMEDIAS.⁶

Acertar errando. Chorley observes in his *suelta*, that this is a mature work,—one gets a somewhat different impression from the Rennert-Chorley note. The repeated attacks on *culleranism* (fols. 10, 11, etc.) and the full development of the *gracioso*, are indicative of a comparatively late date of composition. The conjecture may be hazarded that *El embajador fingido*, referred to in the closing verses, is a contemporary play, not necessarily written by Lope himself. Is *Acertar errando* the same comedia as *Acertar por yerro*? Cf. Restori, *Piezas de títulos* . . . , p. 189.

As an example of the inaccuracies which mar Professor Rennert's compilations, it may be noted that in his edition of Chorley's bibliography (p. 491) he, or Chorley, states that *Acertar errando* is not in *Seis comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*, Lisbon, 1603. Professor Rennert even characterizes the statement, as made in the *Catálogo de las piezas* . . . en la Biblioteca nacional, as "mere conjecture." So it is, but in his *Notes on the chronology of the Spanish drama* (1907), p. 332, we are again calmly informed that the play was "Printed in Lisbon, 1603" (!).

Al pasar del arroyo, Hartzenbusch (1, 393) noted the allusion to an event which occurred Nov. 19, 1615.

Amante agradecido. The following reference (fol. 103) determines the date:

Verè a Valencia, que es bella,
y desde alli yrè a Madrid;
passarè a Valladolid,
que ya està la Corte en ella.

The *Corte* was transferred January, 1601. One gathers that the play was written during Lope's

⁶In order to economize space, the interludes, neglected by Chorley, and the numerous manuscripts (often late) in the Municipal Library, Madrid, are not indicated in this review. Some plays not discussed here will be referred to later, in a chronological list of Lope's plays. Translations and adaptations have, likewise, been omitted from these notes. Only in exceptional cases are Menéndez y Pelayo's and Restori's studies referred to; they contain much material that ought to have been noted by Professor Rennert, but which would swell the present notice to unpardonable proportions. Plays attributed to Mira de Amescua will be discussed elsewhere.

sojourn in Sevilla,—possible evidence to support Barrera's contention that Lope was at Sevilla in 1601 (?).

Amantes sin amor. This play would deserve a detailed study. The date (1601–3) can be determined by the following lines :

Partiste con mil estremos
Luego que se caso el Rey (*i. e.*, 1599)
a Italia con el Virrey
Conde de Villalva y Lemos (fol. 10).

Elsewhere (fol. 4 *vo.*) we learn that more than a year had elapsed since then. This same play has one of many references to Ganasa, which will be studied in a separate article. An attempt will there be made to test Francesco Bartolo's statement, "*Da lui (i. e., Ganasa) impararono gli Spagnoli a fare le loro commedie . . .*" *Notizie storiche de' comici* 1780 (?), p. 249.⁷

In this same play there is, finally,—and many other points ought to be commented upon—an allusion to a song, the composition of which has wrongly been attributed to Tirso de Molina. Lope quotes only the refrain :

Pareceis moliuero amor,
y soys moledor.

In *El Hamete de Toledo* (written after 1610, cf. below) he again quotes from it :

Molinico porque no mueles?
Porque me beuen el agua los bueyes.

Francisco de Torillo y Figueroa later expanded it into letrilla, Pareceis molinero, amor . . . (*Rivad.*, XLII, 75).⁸

Amar, servir y esperar. Alludes (fol. 56) to Guadalcáza's defense of Peru against the Dutch and English. He was viceroy 1621–8. Rubens, who was in Madrid in 1628 (also in 1605), is referred to (fol. 52).

Amar sin saber a quien. Written after 1604–5 :

⁷Since writing the above, there has appeared Cotarelo y Mori's article on Ganasa in the *Revista de Archivos*, July–August, 1908. None of the many allusions to Ganasa in Lope's dramatic works are noted ; nor has Sr. Cotarelo called attention to a speech in Lope's *El genoues liberal*, written in the Bergamask dialect.

⁸See, also, *Acad.*, XII, xcvi.

Don Quixote de la Mancha
(Perdone Dios a Cervantes)⁹
Fué de los extravagantes
Que la corónica ensancha (*Rivad.*, 444).

As Madrid was the capital of Spain, the comedia was, moreover, composed after 1606. It has been edited by Kressner (1901).

Amigo (El) hasta la muerte. This is only the first part :

Aqui se quede
Por hoy la primera parte
Del amigo hasta la muerte.

It ought to have been noticed that the first and last lines of the manuscript in the National Library, Madrid, are entirely different. Is this copy the missing second part?

Amistad y Obligacion. Chorley noted, in his *suelta*, that this play belongs to Lope's most mature period, "*siendo muy rica en lo dramático, y de felicísima hechura en cuanto al estilo.*"

Amor con vista. Is there a reference to this comedia in *El guante de Doña Blanca*? We read there :

Doña Blanca.
Pudiendo buscar modo
Para vernos de noche con secreto?
Rey (ap.).
Ni amor con vista ni galan discreto ;—
(*Rivad.*, 25c.)

Amor enamorado. Played, and doubtless written, in 1635 ; so says Wurzbach (not an authority) in *Lope und seine Komödien*, p. 136. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Acad.*, VI, lxxvi, states that it must be one of the last plays of our author. In fact, from the opening lines of Act III and the reference to the *Buen Retiro*, one would, at least, infer that it was composed during, or after, 1632.

Amor secreto hasta celos. The closing verse gives the title, *Secreto amor hasta celos.*

Angelica en el Catay. *Acad.*, XIII.

Anzuelo (El) de Fenisa. Triguero's adaptation is entitled *La Buseona ó El Anzuelo de Fenisa.*

⁹It does not necessarily follow from the second line that Cervantes was dead. Lope de Vega's relations with Cervantes will be discussed elsewhere. Professor Rennert has not even compiled all that he might have found on the matter at second-hand !

Arauco domado. Written not long before 1625; cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Acad.*, XII, clxxii.

Argel (El) fingido y renegado de amor. The play is cited in P. Note, also, the reference in *El Pelegrino* . . . ed. *Obras sueltas*, v, 463.

Atalanta (La). May be *Adonis y Venus*; cf. Restori, *ZRPh.*, XXIII, 451.

Ausente (El) en el lugar. This play contains one of many references to *La bella malmaridada*, which was, however, a popular phrase, as well as the title of Lope's play.

Buena guarda (La). Two verses of the work occur in other contemporary comedias (cf. Mira's *El Esclavo del demonio*, l. 301; also, *El Diablo predicador*, ed. *Rivad.*, p. 331 c). Lope's version is:

Considerad que hay infierno,
Muerte y vida, pena y gloria (*Rivad.*, 337).

Caballero (El) del milagro. The title at the close is, *El (not y) arrogante Español*. This same title occurs within the play. According to Professor De Haan (*An outline of the history of the novela picaresca in Spain*, p. 21), it was Agustín de Rojas' *El viaje entretenido* (1603) that brought the expression *Caballero del milagro* into vogue. Lope's play must have been written, therefore, about 1603,—it is cited in P.

(To be continued.)

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A POEM ADDRESSED TO ALEXANDRE HARDY.

In spite of the numerous and patent defects in most of Hardy's work, his importance as the first conspicuous writer of popular dramas in modern France continues to give value to any contribution concerning his life or his plays, especially as documents known to refer to him are exceedingly few and brief. I would therefore call attention to a poem that has been neglected even by M. Rigal, who has written the authoritative biography of Hardy. It is addressed to the play-

wright by his contemporary, Isaac Du Ryer, author of occasional poems published under the titles of *Temps perdu*¹ and *Les Heures dérobées*.² The poem, found on pages 29-30 of the latter work, runs as follows:

Au Sieur Hardy.

Assez longtemps et trop souuent
De tes escrits l'on a fait conte,
Souffre, Hardy, doresnauant
Qu'une ieunesse te surmonte
Et quelque grands labeurs que tu mettes au iour
Quelle [sic] offusque ta gloire, et paroisse à son tour.

Excuse moy si ie te dis,
Bien que tu sois une merueille,
Que leurs beaux vers dont tu mesdis
Plus que les tiens charment l'oreille,
Tes vers sont un plain chant ordinaire et commun,
Et les leurs un concert qui rault un chacun.

Mais ce n'est pas moy seulement,
Qui suis pour eux, et qui les louë,
Tous ont le mesme sentiment,
Et le plus critique l'aduouë,
Toy mesme par ton fiel, ta rage et ta douleur,
Tu tesmoigne [sic] quelle est leur force et leur valeur.

Mais pourquoy ces ieunes esprits
Ne seront-ils chers des Muses?
As-tu seul leur mestier appris?
Sont-elles dans toy seul infuses?
Non, non, Hardy, crois-moy sans plus estre enuieux
Qu'elles cherissent plus les ieunes que les vieux.

As the only copy of the *Heures dérobées* that I have been able to find shows neither permission to print nor *achevé d'imprimer*, I cannot assign the collection an earlier date than 1633, but it is certain that the poems were written before October, 1632, as Hardy is known to have been dead at that time.³ Two poems of the collection were written after October 28, 1628, for they celebrate Richelieu's capture of La Rochelle. All were probably composed later than 1624, for otherwise they would have been apt to appear in the *Temps perdu*, the last edition of which came out in that year. These facts, taken in connection with the references to Hardy's old age and the success of his young dramatic rivals, make 1630-32 the most probable dating for the poem.

For it was only towards 1630 that Hardy was surpassed in popularity by a band of young dram-

¹ Paris, 1609 (second edition), 1610, 1624.

² Paris, 1633. There is a copy in the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal.

³ Cf. Rigal, *Alexandre Hardy*, p. 38, Paris, 1889.

atists. His older rivals, Théophile, Racan, and Gombaud, do not constitute a sufficiently large or prolific group. The first of these died in 1626. It is when the others were joined by Mairet, Corneille, Rotrou, Tristan, Pierre Du Ryer, and Scudéry that a definite step is made in the development of the drama with a more accurate psychology, more careful construction, and a greater purity of thought and expression, often accompanied by a no less popular *préciosité*. These qualities, answering the demands of an audience whose refinement was steadily increasing, won success for the plays of the new school, while those of the old leader appeared correspondingly antiquated. It is not surprising if the change brought out expressions of "fiel, rage, et douleur."

To Hardy's jealousy of his young rivals, as here described, was probably due the faint praise he is said to have bestowed on Corneille's *Mélite*, which, according to the *Mercur galant* he called a "jolie bagatelle," according to Fontenelle, "une assez jolie farce."⁴ At the same time his feeling may have been exaggerated by Du Ryer, whose tone indicates a personal hostility to the old dramatist, produced by professional jealousy, for he, too, had attempted the drama,⁵ or by his friendship for the younger generation, among whom were numbered his son, Pierre, and his friend, Tristan l'Hermite, to whom he wrote two complimentary poems published in the *Heures dérobées*.⁶

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SILENCE AND SOLITUDE IN THE POEMS OF LEOPARDI.

It has often been said that the greatness of a man does not depend upon the pleasures he enjoys but upon the sufferings he undergoes. Among Italians who prove the truth of this saying none

stand forth more clearly than Dante and Leopardi. Both drained the cup of bitterness to the dregs. Dante's lofty patriotism and uncompromising uprightness of character brought upon him endless woe during his days on earth, and Leopardi's physical and mental sufferings doomed him to a brief life full of misery. And yet had Leopardi and Dante suffered less, the world would probably have been deprived of two of its greatest poets. While Dante sang the sorrows of sinners in the other world and the happiness of the blessed, Leopardi sang the bitter fate of mankind in this world of ours. It is true the latter poet sang first of all his own misfortunes and his own despair, but behind the manifestations of his individual sufferings, the accents of universal misery and sorrow ring out as clearly as they do in Hamlet's famous soliloquy. Leopardi was a pessimistic poet—he has been called even *the* poet of pessimism. This pessimism sprang from the profound conviction that although man always strives after happiness and his great need is happiness, yet he can never attain the object of his strivings. According to Leopardi, man is sure of nothing but of sorrow and death.

My present aim is not to enter upon a philosophical analysis of our poet's pessimism. I wish to call attention to two particular traits, namely, silence and solitude, which are profoundly stamped upon his poetry. Silence and solitude, indeed, seem to have been among the frequent means by which he gave expression to his pessimism.

In the following I shall adhere to the chronological order of the poems and I shall begin with the *Frammento* of 1816.

In the midst of an almost universal silence a maiden goes forth alone in search of love. All nature smiles around her and the only sounds heard are those of the rustling of leaves and the sad song of a nightingale. Suddenly the landscape changes: A thunderstorm springs up accompanied by a pelting rain. Darkness reigns everywhere and the maiden's heart is filled with fear—so much so that when the storm abates at last, she is dead, turned to stone—"Ella era di pietra"—as the poet sings.

Among various other features of this poem, there are two which impress themselves strongly upon the reader's mind: They are a deep silence

⁴ For a discussion of these criticisms see Rigal, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61.

⁵ In his pastorals, *La Vengeance des satyres*, Paris, 1614, and *Le Mariage d'amour*, Paris, 1631.

⁶ *Pour Monsieur Tristan* and *A Monsieur Tristan sonnet*.

which enframes, so to say, the whole poem and the weird solitude of the love-stricken maiden. She walks alone—from joy to fear and from fear to death. When the poem opens, silence reigns everywhere :

Spento il diurno raggio in occidente,
E queto il fumo delle ville, e queta
De' cani era la voce e della gente ;

A little further on, the maiden is seen walking alone :

Sola tenea la taciturna via
La donna, e il vento che gli odori spande,
Molle passar sul volto si sentia.

Suddenly a threatening cloud appears :

Un nugol torbo, padre di procella,
Sorgea di dietro ai monti, e crescea tanto,
Che più non si scopria luna nè stella.

The end of the poem describes the maiden's death :

E si rivolse indietro. E in quel momento
Si spense il lampo, e tornò buio l'etra,
E acchetossi il tuono, e stette il vento.
Taceva il tutto ; ed ella era di pietra.

The next poem—*Il Primo Amore*—is usually printed after the *Frammento*, and was composed in 1817. Here Leopardi sings his first love—its joys and much more the sufferings it brought to him ; the torments it made him undergo during the day and, still more, in the silence of the night. It is in the silence of the night also—or perhaps more precisely, towards morning that he is overcome by a vague presentiment of the departure of his beloved from his parents' home where she had been visiting. When at last she is gone, he drags his trembling knees through the silent room and his solitude is complete :

Orbo rimaso allor, mi ranicchiai
Palpitando nel letto e, chiusi gli occhi,
Strinsi il cor con la mano, e sospirai.
Poscia traendo i tremuli ginocchi
Stupidamente per la muta stanza,
Ch'altro sarà, dicea, che il cor mi tocchi ?

In solitude he mourns over the loss of his love :

Solo il mio cor piaceami, e col mio core
In un perenne ragionar sepolto,
Alla guardia seder del mio dolore.
E l'occhio a terra chino o in sé raccolto,
Di riscontrarsi fuggitivo e vago

Nè in leggiadro soffria nè in turpe volto :
Che la illibata, la candida imago
Turbare egli temea pinta nel seno,
Come all'aure si turba onde e lago.

We pass on to the poem *All' Italia*, in which the two features spoken of are less marked than in the preceding poems. Still, Italy, figured in the shape of a woman, is solitary and forsaken :

Siede in terra negletta e sconsolata,
Nascondendo la faccia
Tra le ginocchia, e piange.

Moreover, Leopardi imagining that his dear Italy is abandoned by her children and that no one is willing to fight for her, calls out in his lone despair :

L'armi, qua l'armi : io solo
Combatterò, procomberò sol io.

And, finally, the poet Simonides singing the glorious fate of the three hundred Spartans, rises before the reader, sad and lonely, the image of Leopardi himself bewailing the fate of Italy.

The poem entitled *Il Passero Solitario* is chronologically the first one in which Leopardi gives relatively full expression to his overwhelming solitude. Although published for the first time in the Naples edition of 1835, it occupies there the foremost place among the idyls which were composed in 1819. It is probable, however, according to Straccali, that the poem was worked over at a later date, perhaps between 1831 and 1835. From his frequent allusions to them we may infer that Leopardi was very fond of birds. The poem begins with an account of a lonely bird perched on the top of an ancient tower in the country, singing all day long until nightfall. Spring is in the air and fills men's hearts with tenderness and love. Birds, sheep and cattle rejoice in the glory of spring, with the exception of one lonely bird that keeps away from its companions, preferring to pass its youth in song and solitude. Beginning here the poet makes a comparison between the lonely bird and himself : He also flees amusement, laughter and love ; he cares in nowise for them and yet he does not know why (*non so come*, l. 22). He also passes the springtime of his life away from his companions, and while the young people of his native city are celebrating a festal day, he goes forth

into the country all by himself, putting off his pleasures to the future. Meanwhile the sun is setting and that setting seems to indicate that youth has vanished.

The choice of the lonely bird as the symbol of the solitary singer is a happy one. Moreover, the effect of solitude is heightened by the strong contrast between that sentiment and the beauty of spring and youth. Judging by the *Passero Solitario*, the poet's leaning towards solitude was instinctive rather than deliberate—as appears from the following lines :

Sollazzo e riso,
Delle novella età dolce famiglia,
E te german di giovinezza, amore,
Sospiro acerbo de' provetti giorni,
Non curo, io *non so come*.

And perhaps also in the last lines :

Ahi pentirommi, e spesso
Ma sconsolato, volgerommi indietro.

L'Infinito usually follows after *Il Passero Solitario*. In this poem we also find an allusion to solitude and silence, for the scene is a lonely hill (*ermo colle*) and a hedge behind which the poet imagines that he discerns infinity with all its

sovrumani
Silenzio, e profundissima quiete.

The idea of great silence occurs again a little further on in the same poem, when a comparison is made between the wind rushing in the trees and the infinite silence just spoken of :

E come il vento
Odo stormir tra queste piante, io quello
Infinito silenzio e questa voce
Vo comparando.

The poem was written, like the *Passero Solitario*, in 1819, and it may be of interest to recall the fact that the deserted hill of which the poet speaks actually existed at the time of Leopardi and that he often visited it. At present the site of the hill is considerably changed, according to a note in Straccali's edition.

Still another poem in which the sentiment of solitude as well as silence appears clearly is the poem entitled *Alla Luna*. Scientific minds may find it difficult to imagine the state of soul of one who addresses himself repeatedly and passionately to that luminary. And yet, a mind no less scien-

tific than that of Goethe, did not disdain to make appeal to the moon in accents of deepest despair :

Oh sähst du, voller Mondenschein,
Zum letzten Mal auf meine Pein.

And, among many other instances, who does not recall that famous stanza in the *Rubaiyat* ?

Yon rising Moon that looks for us again—
How oft hereafter will she wax and wane ;
How oft hereafter rising look for us
Through this same Garden—and for one in vain !

The moon has always exercised and still exercises a strange and powerful fascination over the human mind—and especially over the minds of poets. The poetic suggestion of the moon seems to result from the mysteriousness which surrounds that luminary and the ominous silence and the deep repose which man is wont to associate with it. There is, moreover, a feeling of loneliness, which communicates itself to us as we contemplate the moon. I believe it is Emerson who says that if one wishes to be alone one should look at the moon. The romantic poets and those who sing of the weariness of life and its sadness—the pessimistic poets—all have addressed their passionate appeals to the moon ; they have, it seems, discovered between themselves and her a secret affinity and sympathy. Such was evidently the case with Leopardi, in whose poems we find numerous instances of the mysterious communion and intimacy spoken of.

The poem entitled *Il Sogno*, shows how our poet has a dream towards morning, in which his beloved appears to him. After a brief conversation with her, he discovers that she is dead—that he has been conversing with her shadow only. In this instance silence and solitude are not in great prominence. The final picture, however, is that of the lonely poet, awaking in the midst of silence from his harrowing dream :

Or finalmente addio.
Nostre misere menti e nostre salme
Son disgiunte in eterno. A me non vivi,
E mai più non vivrai : già ruppe il fato
La fe che mi giurasti. Allor d'angoscia
Grider volendo, e spasimando, e pregne
Di sconcolato pianto le pupille,
Dal sonno mi disciolsi. Ella negli occhi
Pur mi restava, e nell' incerto raggio
Del Sol vederla io mi credeva ancora.

Whether or not Leopardi passed the summer of 1819 in the country cannot be definitely ascertained. But whatever the truth may be regarding this matter, the poem entitled *La Vita Solitaria* shows the poet living in the country, and the title indicates sufficiently what life he led there. In the morning he is awakened by the gentle patter of the rain against his windows: Nature still offers to him some slight consolation, although she prefers to look upon happiness rather than misfortune. Surrounded by nature, the poet sometimes betakes himself to a solitary spot, where he may forget the world:

Talor m'assido in solitaria parte,
Sovra un rialto, al margine d'un lago
Di taciturne piante incoronato.
Ivi, quando il meriggio in ciel si volge,
La sua tranquilla immagine il Sol dipinge,
Ed erba o foglia non si crolla al vento,
E non onda incresparsi, e non cicala
Strider, né batter penna augello in ramo,
Né farfalla ronzar, né voce o moto
Da presso né da lunge odi né vedi.
Tien quelle rive altissima quiete;
Ond' io quasi me stesso e il mondo obbligo
Sedendo immoto; e già mi par che sciolte
Giaccian le membra mie, né spiro o senso
Più le commova, e lor quiete antica
Co' silenzi del loco si confonda.

The silence and the solitude of the place recall to the poet the reason for his fondness for it, namely, the loss of the sentiment once sweetest to him, love. Sometimes this sentiment comes back to him, especially at night when he hears the silvery notes of a village maiden. The idea of night leads up to an address to the moon, to whom the poet directs these final words:

Me spesso rivedrai solingo e muto
Errar pe' boschi o per le verdi rive,
O seder sovra l'erbe, assai contento
Se core e lena a sospirar m'avanza.

Among the remaining poems I shall cite first *La sera del dì di festa*. On the evening of a festive day—when “the lanes are silent and the lamps are few”—the poet thinks of his beloved whom he imagines as sleeping and dreaming of her triumphs of the day. He has no hope that her thoughts are turned to him: she, like all nature, has forgotten him. Suddenly he hears a belated artisan singing, and this solitary song re-

minds him of the passing of all things—the fame of his forefathers and the fame of Rome are all now hushed in silence. I quote a few lines in order to show how silence and solitude form an essential part of this poem:

Dolce e chiara è la notte e senza vento,
E queta sovra i tetti e in mezzo agli orti
Posa la luna, e di lontan rivela
Serena ogni montagna. O donna mia,
Già tace ogni sentiero, e pei balconi
Rara traluce la notturna lampada:
Tu dormi, che t'accoglie agevole sonno
Nelle tue chiuse stanze; e non ti morde
Cura nessuna; e già non sai né pensi
Quanta piaga m'apristi in mezzo al petto.

. Ah, per la via
Odo non lunge il solitario canto
Dell' artigiano

Ecco è fuggito
Il dì festivo, ed al festivo il giorno
Volgar succede, e se ne porta il tempo
Ogni umano accidente. Or dov' è il suono
Di que' popoli antichi? or dov' è il grido
De' nostri avi famosi, e il grande impero
Di quelle Roma, e l'armi e il fragorio
Che n'andò per la terra e l'oceano?
Tutto è pace e silenzio, e tutto posa
Il mondo, e più di lor non si ragiona.

There is another poem from the title of which, *Canto Notturmo di un pastore errante dell' Asia*, we may infer that silence and solitude reign about the shepherd who represents Leopardi himself. Here are the opening lines:

Che fai tu, luna, in ciel? dimmi, che fai,
Silenziosa luna?
Sorgi la sera, e vai,
Contemplando i deserti; indi ti posi.

And further on, still addressing the moon:

Pur tu, solinga, eterna peregrina,
Che sì pensosa sei, tu forse intendi,
Questo viver terreno,
Il partir nostro, il sospirar, che sia;
.
E tu certo comprendi
Il perchè delle cose, e vedi il frutto
Del mattino, della sera,
Del tacito, infinito andar del tempo.
.
Spesso quand' io ti miro
Star così muta in sul deserto piano,
Che, in suo giro lontano, al ciel confina . . .

Dico fra me pensando :
A che tante facelle ?
Che fa l'aria infinita, e quel profondo
Infinito seren ? che vuol dir questa
Solitudine immensa ?

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VENETIAN *BUSINELLO* = ITALIAN *EMISSARIO*.

In the Cicogna collection at Venice cod. 3637 (Correr 3350) is a series of papers dated Sept. 28, 1836, and signed by the celebrated architect G. Casoni. Under the general title "Notizia storica dell' Emissario al Fiume Sile denominato il Businello" are collected recopies of this essay and the various notes used by Casoni in the construction of it. It seems that in the diversion of the Sile's course, incident upon the exclusion of fresh water from the Venetian lagoon, the pestiferous effects produced by the mixture of the river in the stagnant pools of salt water were not entirely overcome, but simply transferred to the eastward to the territory surrounding the river's new mouth. It was accordingly suggested, as the result of agitation culminating in 1695, that the burden be divided, by distributing the flow of the river through the new and the old beds, by means of a gate-way opened at their junction. The adoption of this proposal led to a discussion on the reform which lasted with decision for and against the fiume, for some 150 years. This gate-way appears in the documents on the subject under the name *Businello*; and the varying treatment of this term by the successive authorities invites inquiry as to what it really means. Casoni refers to it seven times simply as *il Businello*, e. g. loc. cit. no. 4, doc. 4, 1^a: "1695, 5 dicembre decretò l'apertura del Businello ossia di una catterata, dalla quale una parte sola dell' acqua del Sile si ottenesse." Here also the name is interpreted carefully by the succeeding phrase; and while we have the undecided "di esso Businello" (ibid. doc. 5, 2^b, 4^a), "di riattirare quel Businello" (ibid.) and "Questo Businello produsse, etc." (ibid. 3^b, doc. 7), as a rule there is a distinct apology for the word (ibid. doc. 6, 1^a):

"l'apertura di un emissario che venne denominato Businello, val a dire l'apertura alla sponda destra di una catterata larga piedi 9, alta piedi 3." So far indeed is Casoni from feeling it a common noun that on five occasions he uses it as a proper name in apposition (ibid. 4, 4, 1^a): "Questo nuovo Emissario Businello soggiaque a grandissime vicende"; (ibid. doc. 6, 1, title) "Promenoria dell' Emissario del Sile Businello"; (doc. 4, 1^b) "l'acqua proveniente dall' Emissario Businello"; (doc. 5, 3^b) "Anche senza la riapertura dell' Emissario Businello"; (ibid. 4^a) "gli effetti prodotti dall' emissario Businello."

Antonio Tadini writing in 1819 likewise recognizes the exotic character of the word: in his title "Dell' Emissario del Sile volgarmente detto il Businello" (Milano, Paolo Giusti, 1819, 59 pp.); (p. 4, l. 15) "in via di sperimenti si aprì uno sfogatoio chiamato il Businello"; (p. 57) "l'Emissario o Businello del Sile"; while elsewhere (pp. 5, 6, 7, 8, 33, 34, 41, 44) he uses simply: "il Businello" or "il B. del Sile." The Alvisopoli in the same year in Venice published an "Esame delle opinioni di Benedetto Castelli e di Alfonso Borelli sulle lagune di Venezia, aggiuntavi (pp. 99-142) un'appendice sulla riapertura del Businello"; and among some 27 occurrences of the term we find "del nuovo Businello" (p. 104), "del Businello secondo" (p. 105, note), and the adverbial expression "a Businello aperto" (p. 116), which are in the direction of considering *Businello* a common noun. Filiassi again (Riflessioni sopra i fiumi e le lagune, Giuseppe Pignotti, Venezia, 1817) is in doubt (p. 45, l. 7): "uno sbocco si aprisse ad esso nella laguna, detto il Businello," with one possible occurrence of the common noun form (p. 64, l. 1): "Chiuso nel 1769 il Businello del Sile." The fact that in all of these works the word is capitalized is, of course, unimportant; not only because there was as yet little regularity in capitalization generally, but because such words as *fiume*, *taglio*, *mare*, *emissario*, pure common nouns, are nevertheless favored with large initials in these same books.

In any case, reference to the original documents in the discussion would have determined for them the precise status of the term. The papers of the agitation previous to the construction of the dam, as well, apparently, as some of the deliberations of

the Venetian senate, are no longer extant. For letters of the Water Commissioners to the Doge dated July 6, 1695 (Archiv. di Stato, Venezia, Atti del Senato Terra, Senato I, Filza 1196), and of Girolamo Vesti Fiorentino dated July 14 (ibid.), refer to an unavailable previous decision adverse to the construction of this work. The letter of the Savii "propose la costruzione di un *Businello* nell'Arzere vicino alle porte del Lioncello . . . e perciò facendo un tal Businello sarà l'operatione permanente e sicura" and they request his Serenity "degnarsi di fare una permuta del decreto già concesso, e ordinare che s'ii fatto il Businello sudetto . . . tanto essendo l'eterare [*sic*] dal predetto Sile 27 piedi d'acqua per li portelli, come da un Businello." Vesti's communication is to the same purport, begging the Senate "di commutarli il primo decreto con il permetter a gli interessati di far a loro spese un businello nell'Arzere vicino alle porte del Lioncello." The Senate on Aug. 3 (ibid. last doc.) voted that "resti permesso agli interessati di far a loro spese un Businello nell'Intestadura in Bocca di Valle alle Porte del Sile." This is executed on Aug. 9 by the Savii who "commettiamo al Fede Anzolo Garnizzan Proto di poter far . . . un businello nell' Arzere, etc.," later also using the phrase "per detto Businello." On Sept. 26, a letter of the Savii again refers to the "faccitura del Businello alle Nuove Porte del Sile," and there occur later the phrases *a detto B.*, *di detto B.* In their letter of Oct. 1: "la perfezione delle medeme operationi . . . e Businello sia permesso, etc." Oct. 23 there was "stabilita dalla pub. aucta l'erettione d'un Businello in Bocca di Valle, in vicinanza delle Porte del Sile. . . . L'anderà pte. che trovandosi opportuna la costruzione del nuovo Businello." The Savii again Dec. 16: "che fosse permesso agli interessati di far a loro spese un businello nell'Arzere vicino alle porte del Lioncello; . . . venendo suggerito stimasse più proprio far questo businello nell'Intestadura in bocca di valle"; Nov. 8: "La rotta fatta dal Businello al medesimo . . . dichiarandosi in appresso di rimettere lo stesso Businello con pietre nuove." Nov. 29: "del passato Businello; . . . come per altra suma di denaro da impiegarsi nella nuova costruzione d'altro businello più forte." Other documents, Oct. 8,

24, 29, contain examples of the words used simply with the definite article.

It is consistent, of course, that those histories based on the original papers should show a similarly decisive use of this name. In "Relazioni intorno ai danni del Businello chiuso introdotte nella Scritt^a. del N. U. Foscarini Presentato li 27 marzo 1773" (Archiv. di Stato, Atti della Magis. delle acque, 975, part II, doc. xv, 7^a) appears "fu del 1695, 3 ag^o in gratia dell'arrecordo decretato che a titolo d'esperienza far si dovesse un Businello nell'Intestadura in bocca di Valle . . . restò permesso all'acqua passare per il nuovo Businello"; (ibid. 7^b) "fu permesso fare un altro Businello"; (ibid. 14^b) "la chiusura di Fossi, Fossetta, e Businello"; (ibid. 28^a) "a Businello chiuso" and "a Businello aperto" (twice); (ibid. 35^a) "un Businello fu aperto" and the difficult phrase "a Businello uguale." Only once in this collection among some three score occurrences of the word, and that, too, in a document dated 1772, is there any indication of hesitation about its legitimacy: "di essa divisione denominata Businello." This doubt, however, arose relatively early. In a letter of Zuane Filopisi, 25 Zugno 1725 (Sen. Terra 1726, Sen. I, f. 1651 sub 18 Marzo) 1^a: "fu suggerita la costruzione d'uno sbalzo detto Businello mediante il quale. . ." So the great historian of the lagoons, Bernardino Zendrini (*Memorie storiche dello stato antico e moderno delle lagune di Venezia, Padova, 1736, also 1821, Stamp. del Seminario*), II, p. 467: "formando uno stramazzo o businello nella intestadura"; p. 231, "consisteva questa nel formare uno stramazzo, che chiamossi poi Businello," where the chronology is somewhat reversed, and the capitalization inconsistent.

But the earliest documents are conclusive: their use of *businello*, uncapitalized, in conjunction with the indefinite article, such adjectives as *altro*, *nuovo*, *secondo*, and in adverbial phrases *a businello aperto*, *chiuso*, *uguale* establishes its existence as a common noun, used here in a general and not a specific sense. It is by the later architects, not perfectly familiar with the popular origin of the *businello* scheme, that the word is misunderstood and limited as a proper name to this particular cutting. They may have felt, for instance, that it had something to do with the

well-known Businello family : in fact, Pietro Businello was Cancelliere Grande in 1698 and must have been interested in the passionate debate the work aroused. But most of them, as Antonio Tadini, must have felt its dialectical nature, "called by the people *businello*" he says ; it is not in fact till Casoni, in the middle of the nineteenth century, that the term is completely confused. And it remains to explain how the name happened to be applied to this gate-way, northeast of Torcello and not to others of similar nature, for instance, at Forcarigole, on the Lerin near Venezia, and on the Livenza (Zendrini, op. cit., II, 119, 139, 166). But the answer is easily found. Those works were part of engineering plans, conceived by educated architects, and draughted in the Italian language. While the Businello del Sile was the result of a popular agitation emanating from the peasants affected by the river's distortion. Having decided on their remedy, they naturally presented it to the Senate in their own way : not familiar with the technical term they sought, they created the word which best expressed the idea : and the double diminutive, aside from being characteristic generally of the Venetian folk-speech, may also have seemed to add humility to their request—a *businello* could do much less damage to the lagoons than a mere *buso*. Also the word was familiar to them as the cutting, or gateway through a hedge (Boerio). The rarity of the word in other places is due merely to the non-existence of engineers who write in Venetian. Intrinsically *businello* bears every stamp of authenticity as a common noun of the Venetian dialect, and should be added to the next edition of Boerio's work.

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CONTEMPORARY GERMAN FICTION AND NARRATIVE POETRY.

The following list of important works of contemporary German fiction and narrative poetry is presented in the hope that it may be of service to teachers of German who have had no opportunity to do a considerable amount of reading in the field

in question. I thoroughly appreciate the difficulties and dangers that beset the compiler of such a list who is not so fortunate as to be located right in the midst of things, as well as the usual thanklessness of a selection of the "one hundred best books" and similar ventures, and yet the disadvantage in the way of insufficient library facilities under which many of our teachers labor encourage me to submit in the list below the results of my experience in connection with a course on contemporary German fiction and narrative poetry. Criticism is, after all, a matter of personal opinion, and I do not for one moment expect that this list will be universally accepted as it stands ; my purpose in publishing it will be accomplished if it succeeds in eliciting a discussion of comparative values in recent fiction, for it seems to me that the field of contemporary literature is sadly neglected in our modern language periodicals as well as in our graduate instruction. It need scarcely be emphasized that the list includes a number of works that I mention not because of their inherent literary merits but rather because of their literary-historical interest, as characteristic of a specific movement or tendency, for example, and, similarly, various works are quoted in connection with certain authors because they mark definite phases of their literary career, and not necessarily because I regard them as their best productions. The field covered is approximately that from the restoration of the German Empire in 1871 to the present day.

I. NOVELS.—Anzengruber, *Der Sternsteinhof*; Helene Böhlau, *Der Rangierbahnhof*; (Georg Hermann) Borchardt, *Jettehen Geberts Geschichte*; Dahn, *Ein Kampf um Rom*; Ebers, *Homo Sum*; Ernst, *Asmus Sempers Jugendland*; Fischer, *Die Freude am Licht*; Fontane, *Vor dem Sturm*, *Frau Jenny Treibel*, *Effie Briest*; Franzos, *Ein Kampf ums Recht*; Frenssen, *Die drei Getreuen*, *Jörn Uhl*, *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest*; Handel-Manzetti, *Jesse und Maria*; Carl Hauptmann, *Mathilde*, *Einhart der Lächler*; Heer, *Der König der Bernina*; Herzog, *Die Wiskottens*; Hesse, *Peter Camenzind*; Hoffmann, *Der eiserne Rittmeister*; Ricarda Huch, *Ludolf Ursleu*; Jensen, *Eddystone*, *Die Pfeifer vom Dusenbaech*; Kretzer, *Meister Timpe*; Krüger, *Gottfried Kämpfer*; Thomas Mann, *Buddenbrooks*; Ompteda, *Eysen*; von Polenz, *Der Büttnerbauer*, *Der Grabenhäger*,

Der Wurzelocker; Rosegger, *Die Schriften des Waldschulmeisters*, *Der Gottsucher*, *Jakob der Letzte*; Sperl, *Die Söhne des Herrn Budiwoi*; Strausz, *Freund Hein*; Sudermann, *Frau Sorge*, *Der Katzensteg*, *Es War*; Clara Viebig, *Das Weibendorf*, *Das tägliche Brot*, *Das schlafende Heer*; Wassermann, *Die Geschichte der jungen Renate Fuchs*; Wilbrandt, *Hermann Iffinger*, *Die Osterinsel*; von Wolzogen, *Der Kraft-Mayr*; Zahn, *Die Clari-Marie*.

II. NOVELETTES AND SHORT STORIES.—Dreyer, *Lauts und Leises*; Ebner-Eschenbach, *Das Gemeindegeld*, *Bozena*; Carl Hauptmann, *Miniaturen*; Heyse, (*Ausgewählte*) *Novellen*; Hoffmann, *Das Gymnasium zu Stolpenburg*; Holz und Schlaf, *Die papierne Passion*, *Papa Hamlet*; Isolde Kurz, *Florentiner Novellen*; Meyer, *Jürg Jenatsch*, *Der Heilige*, *Die Rich-terin*, etc.; von Saar, *Novellen aus Oesterreich*; Seidel, *Leberecht Hühnchen*; Söhle, *Musikantengeschichten*; Adolf Stern, (*Ausgewählte*) *Novellen*; Clara Viebig, *Kinder der Eifel*; Wildenbruch, *Erzählungen*.

III. NARRATIVE POEMS.—Baumbach, *Frau Holde*; Hertz, *Bruder Rausch*; Spitteler, *Olympischer Frühling*; Weber, *Dreizshulinden*; Wolff, *Der wilde Jäger*.

RUDOLF TOMBO, JR.

Columbia University.

ENGLISH PLAYS.

AN UNNOTED PARODY OF *Hamlet*.

In *Eastward Hoe*, written shortly after the accession of James I, the authors, Jonson, Chapman, and Marston, parody several well known plays. Prof. Schelling, in his admirable edition (*The Belles-Lettres Series*), points out the following: P. 10, l. 134, *2 Henry IV*; p. 11, l. 156, *The Spanish Tragedy*; p. 26, l. 106, *Tamburlaine*; p. 27, l. 134, *The Turkish Mahomet and Hyren the Fair Greek*, *2 Henry IV*; p. 27, l. 138, *The Spanish Tragedy*; p. 28, ll. 164-72, *The Spanish Tragedy*; p. 33, l. 41, *Mulleasses the Turke*; p. 80, l. 6, *Richard III*.

Naturally a play so striking and so popular as *Hamlet*¹ would not escape. Page 54, l. 4:

Enter Hamlet, a footeman, in haste.

Page 54, l. 6:

Potkin. Sfoote, Hamlet, are you madde?

Page 57, ll. 74-75:

Your father, and some one more, stole to church with 'hem in all the haste, that the cold meat left at your wedding might serve to furnish their nuptiall table.

Page 58, ll. 96-100: The song is a variation of Ophelia's song, *Hamlet*, iv, 5, 190.

But, so far as I have been able to discover, no one has pointed out an interesting parody of Ophelia's death as narrated by the Queen. *Hamlet*, iv, 7, 174-8:

An envious sliver broke;
When down her weedy trophies and herself
Fell in the weeping brook. Her clothes spread
wide;
And, mermaid-like, awhile they bore her up:
Which time she chanted snatches of old tunes.

This picture seems clearly in the mind of the writer in *Eastward Hoe*, iv, 1 (p. 84). Slitgut climbs a tree at Cuckold's Haven, and views the storm on the river Thames. Suddenly he sees in the water a woman borne along by the flood:

Ay me, see another remnant of this unfortunate ship-wrack! or some other. A woman, yfaith, a woman; though it be almost at S[aint] Kath'rins, I discern it to be a woman, for al her bodie is above the water, and her clothes swim about her most handsomely. O, they beare her up most bravely! Has not a woman reason to love the taking up of her cloathes the better while she lives, for this? Alas, how busie the rude Thames is about her! A pox a' that wave! it wil drowne her, yfaith, twill drowne her! Crye God mercie, shee has scapt it! I thanke heaven she has scapt it! O how shee swimmes like a mermaide!

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, JR.

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¹ Written three, perhaps four, years earlier.

CONCERNING FULKE GREVILLE'S
(LORD BROOKE'S) TRAGEDIES,
ALAHAM AND *MUSTAPHA*.

THE DATES OF THE TWO PLAYS.

Tho the scenes of Greville's two tragedies, *Alaham* and *Mustapha*, lie in the far off Orient, their relationship to current happenings in the political circles of England itself was very close; and if they are considered in the light of this relationship, the dates of their composition can be determined with a fair degree of accuracy.

It will be recalled that the last years of Elizabeth were filled with sadness and gloom. All her old counsellors and favorites: Leicester, Walsingham, and Burleigh had died before the new century opened. Their successors, not having become attached to the brilliant queen in her early years, hoped only for her death, and were busily intriguing for favor in the coming reign. Even the people, whose favor she had always courted, were cold and indifferent toward the aged queen. In *Alaham* we have just such a picture: a kingdom, whose sovereign is enfeebled with age, rent with dissensions over the question of the successor to the throne. Of course, the parallel cannot be carried out in all its details, but there is no doubt about the similarity of the situations, or that Greville's object was to bring out this similarity. The same motive that probably led him to delocalize his drama so completely—namely, the necessity under pain of censure, of disguising reference to the Court in literary works—would lead him to refrain from drawing too close a parallel to situations surrounding Elizabeth in her declining years.

It is safe to say, then, that *Alaham* could not have been written before 1598, the date of Burleigh's death. Prior to that date, the strength of Elizabeth's reign had scarcely begun to wane, and the question of her successor had not yet seriously engaged the attention of her ministers; but from then on, this question became more and more important, until during the queen's last days, men expected a violent struggle for the crown. It was rare good fortune that all the

great parties: Catholics, Puritans, and those of more secular temper, saw their hopes realized in James. The late limit for *Alaham* is, of course, the date of Elizabeth's death, 1603.

Dr. M. W. Croll,¹ on evidence of verse structure, places *Alaham* between 1586 and 1600. By taking this late limit and the early limit above mentioned, we can place the writing of *Alaham* between the closely approximating dates of 1598 and 1600. But if we are to follow the evidence of the relation of the drama to English politics at all, 1603 is to be preferred as the late limit because the circumstances which, as we have seen, probably occasioned the writing of the drama, became more and more significant as the end of Elizabeth's reign drew near.

In the case of *Mustapha*, the relationship to English conditions is not to be found so much in similarity of situations as in the application of doctrines of statecraft which the author puts in the mouths of his characters to the English political situation. Even a hasty perusal of *Mustapha* shows that in it Greville is voicing his discontent with "those new revolutions of time," as he calls them, in the early years of James' reign. It is a polemic against the Stuart doctrine of the divine right of kings. The one doctrine that stands blazoned on every page of the drama is that kingly power is derived from the people.

Mustapha, therefore, was not written before 1603 when James came to the throne and "those new revolutions of time" which are assailed in the drama began. Its late limit is 1609, determined absolutely by the publication in that year of a quarto edition of the play.

THE SOURCE OF *Mustapha*.

The following books have been mentioned as possible sources of *Mustapha*:

By Langbaine²:

¹ Morris W. Croll, *The Works of Fulke Greville*, Univ. of Penna. Ph. D. thesis. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1903, p. 39.

² Gerard Langbaine, *English Dramatick Poets*, Oxford, 1691, p. 39 refers to p. 28.

Paolo Giovio (Paulus Jovius, *Historiæ sui temporis*, book 40. Florence, 1550-52; Paris, 1558-60; Venice, 1565 (Italian), Venice, 1581 (Italian). The account of the murder of Mustapha, which occurred in 1553, of course appears only in the later editions in which the narrative was brought down to date by other writers.

De Thou (Thuanus), *Historiæ sui temporis*, book 12. Paris, 1604.

Thomas Artus, *La Continuation de l'Histoire des Turcs*. Paris, 1620. This is an addition to the work of Laonicus Chalcocondylas.

Richard Knolles, *General History of the Turks*. London, 1603.

By Ward³:

Madeline de Scudéry, *Ibrahim ou l'Illustre Bassa*. Paris, 1641. Ward does not refer to Langbaine's list.

By Dr. Croll⁴:

A supplement added to H. Goughe's (or Goffe's) translation of Bartholomæus Georgievitz' *De Turcarum Moribus*, London, 1570.

To these may be added:

Augier-Ghrislain de Busbecq, *Legationis Turcicæ Epistolæ 4*, the second letter. Anvers, 1582; Paris, 1589.

Of these, Thomas Artus and Madeline de Scudéry must be thrown out because of their having been published later than Greville's play. Any one of the others might have been known and used by Greville. Hence it is wholly impossible to determine absolutely the source of his tragedy; but it is quite possible to choose from the above list the one book among them all that in all probability was the one Greville went to. This is neither De Thou nor the supplement to Goughe's translation of Georgievitz, the two which Dr. Croll, whose dissertation contains the last word on the subject, seems to consider most likely.

³A. W. Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*, London, 1899, Vol. II, p. 616, footnote.

⁴M. W. Croll, as above, p. 37.

It is Knolles' *Turkish History* which, since Langbaine's time, has for some inexplicable reason been consistently overlooked in the search for the source of *Mustapha*.¹ Knolles was published in 1603, the date of Elizabeth's death, and, for reasons stated above, the early limit for the writing of *Mustapha*. Is it not natural to suppose, then, that Greville found the details of his story in this new and popular history written by one of his countrymen, rather than in an older and less widely known English account such as Goughe's supplement to Georgievitz, or in a foreign history written in Latin like De Thou, or any one of the others in the list? Knolles must have been looked upon as the most reliable because the most recent and complete authority on the history of the Ottoman Empire—a consideration likely to appeal to a man of Greville's learning.

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GOTHIC BIBLE.

Die Gotische Bibel, herausgegeben von WILHELM STREITBERG. Erster Teil: *Der Gotische Text und seine Griechische Vorlage*. Mit Einleitung, Lesarten u. Quellennachweisen sowie den Kleineren Denkmälern als Anhang. (Germanistische Bibliothek, hrsg. v. W. Streitberg. Zweite Abteilung: Untersuchungen u. Texte. III, 1.) Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1908. 8vo., xlv + 484 pp. M. 4,70.

This new handy edition of the remnants of the Gothic Bible—together with the original Greek

¹After reading the proof of this article, Professor Schelling calls attention to his statement of the matter in *Elizabethan Drama 1558-1664*, II, 11: "But it seems not unlikely that here, as in the case of Chapman with Grimestone, Greville sought a source more easily accessible in Knolles' *General History of the Turks*, first published in 1603." A footnote gives the page-references to the edition of 1633 of Knolles, pointing to the probable passages.—J. W. B.

text and the minor literary sources of the Gothic language—is entitled to a word of cordial welcome. To call attention at once to what is perhaps its most significant feature: it includes a new revision of the Ambrosian mss., contributed by the Milano librarian, director Wilhelm Braun, to whom in recognition of his coöperation the new edition is dedicated. Braun's numerous critical remarks and new readings are the result of careful and patient work—carried on thru a good many years—for which we have all the more reason to be grateful since heretofore the impression prevailed that Uppström's critical edition of the *Codices Ambrosiani* meant—like his *Codex Argenteus*—the final revision of the Gothic manuscripts.

Following Bernhardt's example, Streitberg has endeavored to restore the Greek original from which Ulfla made his translation, and like Bernhardt he has provided this reconstructed Greek text with critical notes, illustrating the relation of the text as used by Ulfla to that of other early mss. (or rather groups of mss.) of the Greek Bible. Even a casual comparison of the present edition with Bernhardt's Greek text and variants will give evidence of the progress which since the publication (in 1875) of Bernhardt's *Vulfla* has been made in this field, both as regards the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament. In fact, the researches of critics like Lagarde, von Soden, Frdr. Kauffmann, which have thrown so much additional light on the history of the Greek text in Ulfla's time, fall within the last three decades. I must refrain from pointing out in detail how in this line of research the interests of biblical text criticism went hand in hand—to mutual advantage—with those of the student of Gothic. But it ought to be stated at least that in the present edition Streitberg has materially added towards settling the textual questions by undertaking to derive systematically the differences that remain between the Greek and the Gothic text from two sources, viz.: 1) the influence of non-Greek biblical texts (especially that of the so-called *Itala*), and 2) the influence of parallel passages.

At the first glance it may seem strange that, while attempting to reconstruct the Greek original

of the Gothic version, Streitberg has refrained from doing the same with Ulfla's own work. Instead of restoring the genuine text of Ulfla's translation he is satisfied with a revised reprint of the various Gothic mss., i. e., a reprint in which obvious mistakes (like omissions or repetitions of words or syllables) are corrected, but other variants, arbitrary spellings, more recent grammatical forms, etc., have been carefully preserved. In this respect Streitberg's attitude toward the Gothic text differs essentially from that of Bernhardt, who did not hesitate to normalize the Gothic text in certain respects, correcting, e. g., in the first ten chapters of St. Luke the confusion between the vowels *ei* and *ē*, so characteristic of that passage. It can hardly be maintained that the task of restoring Ulfla's version is altogether hopeless. It is safe at least to say that the genuine Ulfla can be more easily restored from our Gothic mss. than the genuine Luther could from the current printed texts of his version. And yet, there is good reason for Streitberg's attitude. The few manuscripts in which fragments of the Gothic Bible are preserved, are nearly all that is left of the Gothic language, and hence are of value to us not only when preserving Ulfla's work in its original garb but also when introducing more recent features that bear testimony of the subsequent development of the Gothic language.

While agreeing then with the editor as to the main issue, we would regard as a matter of practicability rather than of principle, the further question as to whether in cases like that of *Ambr. A* and *Ambr. B* the two mss. should be printed (as is the case in Streitberg's edition) in parallel columns or whether it might have been sufficient to print only one of them in full and to record the variants of the other in the footnotes. We believe, however, that there can hardly be any difference of opinion as to the advisability of another one of Streitberg's innovations, i. e., to print in the case of the *cod. Carolinus* in addition to the Gothic also the parallel Latin version.

The Greek and the Gothic texts are printed in this edition on opposite pages and accompanied by critical footnotes. We heartily concur in Jac. Grimm's and the editor's claim that the two texts

should go together because the Greek original is the most useful and necessary help for the understanding of the Gothic version.

The editor has had the happy idea of reprinting in the first chapter of his introduction the original sources (some of which are found in works not easily obtainable) for our knowledge of Ulfila's life. A second chapter is given to a review of the Gothic manuscripts, while in a third one various problems of biblical text criticism are discussed that have a bearing on the Greek original of Ulfila's translation or on the Latin versions by which the Gothic text was influenced.

The moderate price (one dollar and fifteen cents) of the new edition will place it within the reach of every student of Gothic and will, no doubt, contribute towards making it one of the most popular editions of the Gothic Bible.

HERMANN COLLITZ.

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G. PELLISSIER: *Le XVII^e siècle par les textes*. Morceaux choisis. Paris: Delagrave, 1908. 564 pages.

It will be of great interest to those of us who use in their classes Pellissier's *Précis de la littérature française* to hear that the same author has issued a book of texts which follows closely in its arrangement the chapters of his "Manuel," and that he intends to publish similar books on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This collection—which for the thoroughness and the excellence of the work reminds us somewhat of the *Chrestomathie de Vinet*—is extremely well made. It is not my intention to discuss it here in detail, but one thing at least deserves special mention: So far, authors of such selections have made it a point to pick out the passages from classics which were perfect from the point of view of art, but cared little whether these passages were also particularly characteristic of the author's thought. Often, nay, most of the time they were

not. The ideal would be, of course, that the right passage for the understanding of the philosophy of an author should be at the same time the best from the point of view of style; but the ideal as we know is rarely realized in this world, and, as a matter of fact, it happens constantly that the art of an author was excellent when he expressed an idea of secondary importance, and *vice versa*. Pellissier took this fact into account and chose the characteristic rather than the beautiful—whenever a choice was to be made. This is, no doubt, the wiser course.

The book is rather large—564 pages of close print—too large perhaps for a text-book, some may be inclined to think. Of course, every professor may select from the selections; but there are some reasons to believe that it would be preferable if the shorter selection too was made by a man like Pellissier, rather than by an ordinary teacher who usually needs guidance—sometimes needs it very badly. I should like to suggest—if I may—for another edition, or for the books on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that Pellissier himself mark in some way or other the first choice passages (by an asterisk, for instance).

There are notes, short and good, of vocabulary and of explanation of allusions. There are further a number of excellent pictures of the time.

Some chapters will prove particularly useful, e. g., *L'Hôtel de Rambouillet*, or *l'Académie française*.

Voltaire philosophe, by GEORGES PELLISSIER. Paris: Armand Colin, 1908. iii + 304 pp.

The title of this book is sufficient indication that a detailed discussion of it belongs rather to a philosophical journal. Such a discussion has been contributed by the writer to the *Journal of Philosophy* (March 18, 1909).

One question, however, may well be examined here while calling the attention of the literary public to this extremely conscientious and valuable work. Not long ago, it will be remembered, Lanson gave out a *Voltaire* in the *Collection des grands écrivains français*; Lanson emphasized the

literary and historical aspect in Voltaire. Now Pellissier's volume by no means makes "double emploi" with Lanson's, but it may be interesting to ask which one of the two—if we may so speak—is the right thing to do: to approach Voltaire as a man of letters or as a philosopher? In order to bring out the most valuable part of Voltaire's genius, ought he to be studied rather from the historical standpoint, adopted by Lanson, or from the abstract, philosophical standpoint, adopted by Pellissier?

The answer we should like to suggest is about this: Voltaire is the apostle of common sense; but for this very reason (as Pellissier himself admits already in his "Avant-Propos") he neglects, or overlooks, many serious problems of philosophy and life; Voltaire does not satisfy an intelligence above the average, when he simply passes by any question whenever plain common sense cannot solve it. It was just to try and give an answer to problems which are not accessible to the mediocre common sense that philosophers came; and whether they succeeded or failed, they pleased us more than Voltaire who simply ignores our higher faculties. On the other hand, if Voltaire contributed nothing to the thoughts of the élite of humanity, he contributed a great deal to the advancement of ideas in the masses; he did away with many superstitious beliefs,—he makes room for new, useful ideas; he is the most remarkable vulgarizer of thoughts; and in that domain an art like his is more important than originality, his literary talents more important than his philosophical gifts: therefore, then, it seems to us that Lanson is the one who rather than Pellissier, studied Voltaire under the more characteristic aspect of his genius.

This, at once, puts us before another question: Why did Pellissier not study Voltaire from that standpoint? Because Pellissier—many passages in the book betray this—wrote while he was preoccupied by some very concrete things, *i. e.*, by the momentous social problems which France is just now facing. He saw in Voltaire an excellent educator of the masses, for our time as well as for the eighteenth century. He picked out Voltaire, among so many other writers, because at a time when the Church in France tries to react by ob-

scurantism against a perhaps too strong dose of realism and rationalism, a dose of Voltaire, the apostle of good common sense seemed an excellent antidote. To express things somewhat differently, Pellissier's book is interesting for us as a resurrection of the eighteenth century ideas at the beginning of the twentieth century, about as in the Renaissance we are interested to find and study a resurrection of Classical ideals in Christian communities. Or again, it is Pellissier who is interesting in the book rather than Voltaire, as *e. g.*, in Maeterlinck's book *Les abeilles*, the bees do not interest us as much as the man who wrote about them. It is a case that matches well enough the case of the late Brunetière, whose books of literary criticism ought to be read more for Brunetière's philosophy, than for the, at times, objective treatment of a subject.¹

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SHAKESPEARE.

The Shakespeare Apocrypha, being a Collection of Fourteen Plays which have been ascribed to Shakespeare. Edited, with Introduction, Notes and Bibliography by C. F. TUCKER BROOKE, B. Litt., Senior Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1908. 8vo., pp. lvi + 456.

There is in the entire range of the Elizabethan drama no more curious group of plays than the so-called "doubtful plays" of Shakespeare. Ever since their ascription to the pen of the master-dramatist they have been regarded with critical suspicion and in consequence of the misguided efforts of zealous champions they must suffer whatever odium attaches to presumptive illegitimacy in the anonymous drama. The basis of their ascription to Shakespeare varies quite as widely as the merits of the plays themselves. Several were deliberately issued during Shakespeare's lifetime by enterprising publishers who recognized the

¹ Only Pellissier is much more reliable than Brunetière as far as scholarship goes.

commercial value of a play in quarto written by "W. S." or "W. Sh.", or, more frankly, by "William Shakespeare." Others acquired an added value about the time of the Restoration by being described in the catalogues of careless or unscrupulous booksellers as the work of Shakespeare. A few won their way into the group by being bound together in one volume in the library of Charles II and labelled "Shakespeare. Vol. 1." Seven others were included in the second imprint of the Third Folio (1664) and in the Fourth Folio (1685). Finally, a number were added to the list by such critics as Theobald, Capell, Tieck, Bernhardt and others who were guided largely by internal evidence in attributing to Shakespeare any anonymous play that contained lines or scenes of unusual merit. Of the entire thirty-five or forty plays of this character, only one (*Pericles*) is now included in the Shakespeare canon, and two others (*The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Edward III*) are found in a few modern editions of Shakespeare.

Mr. Brooke, in his admirable edition of the *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, very wisely reprinted only those plays that could reasonably be included in the "doubtful" class. They include fourteen plays in the following order: *Arden of Feversham*, *Loerine*, *Edward III*, *Mucedorus*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, *The London Prodigal*, *The Puritan*, *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *Fair Em*, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *The Birth of Merlin* and *Sir Thomas More*. The Introduction discusses the "doubtful plays" in general and considers the merits of the particular plays included in the present edition. Strangely enough, only a few of these dramatic waifs had previously been edited with any thoroughness in England and Mr. Brooke has therefore had an opportunity to produce a volume that will undoubtedly become the standard reference-text for these dramas. The choice of the title *Shakespeare Apocrypha* is commendable, because there is slight reason for calling anything "doubtful" when very little doubt exists in most minds.

Throughout the volume there are evidences of Mr. Brooke's editorial care and grasp of his material. The original edition in each case forms the basis for the text and variant readings of later editions are given in the footnotes. Each play (ex-

cepting *Sir Thomas More*, which was first printed by Dyce in 1844) is preceded by a fac-simile of the title-page of its first quarto. The text is followed by notes, largely philological and with frequent reference to that vast treasury of word-lore, the *New English Dictionary*. The volume concludes with an extensive Bibliography embracing collected editions, separate editions, translations, general criticism, early notices, sources, analogues, etc., and an index to the bibliography.

It is no reflection upon the merit of Mr. Brooke's edition to say that his Bibliography is incomplete and not free from trifling errors. The scholar who hopes to publish an extensive bibliographical list that is all-inclusive and beyond criticism is almost inevitably doomed to disappointment. The following comments upon the Bibliography are, therefore, given for what they are worth, and are intended simply to supplement Mr. Brooke's really admirable list, without questioning his undoubted care in its compilation.

P. 439, no. 7. Knight's Pictorial edition is in 8 vols.

P. 439, no. 8. A second edition of *A Supplement to the Plays of William Shakespeare* was published in Philadelphia (Jas. B. Smith & Co.), 1855.

P. 439, no. 9. This volume of Doubtful Plays formed part of an edition of Shakespeare in 4 vols. published in London by J. Tallis & Co. in [1851-1853]. As the Doubtful Plays were probably published last, the date should be [1853] rather than [1851]. This would reverse the position of nos. 9 and 10 in the Bibliography.

P. 440, no. 17. The list omits *Mucedorus* (1878) which is given at p. 445, no. 23. Cf. Introduction, p. lv.

P. 440. The list of separate editions of *Arden of Feversham* omits one by [A. F. Hopkinson], London (Edward White) 1890 and another by Mr. Hopkinson, not anonymously this

time, London (M. E. Sims), 1898. Neither of these is mentioned in the list at p. 440, no. 19. I find no reference to the adaptation of *Arden of Feversham* begun by George Lillo, completed by John Hoadly, printed in Lillo's *Works* (1775) and reprinted several times during the past century.

- P. 442, no. 8. In addition to this item, there was also an edition of *Edward III* privately printed by J. Payne Collier in quarto in 1874.
- P. 446, no. 12. The date should be 1894, not 1895. Cf. p. 440, no. 19.
- P. 447, no. 20. Dr. Rolfe's edition of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* appeared first in 1883, not 1891; hence nos. 19 and 20 should be reversed.
- P. 451, no. 46. For Phillips read Phillipps. A later edition of the *Outlines* (e. g., the 8th or 9th) would be preferable to the 3rd for citation.
- P. 453, no. 1. For Four volumes, 1875-7, read Five volumes, 1875-94.
- P. 454, no. 3. The Collier edition of Henslowe (1845) has been superseded by the Greg edition (vol. I, 1904). Vol. II has since appeared (1908).

To the list of critical works on the *Apoerypha* should be added :

- Howe, F. A. The Authorship of the Birth of Merlin. *Modern Philology*, IV (193-205).
- Hubbard, F. G. Repetition and Parallelism of Style in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XX (360-379). Contains valuable notes on *Loerine*.
- Schelling, F. E. The English Chronicle Play, 1902. Professor Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama* (1908) appeared after Mr. Brooke's volume went to press.
- Singer, H. W. Das bürgerliche Trauerspiel in England, 1891.

Doubtless other titles will be added to the Bibliography when a new edition of *The Shakespeare Apoerypha* is brought out.

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EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE.

The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century. By MARTHA PIKE CONANT, Ph. D. (Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature.) Columbia University Press, New York. Pp. xxvi + 312.

This well-conceived monograph, another of the suggestive ventures of this Series into new and interesting fields, presents fairly the scope and significance of what was in its day an important literary fashion. It contains an Introduction, chapters on the Imaginative, Moralistic, Philosophic and Satiric "Groups" among the writings under discussion, a brief Literary Estimate, Appendices with notes and bibliographical matter, and an Index. Much of this is well done. Miss Conant has read widely in the often-dull pages of the Eighteenth Century Oriental Tales themselves, and has given good descriptions of many works practically inaccessible to most readers. In her remarks upon particular books there is much sound criticism; for example, in the estimates of Gueullette's volumes (pp. 31-36), of *Charoba* (pp. 55-61), of Lyttelton's *Persian Letters* (pp. 178-186), and in the comparison of *Tom Brown* and *Dufresnoy*. The book deals more successfully, indeed, with these minor works than with the more important and familiar productions of Addison, Johnson, Voltaire, and Montesquieu.

The defects of the book are mainly matters of formulation. The author does not always say clearly and adequately what she means. In the Introduction, for example, while it is proper enough to begin with Marana's *Turkish Spy* (1687), it would be well to tell the reader that at least twenty-five other works of prose fiction, Oriental and pseudo-Oriental, had appeared in English between 1660 and 1700. The chapter on the Imaginative Group seems much too long.

The twelve pages of generalized description of the *Arabian Nights* might well have been compressed and the space used to show more definitely wherein the Galland version of this familiar work, as well as the contemporary English and French versions of the "Persian" and "Turkish" Tales were genuinely Oriental in flavor and wherein they were like other French and English writing of their day. In the later chapters the attempted differentiation of the larger body of pseudo-Oriental writings into "Moralistic," "Philosophic," and "Satiric" Groups,—scarcely borne out by the facts,—tends to obscure the more important fact, that the Oriental Tale, so-called, was cultivated by English and French writers of the century chiefly as offering a convenient frame for expository comment on life.

Throughout the book, moreover, one wishes that Miss Conant had been more precise in marking the differences in the treatment of Oriental matter shown by the successive periods of that rapidly changing century. That would serve to show, more satisfactorily, for instance, the relation of the Oriental Tale to what is called Romanticism. Miss Conant tells us that the popularity of the Oriental element with the reading public, alike in translations of genuine works of the East, and in Western imitations, was a phase of the growing Romantic craving, which was fed by the action and the color of the Oriental genre. But this idea, though stated in the Preface and the Introduction, is developed only in the last few pages of the book, and then so vaguely as to seem almost an afterthought. The book has ample justification without it, but if presented it should be supported by fuller evidence.

In a study of this sort the bibliographical list of specimens of the form under discussion should be as nearly complete as possible. Miss Conant, in Appendix B. 1, mentions altogether some 154 titles for the 113 years from 1687 to 1800, to which should be added eight others listed in Appendix B. 2. But 49 of the 154 are titles of papers in the *Spectator* and similar periodicals, and ten others seem to be verse. This list might have been much fuller. Arber's reprint of the *London Term Catalogues* for 1687–1709, together with the monthly lists of "Books Published" in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1731–1775,—to go no

further,—give the titles of some 56 books not mentioned in this "Chronological List," most of them novels with Oriental setting or political and social satire in Oriental terms. A few cases may be noted. Miss Conant lists, for example, one novel in the set of *Modern Novels* (Bentley, 1692?), in the British Museum, but that set contains five other novels with Oriental setting, all of them published after 1687. Miss Conant's statement (p. 269), that the date of the first edition of the *Arabian Nights* is "unknown," should be supplemented by the statement that the "Seventh Volume" of an English version of the work is listed in the *Term Catalogue* for Easter, 1708. There is no mention in the "Chronological List" of the *History of King Apprius* (1728), a translation from Godart de Beauchamps, though it is at least as important a novel as Mrs. Haywood's *History of Eoraii, etc.*, the first edition of which, it should be said, appeared in 1736, not 1741. There is no mention of so well-known a work as the English translation of Prévost's *Histoire d'Une Grecque Moderne*, which appeared in 1741–42, nor of the first English translation of Crebillon's *Le Sopha*, in 1742, nor of *Usong, an Eastern Narrative* (1773), a story in Hawkesworth's manner, translated from the German of Baron Haller. Miss Conant's list, the fullest hitherto printed, and a welcome aid to students of Eighteenth Century literature, would be still more useful if it could be made complete.

JOHN M. CLAPP.

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A CONCORDANCE TO GRAY.

A Concordance to the English Poems of Thomas Gray. Edited by ALBERT S. COOK, President of the Concordance Society. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1908. 8vo, pp. xi, 160. Price, \$3.00 net.

The first fruits of the Concordance Society, organized in 1906 (see *Modern Language Notes* for February, 1907), are now before us in the form of a handsome volume devoted to a poet who is

altogether worthy of the labor. The choice, says the editor, "was dictated by these considerations: his historical importance; the public interest in him; and the moderate compass of his works." It may well be added that Gray was a fastidious and severe critic, scarcely less of his own poems than of the works of others; his choice of words, therefore, is a matter of significance out of all proportion to the small bulk of his poetry, and in consequence a lexicon or concordance of his poems is one of the most imperative needs of students of eighteenth century literature.

The text used by the compilers is that of Gosse, published in 1884. Why this edition was used instead of the revised Gosse of 1902 or the generally excellent Aldine edition of Bradshaw, 1891, is not evident; a statement of the reasons in the Preface would have been welcome. The use of either of these, for example, would have added one more line containing *nor* (Hymn to Adversity 36) to the list; Gosse's first edition like most others, has the misprint *not*.¹

The question of normalization, remarks the editor, was a difficult one. The practice adopted, on the whole, will probably meet with general approval, at least in America; and we hope that British readers may in time come to view it with resignation. Thus the *-our* forms have been brought together under head-words in *-or*; *risèing* is entered under *rising*; *redding* under *reddening*; *tort'ring* under *torturing*; *murther* under *murder*; *fav'rite* and *favourite* under *favorite*. We do not, however, approve of the head-form *rime*, which we believe is purely a scholar's form, not yet generally adopted. For this purpose *rhyme* would have been preferable.

Following the precedent of Strong's *Concordance to the Bible*, the compilers have omitted forty-seven of the commonest words. These are

¹The use of Tovey's scholarly edition (Cambridge, University Press, 1898, reprinted 1904) would have made possible a fuller treatment of the variants of the Fraser MS. (called by Bradshaw the Original and by Gosse the Mason MS.) of the *Elegy*, some of which Gosse omits (e. g., 11 *stray too*, 12 *pry into*). It should be noted, too, that none of the variants of *The Alliance of Education and Government* (some of which Tovey adopts in his text) is included in the Concordance. One cannot help wishing, therefore, that some of the compilers had been more familiar with the textual criticism of Gray.

for the most part entirely proper omissions, made in the interest of economy. It may be questioned, however, if the number of words omitted should exceed this, and we incline to think that of these *as* and *shall* should not be omitted.

The compilers of this volume were Professor Cook, Dr. Elbert N. S. Thompson, and Messrs. Frederic T. Blanchard and Alfred A. May, of Yale; Dr. Charles G. Osgood, of Princeton; and Miss Ernestine L. Miller, of Wellsboro, Pennsylvania. They, as well as the readers of the proofs, deserve to be heartily congratulated on accomplishing the task with such accuracy. So far as we have tested the book, it is free from errors.

The Concordance Society has undertaken a useful work. It should have the hearty support of all who love poetry and who do not abhor exact and thorough studies, such as a concordance makes possible.

CLARK S. NORTHUP.

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FRENCH GRAMMAR.

A French Grammar with Exercises and Supplementary Reading for Schools and Colleges. By HUGO P. THIEME and JOHN R. EFFINGER, of the University of Michigan. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1908. 12mo., viii, 411 pp.

Of the making of grammars there is no end, to paraphrase a familiar saying, and the latest candidate for the attention of teachers is the one, of which the first impression was sent out by the Macmillan Company in July of the present year.¹ Altho there are many French grammars already on the market, new ones will always be welcome, provided they offer suitable preparation for the study of French in college and for later study. Such is the case with the one in question. An examination of the book shows that the authors have not attempted to produce a novelty in the subject, nor to be radical in its treatment, but that they desire to present a manual that will enable the beginner to acquire as soon as possible, and in an interesting manner, an accurate knowledge of

¹This review was written in October, 1908.

the essentials of French. The initial statement in the Introduction is that "it has not been the intention of the authors to write a complete French grammar. They have rather sought to present the things most essential to a general knowledge of French." In this they have succeeded. The statements are generally clear and full enough, the sentences are practical, and are well graded, the verbs are presented early, and the most common irregular verbs are given as soon as can be done with safety. The exercises, both French and English, are long, and give an opportunity for plenty of drill and review. The authors have wisely included the phonetic symbols of the *Association Phonétique Internationale* to indicate pronunciation. It is probable that few teachers who have given a trial to this feature, will ever return to a grammar in which the pronunciation is not indicated in the vocabularies, for experience shows that, with such markings, the teacher is relieved of much useless explanation, and the student feels greater confidence and security in the preparation of his lessons. Interesting extracts for reading are introduced as soon as practicable, and the selections have been made with the purpose of avoiding hackneyed articles. The only one that comes to the teacher as an old acquaintance in the elementary stage is *La Dernière Classe*. The extracts are varied in character, consisting of short stories, history (for sight reading), and verse, and should be of interest to the beginner of whatever age. It is agreeable to note also, that the new rules for syntax have not been mentioned. Some of the recent publications for the American beginner have included these "tolérances," which is not well, for foreigners may not be innovators, and, until the French public have generally adopted these new rules, the student should be taught the established ones and no others. The Introduction explains fully the purpose of the authors and the plan of the book. The publishers' part of the work has been well done. The type is clear, and the page attractive. A Vocabulary, with phonetic transcriptions, and an Index conclude the volume.

Typographical errors are noticed as follows: P. 8, 1. 3, crème *r.* crème; p. 18, 2, le *r.* lə; § 36. 4b (ūbigyite) *r.* (ūbigyite), § 81 (§ 17) *r.* (§ 57); p. 41, 3 (el e) add (or e); § 66 (gə rə) *r.* (gə r5); § 74 (finisje) *r.* (finisje); p. 57, A6,

donniont *r.* donnions; § 104, lis, past def., *r.* lus, (li) *r.* (lu); p. 98, A13, compagne *r.* campagne; p. 100, 2, Eléonore *r.* Éléonore; p. 101, tu es (e) *r.* (ε), il est (e) *r.* (e or ε); p. 105 (məsjø) *r.* (mesjø), (lue) *r.* (lwe); p. 111, second col., (samyse) *r.* (samyze); § 117, tu te coupe *r.* tu te coupes; § 120, l'un, l'autre; les uns, les autres, remove commas; p. 131, 4 from bot., (ven5) *r.* (vən5); 141 (se) better (se); § 146, variable *r.* invariable; § 149, j'écrirai *r.* j'—; p. 151, 12, g'a a *r.* g'a; p. 160, second col., tu dois *r.* tu doives; § 165, 2, la *r.* là; p. 171, 7 from bot., entendu *r.* entendue; p. 194, oral 2, § 225; p. 234, 18, Å, remove accent; pp. 222, 227, 232, du Dindon *r.* de Dindon; p. 228, 17, lancai *r.* lançai; p. 232, 5, (byvə) *r.* (byvō); p. 239, épaix *r.* épais; p. 244, acquérrai *r.* acquerrai; p. 247, drop déchoyais, and insert dash; p. 249, gis *r.* git; p. 251, paissant, pais *r.* paissant, pais, paît; p. 253, résouds *r.* résous; p. 260, 1, JE *r.* Je; p. 268, 8 from bot., vécū *r.* vécu; p. 286, 13, mere *r.* mère; p. 320, 11, pou *r.* par; in the Vocabulary: (absəly, -mā, absyrd) *r.* ap- for ab-), (ene) *r.* (ene), (alsas) *r.* (alzas), Angelus *r.* Angélus, (ātropologi) *r.* (ātrōpologi), (apare:j) *r.* (apare:j), (aseje) *r.* (aseje), (asosje) *r.* (asosje), (ogsbu:r) *r.* (ogzbu:r), (avøgl) *r.* (avøgl), (ba:d) *r.* (ba:d), bailler *r.* bâiller, (bjēnēt:r) *r.* (bjēnē:tr), (bjevejā:s) *r.* (bjēve-jā:s), (bwa) *r.* (bwa), (ben) servant *r.* (bōn), (ʃkola) *r.* (ʃkōla), (sjəl) *r.* (sjel), (kəpapi, kəpapi) *r.* (k5—), (k5trə:r) *r.* (k5trə:r), (crime) *r.* (krime), (kryel) *r.* (kryel), (dəze:r) *r.* (deze:r), (desə:r) *r.* (dese:r), (efue) *r.* (efwe), (efase) *r.* (efase), (efare) *r.* (efare), (āgʒae) *r.* (āgaze), épaix *r.* épais, (espa:s) *r.* (espa:s), est(e) add (or ε), (establistmā) *r.* (etablistmā), (fabl) *r.* (fabl) cf. p. 5, (fōtē:m) *r.* (fōtē:n), (fue) *r.* (fwe), huit *r.* *huit, (il i) *r.* (il j), (ēkrwā-jabl) *r.* (ēkrwajabl), (ēdanite) *r.* (ēdamnite), (ine) *r.* (inne), (ēta) *r.* (ētakt), (luabl, lua:ʒ, luā:ʒ) *r.* (lw—), (me) mai *r.* (mē), (med(ə)sē, med(ə)sin) *r.* (metsē, metsin, or met-), (meprizabl) *r.* (meprizabl), (mesjø) *r.* (mesjø), (me:tr) mettre *r.* (metr), (mwa) mois *r.* (mwa), (mōstryø) *r.* mōstryø, (ostine) *r.* (əpstine), (əpinatrote) *r.* (əpinjatrote), (sozjem) *r.* (sezjem), (ytrek) *r.* (ytrekt), (trwa) Troyes *r.* (trwa), (vjer:ʒ) *r.* (vjerʒ), (vestfali) *r.* (vesfali).

Phonetic transcriptions are omitted from the lists in paragraphs 59. 1 and 69.

Uniformity is not observed in the phonetic treatment of mute *e* within the word : P. 333 (apøle), 345 (degøle), 357 (galøri), 371 (parvøni:r), and other examples in which the (ø) is expressed, while in many others it is suppressed ; 331 (afte), 332 (almã), 333 (amne), 347 (devløpmã), 350 (elve), etc. In the phonetic transcription of nouns in the vocabularies accompanying the lessons, the authors begin by indicating the pronunciation of the definite article before nouns having initial mute *h* or a vowel : (lekøl), Less. I. This is done generally, but, in a large number of instances, the article is not indicated in the transcription : (ãfã), Less. III, (amerik), IV, etc. The article should preferably be indicated in every case.

In the remarks on pronunciation the directions, altho approximate, are generally sufficient to start the beginner correctly, but *follow* and *hot*, § 7,2 are incorrect illustrations for (a). They are nearer (α) than (a).

Certain words are not in the proper vocabulary : travail, Less. IV, is not used until p. 49 ; quitter, used in XVIII, given in XIX ; règle, used in XIX, given in XXV. There are also omissions from the vocabularies : verbe, XII, donner, look (of rooms, etc.) XV, fond of, XVIII, stairway, XX, descendre, transitive, seat, chrétienté, XXII, return, XXV. Some of these are absent from the general vocabulary also.

There are a few careless errors in English : "only" should be placed before the word that it modifies : § 77, § 165, § 185, p. 214, B1, 9, etc. The usage here criticized is common in America, but the construction should be avoided. Correct "would" to "should," pp. 57 B7, 104. 16, 194 B8, and many others. "Whose" is a questionable word, § 157.

Paragraph 26. 1 should be rewritten and divided, as a general and a special statement are confusingly mixed. Insert "of nouns" after "case," § 50 ; also insert, "but are pronounced before names of months, beginning with a consonant" after "consonant," § 201. 1, l. 3. Omit "thereby becoming hard," § 98, or make a separate note. Insert *q* after *l*, § 6.

The punctuation of both French and English

sentences should receive attention and correction in many instances.

The feminine inflection of the past participle with *être* is used, pp. 36 A2, 39. 3, etc., in advance of the rule. Students will generally not recognize the adjectival function of the participle in this construction without explanation. The definite article is used with the noun in a general sense, Less. VII, without explanation. On p. 58, B3, 4, and in following exercises, the noun subject is used in interrogative sentences without illustrative models or explanation.

A serious omission in the book is the failure to explain the formation and use of the past indefinite, while the past definite is given in full, p. 59. As early as p. 37 the past indefinite is used in French, and the word "did" in English, but the tense is not discussed until p. 61, and then in only a short paragraph. The student does not get the drill that is necessary in the use of this tense, and is liable to gain the idea that it is a negligible tense. In the note, p. 123, rather late, however, attention is called to the necessity for the use of the past indefinite.

The errors mentioned can be easily corrected in future impressions, and the changes suggested can be made without difficulty, should the authors agree with the reviewer.

The grammar is well worthy of a trial in the class-room, and will doubtless prove, as already stated, to be a satisfactory manual for the preparation of students for college and for later work in French.

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The Poésies Diverses of Antoine Furetière. A partial reprint from the edition of 1664, edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossary, by ISABELLE BRONK. Baltimore, 1908. Large 8vo., xliii + 117 pp.

Furetière stands with posterity as the author of *Le Roman bourgeois*, though an inner circle can recall his *Dictionary*, of unlucky fame. But hardly any one now realizes that he was also a poet of considerable worth. His misfortune was to be obscured by Boileau, Racine, Molière

and La Fontaine, his companions and his intimates. Because of their greater talent Furetière's very respectable endowments were soon forgotten. His works were neglected, and with the exception of his novel and the documents relating to his quarrel with the Academy, they do not seem to have survived even his own existence. He surely deserved better of his countrymen, for he represents in literature the genuine French stock, Gallic if you will, and it is with a feeling of justice rendered to an able man that we welcome his return to the ranks of poets and satirists.

Miss Bronk has taken the material for her attractively printed volume from the second edition of the *Poésies Diverses*, which appeared in 1664, nine years after the first edition. It includes all the satires, epistles and elegies, and a fair proportion of the comparatively unimportant society verse. The satires are, of course, the most significant and the most interesting, with their keen ridicule of the professional classes of the day. Boileau, and also Molière, found in them many suggestions for their best compositions. The epistles and elegies combine with the customary proffers of homage a good-natured railery of Parisian manners and fashions. The society verse brings Voiture before us, but a more solid and an honest Voiture. The "Stances au Roy" might be cited in point, where after lauding Louis' deeds at arms the poet reminds the monarch that noble laurels may be won in other fields :

Assez par ses combats la France est renommée,
Contre elle seulement l'ignorance est armée,
Pren soin pour l'annoblir de cultiver les Arts :
De la Guerre et des Arts vient une gloire égale,
Et ce fut la Tribune, aussi bien que Pharsale,
Qui rendit si fameux le premier des Césars.

The text is prefaced by a lengthy Introduction, where the facts of Furetière's career are gathered together from all available sources, printed and manuscript, and subjected to a friendly scrutiny. Commentaries on the style and thought of his various publications, literary and linguistic, run in and out of the biography. A final chapter discusses the author's relations with Boileau.

Excellent notes are appended to the text, and also a well chosen glossary of unusual words and expressions.

The typography reproduces the spelling of the

original and thus subserves a linguistic purpose as well. We only question whether the old and arbitrary confusion of *v* and *u* is not needlessly disconcerting. The effort of the editor to revive an interest in Furetière, the poet, is successful in every way, and we hope that the present volume may be the forerunner of other selections from his works. For hardly a library in this country contains any of his verse, so helpful, however, to an understanding of the literary history of France under Louis XIV.

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Les Sources italiennes de la "Défense et Illustration de la langue française" de Joachim Du Bellay. Par PIERRE VILLEY. (Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance, ix.) Paris : Librairie H. Champion, 1908. Small octavo, pp. 162.

This little brochure is by the author of the three large and important volumes on Montaigne—on the Sources and the Evolution of the *Essais*—that appeared last Spring, and that gained for M. Villey the title of *docteur ès lettres*. The present work, small as it is, cannot fail to add to its young writer's already distinguished reputation. It has the same qualities of remarkable scholarship, keenness of perception and excellence of presentation that is to be found in his previous productions.

The object of this *étude* is to make known that the originality of thought and expression that has been ascribed to the '*Défense et Illustration*' is far less than has been believed : that, in fact, it amounts to very little. M. Villey has discovered—that word is here literally true—that not only the most important part of Du Bellay's famous argument for the use of the vulgar tongue, but the verbal expression of it is taken directly from a not very well-known Italian author—Sperone Speroni. Several of Du Bellay's chapters are simply translated from the Italian text.

This surprising news M. Villey prefates by an admirable and very interesting study of the influence of Italian writers on the Pléiade and on the

development of the French language in the sixteenth century.

But the little volume begins farther back than that, with a sketch of the development of the Tuscan tongue at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and points out that the emancipation of the Italian vulgar preceded by two or three generations that of the French vulgar. M. Villey gives interesting sketches of the men who wrought this work, and citations from their writings:—Leone Battista Alberti among the earliest. A hundred years later when the most original works were already clothed in Italian, the discussion regarding the superiority of Latin still continued, and Cardinal Bembo, who was counted among the pure Ciceronians, astonished the world of letters by openly taking sides with the "party of the barbarians," and became the principal defender of the Tuscan tongue.

Alberti had only claimed the right of the Italian language to existence. Bembo asserted that for certain subjects it should always be employed, and declared that the ancient languages no longer sufficed for modern needs.

Many minor questions arose in the debates on the principal points, and M. Villey describes the grammatical and orthographical labors that now were entered upon, while the fighting between Latin and Italian still continued. These later battles—skirmishes of varying fortune—were unimportant as regarded the cause in Italy; Bembo had secured its victory; but as regarded France, they were of moment. Their contemporary character not only attracted the attention of those Frenchmen who were rising to defend their own language, but they did not hesitate to borrow from their Italian brothers armor and weapons for the fight.

The most conspicuous of these Frenchmen was Joachim Du Bellay: henceforth indissolubly associated with him—thanks to M. Villey—is the Italian Sperone Speroni, a celebrity in his own day, whose dying fame is now suddenly revived. He was twenty-four years older than Du Bellay; and in 1542 there were published ten Dialogues by him. They had a great and immediate success; the Aldus press issued five new editions in the next four years. One of these Dialogues was "*Della Lengua*"; and of this Dialogue the

"*Deffense et Illustration*" is in great measure a translation. The ample and entirely convincing proofs of this are to be found in M. Villey's volume. He gives twenty pages of parallel passages and then prints in full Speroni's Dialogues.

He deals justly with Du Bellay and somewhat lightens the blow to his reputation dealt by the facts here set forth, by remarking that these borrowings should not be judged from our modern point of view. In M. Villey's words: "Du Bellay would have thought himself blameworthy had he borrowed phrases and whole chapters from a French author; but to despoil a foreign author, writing in a different language from ours, was to play the part of a good Frenchman—was to labor for the enrichment of our language."

GRACE NORTON.

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MODERN FRENCH LITERATURE.

MICHEL SALOMON: *Charles Nodier et le groupe romantique, d'après des documents inédits.* Paris: Perrin et Cie., 1908.

Great interest attaches to the publication of M. Salomon's *Nodier*, relieving, as it does, one of the most interesting figures in the French Romantic School. One is rather surprised that the task should have been left undone so long. No work of importance on Nodier has been published since 1867, the date of his daughter's *Souvenirs*; yet none of the minor Romanticists are more sympathetic, or more important in literary history.

This book is very carefully 'documenté,' and written in a style not without humour. A little over one-third of the volume is taken up with the life of Nodier. Much unpublished detail is here brought to light: the author has ransacked municipal records and old letter-files, verifying his dates and incidents with an almost philological patience. Less vivid than Mme. Menessier's reminiscences, M. Salomon's chapters give us, in recompense, a more complete portrait of the genial polygraph and bibliophile: we may follow him, a second La Fontaine, in his youthful wanderings in the Jura, read snatches of his

father's monitory letters, catch glimpses of his life at Sir Herbert Crofts', or at Laybach, or at Paris, presiding over the hospitable salon of the Arsenal. The last third of this biography seems rather slighted; twenty years are passed over in some ten pages. We regret, too, the charm of Mme. Menessier's more personal style, yet perhaps no more than M. Salomon himself, who frequently takes over her narrative almost word for word.

The second part of the volume treats of the Arsenal group, sketching in the host and raconteur that we have come to know in Dumas' *Mémoires*, then taking up consecutively some forty of those who at one time or another figured among the guests. Many forgotten glories, conservatives as well as Romanticists, pass before us in more or less vivid procession: they enter, pay their tribute of poem or compliment to Marie, have their discussion or their bon-mot with their host, and take their leave. Of their literary relations to Nodier, of their contributions to the feast of reason and the flow of soul,—as well as of Nodier's influence upon their productions—we find out, unfortunately, little or nothing. These are details one rarely finds in 'documents.'

The last third of the book takes up the works of Nodier. In such a volume, of course, only a sketch is possible: Nodier's publications fill a hundred columns in the *Manuel* of Vicaire. The sketch is in the main well done; yet those who do not possess Vicaire would have appreciated a condensation of his extended bibliography, printed in small type at the end of the volume. Aside from the usefulness of such a list, it would give, better than any possible statement, an idea of the manifold intellectual interests of this 'Juif errant de la littérature.' In the discussion of Nodier's fiction, which remains his principal title to remembrance, we might reasonably expect a somewhat more extended treatment, correlating it with the literature of its time; we find, for instance, no mention of *Lord Ruthven*, the original of the melodrama *Les Vampires*, the probable inspiration of Hugo's *Han d'Islande*, and the avatar of that sanguinary école féroce to which we owe *Clara Gazul*, *El Verdugo*, and *L'Âne mort*.

But it is easy to find fault, and M. Salomon has given us, on the whole, an admirable piece of

work. It is now left for some one to take up the question of Nodier's literary influence, not so much from 'documents' as from the works themselves.

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HISTORICAL GERMAN GRAMMAR.

Historical German Grammar. Vol. I. Phonology, Word-Formation, and Accidence. By JOSEPH WRIGHT, Ph. D., D. C. L., LL. D., Litt. D., Fellow of the British Academy, Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford. Oxford University Press, 1907. Pp. xvi + 314.

The distinguished editor of the *English Dialect Dictionary* believes that the comparatively small number of people who take a real interest in the scientific study of language is due chiefly to the lack of suitable handbooks written in English. To meet this want he has begun to edit *The Students' Series of Historical and Comparative Grammars*, of which the present is the initial volume. This volume has already been followed by an *Old English Grammar* by the editor and Elizabeth Mary Wright. A volume on historical German syntax is to be contributed by Dr. Fiedler.

Probably most persons interested in historical German grammar have a sufficient command of modern German to use works written in German; but Professor Wright has certainly succeeded in selecting the best results of German scholarship and in making an attractive and effective presentation of them for English-speaking students. There is, indeed, no equally useful book on the subject of similar size written in German, and German students with a sufficient command of English might use it to advantage. For its size, it contains an astonishing amount of accurate and useful information. The following remarks are not intended to detract materially from this praise.

In chapters IV-VI the author treats successively the OHG. Development of the General Germanic Vowel-System, the MHG. Development of the OHG. Vowel-System, and the NHG. Develop-

ment of the MHG. Vowel-System. This treatment, traditional since Grimm, was for the most part abandoned by Wilmanns, to advantage as it seems to the reviewer. It gives summaries of the conditions, as far as the vowels are concerned, for three more or less arbitrarily chosen points of time, but it makes it difficult for the student to obtain a clear idea of the history of each vowel and diphthong from the beginnings to the present. For instance, in order to account for the vowel-variation in *siech* : *seuche*, one has to look in §§ 77, 84, 85, 127, 136.

P. 17, § 23 : "Thus in Sanskrit and Old Greek the accent was predominantly pitch, whereas in the oldest periods of the Italic dialects, and the Keltic and Germanic languages, the accent was predominantly stress. This difference in the system of accentuation is clearly seen in Old Greek and the old Germanic languages by the preservation of the vowels of the unaccented syllables in the former and the weakening or loss of them in the latter." The student will naturally ask why the Latin then does not show the same weakening or loss of unaccented syllables as the Germanic languages.

The author does not in general expect the student to have a knowledge of phonetics or of comparative philology, but on p. 18 he says : "The quality of the accent in the parent language was partly 'broken' (acute) and partly 'slurred' (circumflex)." In the absence of further explanation these terms will be of little use to the student. Similarly on p. 232 the reader will be puzzled by the terms "imperfect presents" and "aorist presents," which, moreover, are not needed. P. 243 : "In OHG. perfective verbs like *bringan*, *findan*, *quëman*, *werdan*, did not have the prefix *gi-* in the past participle, nor did verbs containing an unaccented prefix corresponding to NHG. *be-*, *ent-*, *er-*, *ge-*, *ver-*, *zer-*, &c." This is unfortunately worded, for the latter verbs were of course all perfective. But will the student understand the term 'perfective' without further explanation? The doctrine of 'actionsarten' has not yet, as far as we know, percolated into the school-books; even the most complete recent treatment of German grammar, Professor Curme's, does not mention it, although it would be useful in explaining certain constructions in modern German.

We are puzzled by the statement, p. 21 : "In compound nouns the first element of which is used attributively, the accent varies according as the first or the second element of the compound is the more important, as *grössmutter*, *jungfrau*, but *viertelstunde*, *nordwest*, *südwest*, &c." The accent tends toward the first element in the same degree as the two elements combine into a true compound and become differentiated in meaning (and often in form), from the original collocation of words; there is as yet no difference in meaning between *eine viertel stunde* and *eine viertelstunde* corresponding to that between *eine junge frau* and *eine jungfrau*, hence the accent in *viertelstunde* is not yet established on the first element. Furthermore, it would be difficult to maintain that in *grössmutter* *gross* is more important than *mutter*, or even that it is more important than *viertel* in *viertelstunde*.

P. 28 : OHG. *dihan* is carried back to **þinḡ-anan*, older *þenḡanan*, while a little below OHG. *sizzen* is carried back to **sedjonom*. This inconsistency must trouble the learner.—P. 29, § 56 : The few clear cases hardly warrant the formulation of such a rule; this matter is not yet well enough understood.—P. 39, § 79, 'umlaut' is defined as "modification (palatalization) of an accented vowel through the influence of an *i* or *j* in the following syllable," and on p. 51, § 100, the school-grammar term "*u* umlaut" is used instead of '*i*-umlaut of *u*'; both will prepare the student but ill for the terminology which he will find in other scientific grammars, among them the author's own *Old English Grammar* (§§ 47 f.).—P. 39, § 79 : "The only vowel which underwent this change [umlaut] in OHG. was *a*." This is in part contradicted by what follows.—P. 44, § 81, note 3 : "In Alemanic (except Swabian) the monophthongs [*i*, *ü*, *iu*] remained until the early NHG. period." They are found in Hebel's *Alemannische Gedichte* (1803 and later), and are the rule in Southern Alemanic to this day.—P. 49 : "Rounded *ö*, *ü* and *äu* (*eu*) were not distinguished in pronunciation from unrounded *e*, *i*, *ei* until far into the eighteenth century." What should have caused the later distinction? These sounds were certainly originally distinguished, but in parts of Upper and Middle Germany, not everywhere by any means, unrounding took place, the first traces of this appearing in the twelfth century.

P. 86, § 182. It is not clear what is meant by "differentiated meanings in *einzel* beside *einzelnen*."—P. 87, § 185: "By ablaut is meant the gradation of vowels both in stem and suffix, which was caused by the primitive Indo-Germanic system of accentuation." Some kinds of ablaut, however, must be due to causes other than variation of accent.—P. 91, § 190. In the table of Indo-Germanic consonants the labialized velars are entirely omitted; the mention of them in a brief note hardly makes up for this omission in view of their importance for the explanation of many words.—P. 134, § 264: "MHG. *z* is written with voiceless *s* in NHG. *feist*," etc. This suggests a special character for voiceless *s*.—P. 139, § 276: "The prim. Germanic spirant χ from Indg. *k* became an aspirate (written *h*) initially," etc. But *h* is never properly an aspirate; cf. the definition of aspirate, p. 92, top.—P. 140, § 280. In the discussion of *h* as a sign of vowel-length we miss an explanation of the use of *th*.—P. 163, § 341. The altogether peculiar formation of the verbs in *-ieren*, in which the regular endings of the verb are attached to an infinitive form, ought to have been more clearly brought out.—P. 237, § 476: "In late MHG. the first pers. pl. came to be used for the third person, whence the NHG. ending." But there was also a purely phonetic tendency to drop the final *t*, as may be seen in MHG. in the present participle.—§ 478. The forms *komme lasse* are at least permissible by the side of *komm, lass*.—P. 238, § 479. It does not appear why **nomba*, **namōa*, **namd* should give **namt*; and the *-t* of the 2. sing. pret. in the preterit-present verbs thus remains unexplained.—P. 240, § 484. The *o* in the preterit singular of Class II is not only due to the past participle; many verbs had *ō* in the preterit singular from the beginning. Something should have been said about the chronology of levelling in the verbs; most people would be astonished to learn, for instance, that as late as 1668 Schottel, the most eminent grammarian of his time, teaches *ich band, du bundest, er band*.—P. 246, § 493. Here and in many other places we miss a suggestion of reasons for particular levellings. Why, for instance, did the first person singular follow the plural and the infinitive sooner than did the second or third person; why did forms like *fleugt, beut*

succumb to the influence of analogy sooner than *sieht, nimmt*? An explanation by analogy is incomplete as long as it does not show why *A* followed *B* rather than the reverse; and while the reasons are not always known as yet, even a hint as to what the problem is would be useful to the student.—P. 270, § 534. It is not clear what the author means by saying that in prim. Germanic a strong past participle was formed from the stem form of the plural of some preterit-present verbs; words like Gothic *aigin* n. or OHG. *eigan* adj., can hardly be called past participles.

It seems doubtful whether the phrase 'fall together,' which occurs frequently in the book (for instance: "in Bavarian *e* and *ē* fell together," p. 43) will be correctly understood by those not familiar with this sense of *zusammenfallen*; and similarly 'level out' will probably puzzle many readers, for instance, in "the following verbs have levelled out the consonant of the present and of the pret. first and third pers. singular" (p. 239, § 481), meaning that the consonant belonging to these forms has been substituted in the remaining forms of the verb for the consonant formerly belonging to these. A very good index adds to the value of the book.

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Modern German Prose. A Reader for Advanced Classes. Compiled and annotated by A. B. NICHOLS, Professor of German in Simmons College. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1908.

This Reader contains a series of short extracts which have the character of brief essays on a variety of subjects in the fields of literary criticism and biography, history, ethics, sociology, and science. They comprise concise and authoritative utterances by the most eminent specialists. Wilmanns, for instance, discusses Vogelweide; Ranke, Luther; Hebbel and ten Brink, Shakespeare; Biedermann, Goethe and Schiller. Grillparzer tells of Beethoven, Treitschke of Jahn, and Schmoller of Henry George. G. Curtius speaks of Jacob Grimm, and Jacob Grimm of his brother

Wilhelm. Bulthaupt reviews *Minna von Barnhelm*, and Kuno Fischer analyses *Faust*; Wagner describes programme music; and Paulsen, the German University. There are passages from Freytag and Nietzsche and Harnack. Mythology and linguistics are represented by Mogk, Behaghel, and Lyon. Among investigators whose view on scientific themes are cited appear Kirchhoff, Helmholtz, Wundt, and DuBois-Reymond.

At the beginning of each selection is a reference to its source, for identification and comparison. The notes are succinct, covering points of translation and the miscellaneous allusions in the text. There is no vocabulary. The preface contains suggestions for the use of the work.

The classic model for Professor Nichols's compilation is Paszkowski's *Lesebuch zur Einführung in die Kenntnis Deutschlands und seines geistigen Lebens*, first appearing in 1903, with a fourth edition, with notes added, at the end of 1908. Among other works of similar utility but of more limited range, might be mentioned Schönfeld's *German Historical Prose* and Tombo's *Deutsche Reden*.

The compilers of these useful productions deserve thanks for their efforts. The student who has labored faithfully through such selections will be rewarded by the acquisition of an enlarged vocabulary, and of an acquaintance with a variety of characteristic and stimulating literary styles, and with a rich range of intellectual interests. Both teacher and student alike would be benefited by the incorporation of such works at some point in the curriculum. The mastery of the 260 pages of Nichols's *Reader* would be of more vital value than the superficial perusal of many volumes of novels and plays,—a perusal which leaves the reader incompetent to grapple with the difficulties of thought and expression so often found in the writers of lofty and serious German prose.¹

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THE "FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD."

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In the March issue of *Modern Language Notes* is a paper on *The Four Daughters of God*,

in which regret is expressed for the omission from that dissertation of "two dramatic versions which are remarkable alike for their early use of the allegory and for their very early adaptation of the dramatic form to an allegorical theme—the two twelfth century Anglo-French moralities by Guillaume Herman and (possibly) Stephen Langton. Both are described by Ward (*Hist. of Eng. Dram. Lit.*, I, 25, 105), and by Chambers (*The Medieval Stage* II, 152)."

This regret is based upon a very natural misapprehension, due to the inaccuracy of Ward's statements which are drawn from Klein's *Geschichte des Dramas* (IV, 107-109), while Klein is in turn dependent upon de la Rue's *Essais sur les Bardes* . . . (II, 270-284; III, 5-11) for his account of this version. There are not two versions but one, though this is found in several manuscripts slightly differing in form. Nor can this version be regarded as a play, for the poem is written in narrative, not dramatic form. I have discussed it in my dissertation under the title, *La Vie de Tobie* (pp. 31-33), and have shown (in a footnote to p. 32) that its author was neither Guillaume Hermann nor Stephen Langton, but the well-known troubère, Guillaume le Clerc.

It is true that Ward (I, 25) does speak loosely of "two religious plays" by Herman and Langton. But from his description, later on (p. 105), of the former and of the manuscript in which it appears, it is clear that he is speaking of the poem in MS. Arundel 292, formerly known as MS. Norfolk 292, which I have included in my account of the *Vie de Tobie*. That Ward himself recognized that he had overstated the case is implied in the sentence, "The composition attributed to Stephen Langton treats the same theme with a relative intensity which, *could either of these works be credited with a dramatic purpose*, might be termed superior force of action" (p. 105).

Chambers, in his account of "two unprinted and little known French plays," merely echoes Ward. While admitting that "they are generally spoken of as literary exercises not intended for representation," he seeks to justify his mention of them as plays by saying that they might well find a place in the Miracle-play cycles as did the similar scene in the *Ludus Coventrie* of three hundred years later. The fact remains, however, that the poem as it stands is not in the form of a drama.

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¹The reader's attention is called to a careful review of Nichols's *Reader* by E. C. Roedder, appearing after the above notice was written, in *Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik*, Feb., 1909; a review which will be of much value in a revision of the *Reader*.—H. S. W.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXIV.

BALTIMORE, NOVEMBER, 1909.

No. 7.

THE MEANING OF *FEELDES* IN CHAUCER'S *KNIGHT'S TALE*, vv. 975-977.

"The rede statue of Mars with spere and targe
So shyneth in his whyte baner large
That alle the feeldes gliteren up and downn."

The correct meaning of *feeldes* in this passage has never been set forth with such convincing proof and clear illustration as to command the assent of all scholars. The true interpretation is the literal one—*plains*. But a competing interpretation—*heraldic fields* or *grounds*—enjoys the authority of Professor Skeat, and, probably for that reason, has gained considerable favor in school editions. Probably wishing to avoid the exaggeration—somewhat violent to modern minds—that goes with the literal use of the word, Professor Skeat explained it as an heraldic term, "the ground upon which the various charges are emblazoned" (vol. v, p. 63). In this explanation he is followed by the editors of the *Globe Chaucer* and by Mr. A. J. Wyatt.

The more obvious and correct interpretation of *feeldes gliteren up and down*,—"all the country round about shines with the reflection,"—is made by Professor Liddell in his note on the word (*Chaucer: The Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, etc., New York, 1902), though he cites no parallel for the exaggeration that seems to trouble Professor Skeat. Substantially the same is true of Mr. A. Ingraham's note (*Geoffrey Chaucer's The Prologue to the Tales of Canterbury*, etc., New York, 1902).

Mr. H. B. Hinckley (*Notes on Chaucer*, p. 57, Northampton, Mass., 1907) rejects Skeat's suggestion and correctly interprets *feeldes* as *plains*. He quotes several parallels from Middle Age writers, French and English, to show that "the glittering of the country with a splendid army" is a common-place in medieval literature. But these citations do not meet the difficulty. "The glittering of the country with a splendid army"

may well be a common-place in any literature that deals with martial themes, but the passage of Chaucer in question describes the country as glittering from light reflected from a single banner. Of the passages cited by Mr. Hinckley, the one that most resembles the lines in the *Knight's Tale* is that from Barbour's *Bruce* (VIII, 225-228):¹

"Thair basnetis burnyst var al brycht
Agane the sone [glemand] of licht,
Thair speris, thair pennownys, & thar scheldis
Of licht illumynit all the feldis."

Here the effect of a large armed force is described, and there is no parallel with the exaggeration of light and color reflected from a single object, as described by Chaucer. Mr. A. W. Pollard (*Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, The Knight's Tale*, p. 80, London, 1903), also has the correct interpretation of *feeldes*. He cites as a parallel *Anelida*, 40 ff. (Hippolyta):

al the ground about her char she spradde
With brightnesse of the beautee of her face.

This passage, however, descriptive of the effect of a lady's beauty, is obviously not susceptible of literal interpretation, and for that reason hardly serves to settle the point in question.

That the literal interpretation—all the country shines with the reflection—is the correct one, is proved by the following verses of the *Pereval* of Chrétien de Troies, which describes a similar reflection of bright colors from a raised object, upon the surrounding fields:

"Il vit un tref tendu
Lés le sourt d'une fontenelle;
Li très fut bians à grant merveille:
L'une partie fut vermelle,

¹For the sake of completeness I give Mr. Hinckley's other citations: *Kyng Alisaunder*, 1607-1608 (in Weber, *Metrical Romances*, vol. I, p. 70); *Chanson de Roland*, 3305-3308; *Guy of Warwick*, 2327-2328 (Ed. Zupitza, E. E. T. S. Ex. Ser. 42); *Fragment of the Song of Roland*, 452-454, E. E. T. S. Ex. Ser. 35); Froissart, ed. Baron Kewyn de Lettenhove, vol. II, p. 55, ll. 17-20.

Et l'autre, vert, d'orfrois bandée ;
 Desus ot une aigle dorée ;
 En l'aigle feroit li solaus,
 Qui moult estoit clers et vermaus ;
 Si rehusioient tuit li pré
 Del enluminement del tré."'

(Potvin edition, 1832-1840.)

I do not intend to suggest that Chaucer was a reader of Chrétien de Troies, but to show that the exaggeration of reflected light and color involved in a literal interpretation of v. 977 of the *Knight's Tale* existed in other medieval minds than Chaucer's. Doubtless other parallels can be found.*

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CHORLEY'S CATALOGUE OF COMEDIAS AND AUTOS OF FREY LOPE FELIX DE VEGA CARPIO.

II.

Capellan (El) de la Virgen. Written during the reign of Philip III; cf. the prophecy, fol. 140. Rouanet, in the *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 62, takes it for granted that the play was written after Valdivielso's *Auto de la descension*, October, 1616. The matter deserves a more careful study, more especially as in a question of inspiration it is more likely that Lope had priority.

Carbonera (La). A late play; cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Acad.*, IX, clxxvi.

Cegries y Bencerrajes. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Acad.*, XI, IX, notes that the play *La envidia de la nobleza*, is very much later than 1604; it is, in fact, a very late play.

*Koelbing, in his edition of *Beves of Hamtoun*, has a note to vv. 3700-3701 (E. E. T. S., Ex. Ser. 65, pp. 345-6), to which my attention has been called by Professor J. M. Manly. Besides several passages not mentioned above describing the brilliant effect of a large army: *King of Tars*, v. 155; *Le Morte Arthur*, 2370; *Guy of Warwick*, B. 2199; Koelbing cites one passage which exactly confirms my interpretation (*Partonope*, A. 1918 ff.):

"Aboute his nekk heng a sheelde
 So bryght of steele that alle the feelde
 Was enlymed wyth the bryghtnesse."

Celos (Los) sin ocasion. See *El mas galan portugueses*.

Cerco (El) de Santa Fe. Later than 1587; cf. Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxx, 221.

Comendadores (Los) de Córdoba. The autograph by Claramonte is quite different from Lope's play; cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Acad.*, XI, lix. Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxx, 227, suggests that Lope's play was composed 1582-87. It is known that the play was acted by Gabriel Nuñez, July, 1593.

Contra valor no hay desdicha . . . A very late play, as may be inferred from the closing lines:

Y aquí dió fin el poeta
 Que aun vive para serviros.

It is on record that the comedia was acted in the Retiro, April 6, 1636.

Contienda (La) de Diego García. The copy made in 1781, formerly in Duran's collection, is now in the National Library, Madrid. Lope signed this play February 15, 1600; cf. *Acad.*, XI, cxxv.

Cuentas (Las) del Gran Capitan. A very late work; cf. *Acad.*, XI, cxvi. The first part only is extant.

De Cosario á Cosario. 1618-21; cf. 483 (*Rivad.*).

Defensa (La) en la verdad. A comparatively early play, written before the accession of Philip III. It was acted (for the first time?) by Olmedo, whose career began about 1600. On the last folio occurs the phrase, *Por Dios que es lindo el don Diego* (a personage in the play); for other instances see *MLN.*, xx, 41.

Desconfiado (El). Published 1620 (approbation, Sept. 18, 1619). It was probably written shortly before, as it is not in P². The manner and style justify one in assigning it to about the year 1618. The play was acted by Ortiz.

Despertar á quien duerme. After 1609, as may be inferred from the attack on *Culteranismo* (*Rivad.*, 353). Certain scenes have a close parallel in Cervantes' interlude, *La elección de los alcaldes*.

Desposorio (El) encubierto. Leandro (Act III) says that twenty years before, his parents lived in Granada. He was studying, but had to leave, in consequence of a quarrel. He joined Juan Pacheco's company and took part,—like Lope,—in the expedition against the island of Terceira

(1583). The play was written probably about 1599–1603. It is cited in P.

Desprecio (El) agradecido. Published in *Obras sueltas*, x; I have, also, a *suelta*, Madrid, 1804.

Dineros son calidad. In *El premio del bien hablar*, Lope says:

“Dineros son calidad” como dijo el cordobés Lucano;
(*Rivad.*, 493.)

Acted 1623; cf. *El Averiguador*, I, 9, or Professor Rennert's reprint.

Dios haze Reyes . . . Pellicer, I, 161, quotes it, *Dios hizo* . . .

Discreta enamorada (La). The captain tells us (*Rivad.*, 159) that he was born in 1560, and is now old. This would bring us to about 1610, at least. P. 71 there is a reference to *La doncella Teodor*,—the play or the chap-book?

Domine Lucas. An early play, as is noted by Chorley. It may be of interest to add that Juan Marti refers to it in 1602; cf. *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España*, ed. Cotarelo y Mori, 441.

Donaires (Los) de Matico. There is no *gracioso*. The play seems to be an early one, as may be gathered from the considerable use of *terza rima* and the small amount of *romance*.

Don Juan de Castro. Was this play the source of *El mejor amigo el muerto*? The latter play was not written about 1610, as Hartzenbusch (*Calderon*, IV, 661) suggests, but considerably later. By no stretch of the imagination can the passage quoted there refer to Queen Marguerite (d. October 3, 1611).

Dos Estrellas trocadas . . . Published 1618, and written after the expedition to Bidasoa, Oct., 1615; see, moreover, Professor Rennert's *Life of Lope*, p. 226.

Duque de Visco. At the close the title reads *El gran duque de Visco*.

Ello dirá. There is no *gracioso*.

Embustes (Los) de Fabia. An old play, as may be gathered from the subject matter (such as Juan de la Cueva might have used), the style, and the versification (*redondillas*, *terza rima* and blank verse at great length, without any *romance*).

Escolastica (La) celosa. Written after 1590; note the reference to swords of the famous blade-maker, Francisco Ruiz (fol. 238). W. Boehmer, in *Meister der Waffenschmied*, 1897, says (p. 183)

that Francisco Ruiz (b. 1560?) began to work in Toledo about 1590. None of the many other books on Toledo swords are more precise. Lope refers again to Ruiz in *La Serrana de Tormes*, likewise an early play; see below.

Estrella (La) de Sevilla. A late work, at least in its present form, as it alludes to Velez de Guevara's *Diablo cojuelo*—published after Lope's death, but written, according to Bonilla y San Martín, 1630–37. The reference in Lope's play may well be an interpolation.

Exemplo (El) de casadas . . . The use of the old-fashioned royal octaves, a favorite strophe with the Juan de la Cueva school, might be noted.

Favor (El) agradecido. This, the earliest dated play (October, 1593) by Lope, has a *gracioso*. There is nothing Spanish about him, however. The strophic structure of the *comedia* is old-fashioned, but more varied than in Juan de la Cueva's plays,—*romance* occurs once. This play goes far to show that the New or Lopesque *Comedia* did not exist in 1593; certain elements were still lacking.

Felisarda. A spectacular production,—written for a *fiesta*? The considerable amount of octaves is puzzling; but as in many plays written after about 1600, or later, all the acts end in *romance*.

Flores (Las) de don Juan. The references to certain historical personages (*Rivad.*, 415) ought to help to determine the date.

Galán (El) escarmentado. Lost, but known as the source of Dryden's *Wild Gallant*; cf. Pitollet, *Le Siècle*, November 16, 1906.

Galán (El) Castrucho. *Suelta*, 1867.

Gallardo (El) Jacobin. But see Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxx, 217, who believes, with Schack, that this is an entirely different production from *El Gallardo Jazimin*.

Gallarda (La) Toledana. It has a *gracioso*. The play was written while the Court was at Valladolid (cf. fol. 58^{ro} and *passim*). As, moreover, it is not cited in P., it was probably written 1603–1606.

Genovés (El) liberal. Published 1614. To judge from the strophic structure (and other characteristics) it is considerably older. See *El Tirano castigado*, below.

Gloria (La) de San Francisco. It would be more correct to ask whether the *Gloria* can be the second part.

Gran (El) Duque de Muscovia. The date (1606-1616) is discussed in *Acad.*, VI, cxxxiii.

Guzmanes (Los) de Toral. Restori assigns it to the first years of the seventeenth century; cf. also, his remarks, *ZRPh.*, xxx, 227.

Hamete (El) de Toledo. Published 1617, but not cited in P². However, the play must have been composed shortly before the expulsion of the Moors from Valencia (note Act II). Madrid is referred to as the capital, which would fix an anterior date, 1606. That the play was written for a sinister purpose is evident from the following lines:

Noten los que esclavos tienen
desta tragedia el exemplo.

The play is badly constructed, and there is no dramatic justification for the love episode.

Hechos (Los) de Garcilaso. For arguments against Menéndez y Pelayo's contention that this is Lope's earliest play that has been preserved, see Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxx, 219.

Hermosa Fea (La). May this have been the source of the lost English play, *The Foul Fair one*, 1623?

Hermosura (La) aborrecida. H., II, 95.

Hombre (El) de bien. Francisco Comella's play with the same title is different.

Hombre (El) por su palabra. At least later than 1592, as "el doctissimo Mariana" is mentioned among historians (fol. 172^{vo}). Luzinda appears as a character.¹

Ilustre (La) Fregona. . . . Castillo Solórzano makes the following reference to the play in *Las Harpias en Madrid*, Barcelona, 1633 (licensed 1632):

"La comedia que con el se haze es del Fenix del Orbe Lope de Vega Carpio, intitulada Ilustre Fregona, y es tal, que durara algunos dias, con lo bien que representa aquel papel la mayor comica que aora se conoce que es Amarilia." (fol. 50^{va}).²

Infanzon (El) de Illescas. But note *Acad.*, IX, cxlii !!

Ingratitud (La) vengada. Cervantes cited this work as a regular play in *Don Quixote*, I, Chap. XLVIII. It was acted, moreover, by Osorio, *el*

autor antiguo, and may well go back to the years 1588-92.

Ingrato (El) arrepentido. Tancredo is a *gracioso*.

Inocente (La) Sangre. Published 1624. This may be an old play, but it must have been retouched as there is a reference to Villamediana's play *La Gloria de Niquea*, played April 8 (some say 15), 1622; noted by Hartzenbusch, p. 352c.

Isla (La) Barbara. Chorley insisted that this play belongs to Lope; cf. his *suelta* in *Brit. Mus.*

Jardin (El) de Falerina. P. In *Los peligros de la ausencia* (*Rivad.*, 407) we read:

Vine de Madrid, posé
En una casa vecina
Al jardín de Falerina,
Que mas encantada fué, . . .

Los peligros de la ausencia was composed before Calderon began to write (see below).

Jorge Toledano. Written 1595-7. Lope tells us that the part of the gallant was played by Salano, and that the comedia was performed by Porras (Porres). Salano was attached to Porras' company 1595-7. This date is confirmed by the strophic structure,—an increasing amount of *romance*, with considerable *terza rima*, blank verse and one octave.

Juez (El) de su misma causa. See next title.

Juez (El) en su causa. So in xxv; but at the close of the play and in *Parte veynte y ocho de comedias de varios autores*, 1634, *El Juez de su causa*. It was played by Avendaño (Lope?). To judge from the verse, it could not have been written long before 1600.

Jueces (Los) de Castilla. Menéndez y Pelayo reprints Moreto's play (*Acad.*, VII), believing it to be an adaptation of Lope's, which is lost.

Laura perseguida. Played by Porras: cf. *Jorge Toledano*, above.

Leal (El) criada. Julio is a *gracioso*.

Limpieza (La) no manchada. Written for a celebration held October 29, 1618; cf. *Acad.*, V, xlvii.

Llave de la honra. A late play, carefully constructed; Calderonian.

Locos (Los) de Valencia. Written, of course, after Lope's first visit to Valencia, 1588! That he had been impressed by the Insane Asylum there—and what sixteenth and seventeenth cen-

¹ Do all plays in which Luzinda appears belong to the Luzinda period?

² Now accessible in a reprint.

tury authors were not interested in studies of insanity?—is evidenced again in *El Peregrino*, *Libro tercero*.

One could wish to have more definite information about Carranza, alluded to p. 15 (ed. *Rivad.*) than is given in Walberg's notes to Juan de la Cueva's *Exemplar poético*, p. 100. Lope mentions him again in *El amigo hasta la muerte*, p. 344b; cf., also, *Tirso*, I, 146, VI, 174, Cervantes, *El Teatro*, ed. clas., III, 215. See Monreal, *Cuadros viejos*, 135.

P. 119 occurs the phrase *La bella malmaridada*, which may or may not be a reference to the play of this title.

Lo que ha de ser. *Suelta*, Madrid, 1804. Written probably not long before 1624.

Lo que hay que fiar del mundo. A tragedy, although called a comedia at the close. There is a kind of *gracioso*.

Lo que pasa en una tarde. Now accessible in Petrof's edition, 1906.

Marido (El) mas firme. Written not long before 1630; cf. *Acad.*, VI, lxix.

Marques (El) de las Navas. *Acad.*, XIII.

Marques (El) de Mantua. *Acad.*, XIII.

Martires (Los) del Japon. After 1617; cf. Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxii, 292.

Mas galan portugues (El). Probably the *Celos sin ocasion* of P²; cf. Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxix, 365.

Mas pueden celos que amor. Written after the Franco-Spanish marriages, 1615; cf. p. 178, ed. *Rivad.*

Mayor (La) desgracia de Carlos V. After 1625; cf. *Acad.*, XII, lvi.

Mayor (La) virtud de un rey. A late play, according to the closing lines:

Aquí, Senado,
Con mis fortunas acaba
La mayor virtud de un rey.
El poeta no se cansa
De servirlos, aunque ya
Le jubilaban las canas . . .

Compare the close of *Contra valor no hay desdicha*:

Y aquí dió fin el poeta,
Que aun vive para servirlos.

Medico (El) de su honra. Written about 1621-23; cf. Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxviii, 255-6.

Mejor (El) alcalde el rey. A late play; cf.

Acad., VIII, liv. See, also, Professor Rennert's *Notes on the chronology*, . . .

Mejor (El) mozo de España. Only the first part is known. Written about 1611; cf. Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxix, 364.

Milagro (El) por los celos y don Alvaro de Luna. Referred to, by its sub-title, in *La moza de cantaro*, p. 560 (*Rivad.*), which latter play was written about 1625-6 (see below).

Milagros (Los) del desprecio. See, also, Stiefel, *ZRPh.*, xv, 220.

Mocedad (La) de Roldan. Not before 1596; cf. *Acad.*, XIII, lxiv ff.

Moza (La) de cantaro. The date can be determined more closely by the reference on page 556 (ed. *Rivad.*), as 1625-6 (other allusions abound). The parallel sonnet in the *Corona Trágica* (1627) is likewise noted by Hartzenbusch.

Nacimiento (El) del Alua. Stiefel thinks this is *El Nacimiento* cited in P.; cf. *ZRPh.*, xv, 223.

Noche (La) toledana. Written 1605, as reference is made (p. 208, *Rivad.*) to the birth of Philip IV, April 8, 1605. The play is often alluded to by contemporaries; e. g., in *El Caballero de Olmedo*, ed. Schaeffer, 329; *Tirso*, *Desde Toledo á Madrid*, Act III, Sc. II, etc.

Díaz de Escovar, in *Apuntes escénicos cervantinos*, repeats some stuff and nonsense from Castro about the date of this play, and deductions based thereon.

Nueva (La) victoria del Marques de Santa Cruz. *Acad.*, XIII; about 1604.

Obras son amores. The close is interesting:

Y yo en nombre de Velardo
os prometo seys [comedias] tan bellas,
como lo dirà la Pasqua,
si aquí estamos la Quaresma.

Restori detects an allusion to this play in Juan de Caxes' *Los trabajos de Joseph*, ed. 1902, p. 19; the date of Lope's play would then be 1604-9. It is very doubtful whether such a casual expression as "*obras y amor juntas veo*" can allude to Lope's comedia. Restori notes that there is an auto with the same title. Barrera (p. 570) quotes a play by Carvallo de Figueroa, *Obras son amores, y no buenas razones*. The expression was proverbial.

Ocasion (La) perdida. Published 1609, and

alluded to, some years later, by Tirso in *Quien calla, otorga*:

La culpa tiene tu fama ;
que el Castigo del pensque
y Ocasión perdida, pasa
de boca en boca en la corte . . . (V. 262.)

Octava (La) maravilla. Published 1618. This play contains considerable praise of *El Escorial*. On fol. 153 we are informed that it was thirty-eight years in the building. As work was begun 1563, the remark must have been made after 1601; but the court is at Madrid (163^{vo}), i. e., after 1606. The posterior date is determined by a reference (170) to Queen Marguerite, possible only before 1611 when she died. Other allusions abound in this extravaganza.

Padrino (El) desposado. Cited in P. It was written after 1598, as may be gathered from a prophecy in which allusion is made to Philip III (fol. 339).

Palacios (Los) de Galiana. *Acad.*, XIII.

Pastoral (El) albergue. Doubtful; cf. *Acad.*, XIII.

Pastoral (La) de Jacinto. First (?) play that Lope wrote in three acts, and, therefore very early; cf. *Acad.*, v, lix.

Peligros (Los) de la Ausencia. Refers (p. 407, Rivad.) to the play (?) *El Jardin de Falerina*,³ written before 1603. The attacks on *culteranismo* (p. 420 and *passim*) show that the comedia was written considerably after 1609. On p. 421 occurs a significant passage:

Porque de falsos hay tantos
Que no está seguro un hombre,
Aunque tenga órdenes sacros.

This would apply to Lope only about 1608 and after. In corroboration of the opinion that this is a personal reference, attention may be called to the considerable number of passages in this play which seem directed against the dramatist's enemies and detractors, e. g.:

Dichoso el lisongero ó maldiciente
Coronista de vicios de señores,
Que no le cuesta nada aquella prosa
Mas helada que nieve Galatea. (P. 416).

Peribañez y el comendador de Ocaña. Menéndez

y Pelayo observes that this play was written 1609–1613 (I have put back the posterior date by one year because the volume in which the play appeared was licensed 1613); *Acad.*, x, lx and *ed. Rivad.*, 296ⁿ.

Perseo (El); *La Fabula de Perseo, etc.* Is this the play alluded to by Cervantes, *Obras*, II, 283? The letter in which the allusion occurs was written 1606, and is ascribed to Cervantes.

Piadoso (El) Veneciano. No gracioso.

Piedad (La) ejecutada. Lope tells us that he was induced "a inquirir entre mis escritos, caudal de la pobreza de un ingenio, algun papel de los que en mi juventud salieron con algun aplauso en este genero" The strophic structure likewise indicates that this is an early play. It is not cited in P.; but it is, doubtless, the same play as *Los Pimenteles y Quiñones* there cited. Don Fernando de Quiñones and Don Juan Pimentel are the chief personages.

Pobreza no es vileza. Had Chorley never read the dedication of *La pobreza estimada* (cited in P.) and its attack on *culteranismo*? It is a late production; cf. *Acad.*, XII, cxlv. Acted July 29, 1626, (for first time?).

Pobrezas (Las) de Reynaldos. 1597–8; cf. *Acad.*, XIII, lxxxiii.

Poder (El) vencido y amor premiado. Published 1618. It contains the following reference to Guillen de Castro:

Criado.
Aurá comedia?
Fabricio.
Tambien.

Criado.
Vna compuso Guillen,
mas es para los oydos,
no tiene para los ojos.

Fabricio.
Los ojos sentidos son,
y darles gusto es razon.

Criado.
Muchos reciben enojos
desto de tramoyas y vigas. (Fol. 273^{vo}).

It is obvious that this was written during the second decade of the century when there was a marked development in the use of stage-machinery. The play, moreover, makes an extravagant use of disguises.

Ponces (Los) de Barcelona. *Acad.*, IX.

Por la puente, Juana. A late play; note, for

³ For this garden, cf. Schmidt, *Die Schauspiele Calderon's*, 292–6. Calderon's play of the same title is much later.

instance, the type of *gracioso*, as, also, the attack on Gongorism (p. 543, ed. Rivad.).

Porfia (La) hasta el temor. A late play (third or fourth decade of the century) as it was performed by Roque de Figueroa.

Porfiando vence amor. H., III, 237.

Porfiar hasta morir. A very late play; cf. *Acad.*, x, xxxix, and Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxix, 358. The title was proverbial, and is often met with in seventeenth century literature.

Portuguesa (La) y dicha del forastero. Cited in P². It refers (*passim*) to the royal marriages, October, 1615, as to a recent event.

Prados (Los) de Leon. H., iv, 434.

Premio (El) del bien hablar. The jibe at *cultos* (p. 503, ed. Rivad.) sets an anterior date (1609); the play is not cited in P². Played shortly before Nov. 18, 1625; cf. *El Averiguador*, i, 10.

Premio (El) de la hermosura. Written for a celebration in the Lerma Park, November 3, 1614; cf. *Acad.*, vi, ix.

Primero (El) Medicis. Not lost, cf. Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxiii, 454.

Príncipe (El) perfeto. A third part was promised. Restori maintains that the autograph is of the year 1616, *ZRPh.*, xxix, 365.

Prision (La) sin culpa. Tristan is a *gracioso*. As Madrid is referred to as the capital, the play was apparently written before 1601.

Querer la propia desdicha. Hartzbusch (p. 270n.) says this play was written after 1609.

Reina (La) Juana de Napoles. There is an old manuscript in the National Library, Naples; cf. Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxiii, 453.

Rey (El) sin Reino. There is a *gracioso*. Before 1630; see Morel-Fatio, *Études*, III, 181.

Rustico (El) del cielo. Written about 1599; cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Acad.*, v, xxxiv.

San Adrian y Santa Natalia. Note Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxii, 294.

Santo Tomas de Aquino. Note Restori, *ibid.*

Selva (La) sin amor. 1629; cf. *Acad.*, v, lxxix.

Serrana (La) de Tormes. An early play, but not necessarily retouched. The reference to a Francisco Ruiz blade (cf. *La escolástica celosa*, above) shows that it was composed after 1590.

Servir á señor discreto. P². The expulsion of the Moors (1609-10) is alluded to (p. 72, ed. Rivad.).

Si no vieran las mugeres! A late play (acted May 1, 1633) as may be inferred from the following lines:

Emperador.

¿Aun viven Belardos?

Belardo.

¿No habéis visto un árbol viejo,

Cuyo tronco, aunque arrugado,

Coronan verdes renuevos?

Pues eso habéis de pensar,

Y que pasando los tiempos,

Yo me sucedo á mí mismo. Rivad., 579.⁴

Soldado (El) amante. No *gracioso*. It seems to be an early work, as it was played by "*Osorio, autor antiguo y famoso*"; but in the *Peregrino* (ed. *Obras sueltas*, p. 462) we are told that Alcaraz performed it. Professor Rennert says, in *Actors and Actresses*, (p. 91): "He was an actor in the company of Osorio (Rodrigo?) in July, 1594, but had a company as early as 1596."

Tercera (La) orden de san Francisco. Lope wrote the first act and part of the third; the rest was the work of Montalvan. It was played by Roque de Figueroa and Arias; the latter was in the former's company 1631, which may very well be the date of the play.

Testigo (El) contra sí. Published 1615 (approbation 1614). Reference is made (fol. 230^{vo}) to "*Sancho y su rocín*"; later (fol. 234) Valladolid is alluded to as the seat of the *Consejo Real*. The play was, therefore, composed 1603-4-6, or, more probably, 1605-6.

Testimonio (El) vengado. The presence of an allegorical personage (Aragon) indicates that this is an early production. The rule is not infallible.

Tirano (El) castigado. Do the following lines refer to the play *El Genoves liberal*?

Soy Ginoues liberal,

hombre noble y principal

y de quien fiarte puedes. (Fol. 217^{vo}).

Traicion (La) bien acertada. The strophic structure (e. g. royal octaves) is old-fashioned. The Philip referred to (fol. 139) is undoubtedly Philip II (d. 1598).

Tres (Los) diamantes. *Acad.*, XIII. Crispin is a *gracioso*, and enters "*de graciosidad*."

⁴ A somewhat similar reference is made to the author's age in *Peribanez* (1609-14).

⁵ The interrogation mark ought to be deleted.

Vandos (Los) de Sena. A late play.

Vargas (Los) de Castilla. Written about 1604; cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Acad.*, x, cvii; but note, also, Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxix, 364.

Vellochino (El) de oro. Written for a celebration, May 15, 1622; cf. *Acad.*, vi, lii. This play is, therefore, different from *El Bellocino dorado*, played 1590; cf. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, . . . p. 27.

Venganza (La) venturosa. Published 1618 (approbation 1617). As it was written in the seventeenth century, it may be noted that Madrid is referred to as the capital (*i. e.* after 1606). The relation of this play to Guillen de Castro's *Las mocedades del Cid* ought to be determined.

Ventura (La) sin buscalla. *Concetos* are satirized.

Ventura (La) de la Fea. Chorley's copy is more probably a *suelta* of the last decades of the seventeenth century; cf. *MLN.*, 1905, 39n. Restori, in *Piezas de títulos de comedias* (p. 134) gives reasons for attributing the play to Mira de Amescua.

Vida (La) de San Pedro Nolasco. Written after 1621; cf. *Acad.*, v, ix.

Vida (La) y muerte de Santa Teresa. For an autograph (fragment), see Restori, *ZRPh.*, xxii, 283.

Villana (La) de Getafe. Published 1620 (approbation 1619). Written after the expulsion of the Moors (1609-10); cf. fol. 45.

Virtud, pobreza, y muger. Cited 1618; refers to the expulsion of the Moors (p. 220, etc., *ed. Rivad.*).

Viuda, casada y doncella. Published 1617 (approbation 1616). It refers (fol. 198) to Osuna's departure for Naples, 1616.

Viuda (La) valenciana. P. There are allusions (p. 74, *ed. Rivad.*) to contemporary writers, but they serve only to indicate that the play was composed after 1591. Professor Rennert (p. 263) tells us that it was written about 1619!

Zelos (Los) de Rodamonte. *Acad.*, xiii.

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JOHN CHURTON COLLINS—A REVIEW.

The death of Professor John Churton Collins of the University of Birmingham, England, on September the fifteenth 1908, under circumstances somewhat obscure, ended the career of one who had been very prominent in the literary and educational world for the last twenty years. He was a man of temperamental peculiarities, and his death is lamented by many special admirers. His prominence and the ideas for which he stood make a review of his life and work pertinent at this time.

John Churton Collins, son of Henry Ramsay Collins, a surgeon, was born at Bourton-on-the-Water in Gloucestershire, on the twenty-sixth of March, 1848. After spending some time in King Edward's School, Birmingham, he was sent to Balliol College, Oxford, where he matriculated in 1868. The student of Collins' later career looks with a good deal of satisfaction upon this fact of his entrance at Balliol, for he thinks he finds in it explanations of some of Collins' subsequent ideas. For Balliol College from 1865 on was the leading college in Oxford, and in Balliol, Benjamin Jowett, who was elected Master midway in Collins' course, was the leading spirit. Most of the popularizing tendencies in late nineteenth century English education either had their rise at Balliol, or were most warmly supported there. Public libraries, university extension, the opening of Oxford examinations to non-resident Englishmen, the reduction of the expense of an university course, all occupied much time in the discussions of the Balliol Common-room. And it is in these topics that we find Collins greatly interested later on, as the titles of his magazine articles show.

"As Professor of Greek, Jowett felt that the language and literature of Greece were a trust committed to his care. He desired above all things to see the study of Greek placed on what he thought a sound basis, and pursued in a manner likely to produce good fruit. He thought that little could be done in elucidating difficult passages in Greek authors; in spite of all the ingenuity which had been brought to bear on them, the interpretation was still uncertain. He often spoke of Greek as the most difficult language in the

world, not because our texts were corrupt, but owing to the subtlety of the thought and the unfamiliar associations of words. The attempt to remove such difficulties by 'emendation' was to him intolerable; and his aversion to this 'curse of Greek scholarship' increased with years. He would have nothing to do with such *novæ tabulae*. The best hope of a commentator lay in a careful study of the author, of his use and combination of words; and for this reason Jowett wished to see each of the great Greek authors provided with a special grammar and lexicon.

"But scholarship in the stricter sense of the word was only a part of Jowett's Greek studies, and by no means the most important part. He wished to see Greek ideas in contact with modern, and it was with this view that he insisted so strongly on the value of translations. That much is lost in translating from one language to another, he would readily have confessed; no one knew better than he that English words have not the same associations as Greek, and cannot be arranged in the same order. Yet a translation is still the best means of introducing the Greek author to the English reader; and if we wish to know what the Greeks really thought, it is better to read what they wrote, than what has been written about them."¹

Collins speaks several times of Jowett in his writings and always with the greatest respect. In this connection there is extant an interesting letter from Jowett to Collins when the latter was on the eve of entering upon his long controversy about the teaching of English at Oxford, which I shall quote later.

But I am anticipating. I cannot find by reference to Oxford records that Collins was remarked in College as proficient in any one study. He took no honors and appears in the class list of the examiners in history and jurisprudence as of second rank. From the date of his graduation in 1872 to 1904, Collins was a successful university extension lecturer and writer for the reviews. In 1904 he became Professor of English Literature in the University of Birmingham.

Beginning in 1874, he published seventeen vol-

umes, most of them made up of articles reprinted from the magazines. These books may be roughly classified as follows:

1. Editions of English authors. This group includes: *The Plays and Poems of Cyril Tourneur*, 1878; *The Poems of Lord Herbert of Chichester*, 1881; *The Satires of Dryden*, 1893; *A Treasury of Minor British Poetry*, 1896; *The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene*, 1899; *The Early Poems of Tennyson*, 1900; *Samson Agonistes*, 1902; *An English Garner*, New Ed., Vol. I, *Critical and Literary Fragments*, with an Introduction, 1903-4; *The Utopia*, 1904; and *Merope*, sometime after 1905; I was unable to get the exact date. Of these I have seen all except the *Greene*, the *Samson Agonistes*, and the *Merope*, but I shall not dwell on them. They are commendable for the soundness of their text-criticism, and for their insistence on the idea that accurate comparison of variant readings is a good training in taste and scholarship. The annotation in general is meager.

2. Critical essays, biographical, historical, expository. Here would fall: *Sir Joshua Reynolds as a Portrait Painter*, 1874; *Bolingbroke and Voltaire in England*, 1886; *Dean Swift, a Biographical and Critical Study*, 1893; *Essays and Studies*, 1895; some of the *Studies in Shakespeare*, 1904; and *Studies in Poetry and Criticism*, 1905. *The Sir Joshua Reynolds as a Portrait Painter* I have not seen, but have examined the rest, and of them all I should say that an essay on Theobald in *Essays and Studies* and one on *The True Function of Poetry* in his last volume are the most significant. That on Theobald is a kind of essay very much needed in English work, for it gives the state of Shakespearian criticism before Theobald and then shows what advances he made. If for every scholar of first rank in every department of English scholarship we had such essays, we should have reason to congratulate ourselves. The discussion of *The True Function of Poetry* is a plea for a more serious consideration of the real place of poetry in civilized life. The poet should be more than 'the idle singer of an empty day'; restore him to the position he held among the ancient Greeks. As Lessing said, "Besseren sollen uns alle Gattungen der Poesie: es ist kläglich, wenn man dieses erst beweisen

¹See *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, ed., Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell, Vol. 2, p. 413.

muss; noch kläglicher ist es wenn es Dichter giebt die selbst darum zweifeln.'"³

3. Essays in practical criticism: that is to say, essays on the study and teaching of literature. In this section I should place: *The Teaching of English Literature*, 1891; *Illustrations of Tennyson*, 1891; *Ephemeris Critica*,² 1901; and some of the articles in *Studies in Shakespeare*, 1904; besides many magazine articles and some of the prefaces to his books. This I consider the most important part of Collins' work, and the remainder of this paper will be devoted to it.

The most prominent characteristic of these writings is an outspoken dissatisfaction with modern results and methods in criticism, which frequently reminds one of the attitude assumed by the quarterly reviewers of the early nineteenth century toward contemporary literature. This trait comes out as early as 1878, when in the introduction to *The Plays and Poems of Cyril Tourneur*, Collins writes, "That Shakespeare was but the sun of a mighty system, and had necessarily eclipsed in his meridian splendor the glories of his satellites, was idly conjectured by the acutest critic of the eighteenth century, and has been exactly verified by the conscientious industry of our own. The unerring taste and nice discernment of a Lamb, the searching and comprehensive criticism of Coleridge, the impetuous enthusiasm and analytical subtlety of Hazlitt were fortunately directed to the noble task of remembering their forgotten countrymen, of recognizing and resuscitating buried merit, and of doing justice where justice had been so long and so shamefully deferred. When such illustrious leaders undertake and consecrate a cause, they are not likely to want followers; though it too often happens that the follower succeeds to the cheap heritage of the enthusiasm without succeeding to any share in the discernment of his master. The keen and cultured discrimination of a Lamb can sift the treasure it discovers; but to the omnivorous voracity of the Dibdens and the Shakespeare societies indirectly called into being by him, all is equally acceptable and all equally valuable. Criticism dies, and Bibliography, its bastard child, is born; fruitful investigation ends, and a barren mania

begins."³ A similar accusation is made in an article reviewing Symonds' *The Predecessors of Shakespeare* (1884), afterwards republished in *Essays and Studies* (1895), and Mr. Swinburne is named as the founder and leader of this school of critics."⁴

The same charge is repeated so often in *Ephemeris Critica* as to become wearisome; but the fact that the pieces gathered in that book were written at intervals of years should mitigate our feeling to some extent. I shall quote part of a typical paragraph from *The Present Functions of Criticism*: "... Criticism is to Literature what legislation and government are to States. If they are in able and honest hands all goes well; if they are in weak and dishonest hands all is anarchy and mischief. And as government in a Republic, the true analogy to the sphere of which we are speaking, is represented not by those who form the minority in its councils, but by those who form the majority, so in criticism, it is not on the few, but on the many among those who represent it, that its authority and influence depend. And what are its characteristics in the hands of its prevailing majority, in the hands of those who are its legislators in a realm co-extensive with the reading world? It is not criticism at all. To criticism, in the true sense of the term, it has no claim even to approximation. It seems to have resolved itself into something which wants a name,—something which is partly dithyramb and partly rhetoric. Without standards, without touchstones, without principles, without knowledge, it appears to be regarded as the one calling for which no equipment and no training are needed. What a master of the art has called the final fruit of careful discipline and of much experience is assumed to come spontaneously. A man of literary tastes is born cultured. A critic, like a poet, is the pure product of nature. Such canons as these 'critics' have are the mysterious and somewhat perplexing evolution of their own inner consciousness, or derived, not from the study of classical writers in English or in any other language, of all of whom they are profoundly ignorant, but from a current acquaintance with the

³ P. xi.

⁴ See pp. 97 and 100.

³ This has gone through four editions.

writings of contemporaries, who are, in intelligence and performance, a little in advance of themselves. But what they lack in attainments they make up in impudence. The effrontery or some of these 'critics' whose verdicts, ludicrous to relate, are daily recorded as 'opinions of the Press,' literally exceeds belief. They will sit in judgment on books written in languages of whose very alphabets they are ignorant. They will pose as authorities and pronounce *ex cathedra* on subjects literary, historical, and scientific of which they know nothing more than what they have contrived to pick up from the works which they are 'reviewing.' Their estimates of the books, on the merits and demerits of which they undertake to enlighten the public, correspond with their qualifications for forming them. Books displaying in their writers the grossest ignorance of the very rudiments of the subjects treated, and literally swarming with blunders and absurdities, all of which pass undetected and unnoticed, are made the subjects of elaborate panegyrics, which would need some qualifications if applied to the very classics in the subjects under discussion. Books, on the other hand, of unusual and distinguished merit are dismissed summarily in a few lines of equally undeserved depreciation; books written in the worst taste and in the vilest style are pronounced to be models of both. Sobriety, measure, and discrimination have no place either in the creed or in the practice of these writers. They think in superlatives; they express themselves in superlatives. It never seems to occur to them that if criticism has to reckon with Mr. Le Gallienne it has also to reckon with Shakespeare; that if it has to take the measure of Mr. Hall Caine, it has likewise to take the measure of Cervantes and Fielding, and that of some dozen prose writers and poets, it cannot be pronounced, at the same time of each, that he is 'the greatest living master of English prose,' or 'without parallel for his superlative command of all the resources of rhythmical expression.' There is one accomplishment in which these critics are particularly adroit, and that is in keeping out of controversy, and so avoiding all chance of being called to account. For this reason they deal more in eulogy than in censure, for the public is less likely to complain of a bad book being foisted on them for a good

one, than its irate author to sit silent under reproof."⁵

Modern criticism is thus charged with being exaggerated in style and insane in judgment. It is interesting in this connection to note that Collins has very few reviews among his works of living poets, dramatists, or novelists; but that, when he does write on that sort of subject, his own style is frequently touched with these degenerate qualities. As an example, I should mention the appreciation of Mr. Stephen Phillips' poetry in *Ephemera Critica*.⁶

What is the cause of this sad state of affairs in modern criticism? would be a logical question to ask Collins at this juncture. But he has anticipated us and is ready with his answer. "The cause," he replies, "is to be found in the way in which English Literature has been treated at the universities. For a long time neglected altogether and now taught in an exceedingly senseless manner." If we press him to tell us just how present methods of teaching English are senseless, he would respond, "In two ways, first, in over-emphasizing language study at the expense of literature, and, secondly, in not teaching English in its relation to Greek and Latin classical literature and to the literatures of Italy, France, and Germany."

Collins' writings on this subject cover the whole period of agitation and struggle over the introduction of Modern Literature into Oxford, beginning with the letter from Jowett, referred to before, and coming down to 1900. His most extended treatment of the subject is *The Study of English Literature* (1891), but the various chapters of the book had most of them appeared in magazines three or four years before. The book is a campaign document at once destructive and constructive, and has two main theses: first, that English deserves to be taught as literature, not as language; second, that English can be studied only in relation to classical and foreign literature. The former is set forth with argument and the quotation of opinions from leading Englishmen, and the latter is illustrated by a somewhat detailed examination of the indebtedness of particu-

⁵ See *Ephemera Critica*, 4th ed., pp. 26-28.

⁶ P. 294 seq.

lar books in English literature to foreign sources, and by a comprehensive course of study, arranged according to Collins' idea of what an ideal course would be. In the doctrine and structure of the book the influence of Jowett is to me quite patent. Collins had evidently written to Jowett for advice as to the conduct of his campaign, and the following is the reply :

November 29, 1886.

We have had a meeting of our Committee of Council about the final School of Modern Language and Literature. I am not at liberty to tell you the precise conclusions at which we arrived until they have been voted upon by Council. But I think that we shall probably maintain the claims of literature to be equal with those of language; and the inseparability of ancient and modern literature.

I think that of the plans which you mention by far the best is the article in the *Quarterly*, which will be in plenty of time to influence the question if it appears in the January number. . . .

Your article might touch (1) on the importance to the study of Classical Literature of its association with modern, because that gives a new interest to it. It is getting in some respects worn out, and that would breathe a new life into it. (2) On the necessity of the knowledge of the classics for the intelligent study of modern literature—far greater clearly than the study of the early stages of English literature, even of Chaucer, with that view.⁷

The University was compelled to yield to the popular demand for the inclusion of English in its curriculum, and established the new Merton chair of English Language and Literature. There was a considerable struggle over the incumbent; but A. S. Napier was finally elected. This meant defeat to Collins, for Mr. Napier is a philologist, and the controversy was by no means over. Collins continued his writing and probably the best summary of the whole matter is to be found in the first essay on *English Literature at the Universities* in *Ephemeris Critica*, which consists of censure of the English course to be followed at Oxford and a critical examination of its provisions.

Any sound judgment of Collins' strictures on the regulations for the Honor School in Literature should, naturally, be based on a study of the actual requirements of the school. Perhaps the most tangible test of those requirements is to be found in the papers set for the examination of candidates for degrees. I find that incidental

provision is made for most of the subjects demanded by Collins; but that, as he says, instruction in the classics and in the theory of criticism is omitted. To leave the comparative study of English elective is, in Collins' view, to omit it.

In conclusion, I should say that, as a critic, Collins stands for two things, the first of which is the possession of convictions and principles relating to the judgment of literature, coupled with free and forcible expression of the same. Except perhaps in the case of living writers, he never ventures an opinion off-hand; his decisions are backed by wide and reflective reading. He impresses me not as a critic by inspiration, but one by training.

Secondly, Collins stands for the continuity of literature. Homer is as much our heritage as he was the early possession of the contemporaries of Pisistratus. But literature, to Collins, has an esoteric significance; it means the critical tradition from Plato and Aristotle down to our own day. As the latest product of this tradition, the modern critic is to understand and speak "the best that has been known and thought in the world," freely, sincerely, and as a duty.

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CONCERNING THE TELL SOLILOQUY.

In his article entitled *Zu Tells Monolog* (*Modern Language Notes*, November, 1908) Prof. Charles H. Handschin points out what he considers to be a series of related resemblances between the monologue situation in Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (act 4, scene 3) and that of Wallrad von Sponheim, in Maler Müller's *Golo und Genoveva* (act 2, scene 5). After carefully reading Handschin's presentation of his case, I feel compelled to take issue with him. It seems to me that the relations existing between Schiller's *Tell* and the older 'Tell' stories should, from the nature of the case, take precedence over such necessarily problematical parallelisms as Handschin points out. This is all the more true in the present case, since, as Handschin himself admits,

⁷ See Abbott and Campbell, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 314.

Schiller probably never read Müller's *Golo und Genoveva*.

First of all, as to the mere occurrence of a monologue in both Müller and Schiller—a coincidence which Handschin seizes upon for his purpose. A monologue, in some cases partaking somewhat of the nature of a prayer, occurs also in several older 'Tell' dramas, notably in Jakob Ruef's *Ein hüpsch und lustig Spyl . . . von dem . . . Wilhelm Thellen* (Zürich, 1545) as found in 'Schweizerische Schauspiele des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Bearbeitet . . . unter Leitung von Jakob Bächtold' (Zürich, 1893, pp. 103-4). This drama, I might say in passing, was itself based on the old 'Urner Spiel' *Ein hüpsch Spyl gehalten zuo Vry in der Eydgnoschafft, von dem frommen vnd ersten Eydgnossen, Wilhelm Thell* etc. (Zürich). It seems practically certain that Schiller saw a copy of the 'Urner Spiel' in the Weimar library. Moreover, Ruef's version, according to Gustav Roethe, was listed in vol. 5 of Haller's 'Bibliothek der Schweizergeschichte'—a book which Schiller is known to have consulted. Though the parallelisms between Schiller's *Tell* and these two older 'Tell' dramas are many, and some of them are, indeed, most striking, still this is not the place to cite them in detail. Perhaps I ought to add at this point that there are also noteworthy resemblances between Schiller's work and some of the other earlier versions of 'Tell'; I shall have occasion later to refer to some of these versions. For a list of works dealing with the 'Tell' problem in its various phases, Franz Heinemann's admirable 'Tell-Bibliographie' (Bern, 1907) may be consulted to advantage.

But Handschin finds also a significant parallelism between Schiller's passage 'Ich laure auf ein edles Wild' and a similar one in *Golo und Genoveva*. Now, Tell is a hunter. We know him as 'Tell der Schütz.' Having reached the 'hohle Gasse' to await there the arrival of his victim, his soliloquy naturally turns to such expressions as ' . . . liebe Kinder, . . . Jetzt geht er [der Vater] einem andern Weidwerk nach' . . . 'Des Feindes Leben ist's, worauf er lauert' . . . 'Ich laure auf ein edles Wild.' But if we must needs find a precedent for Schiller, why seek it in so unlikely a source as *Golo und Genoveva*, when we have ready at hand Bodmer's *Wilhelm Tell* (1775) in

which we read, p. 6: 'Hier im Gesträuche (cf. 'Holunderstrauch' in Schiller) warte ich auf das Raubthier?' Moreover,—and this is an important point, of course—we have sufficient evidence at hand to render it highly probable that Schiller was acquainted with this 'Tell' drama of Bodmer.

Handschin furthermore claims that Wallrad in his soliloquy apostrophizes his heart, ear, and eye "ganz in der Art," in Handschin's words, "wie Tell Pfeil und Bogenschne anredet." This 'parallelism' between heart, ear, and eye in Müller, and arrow and bow-string in Schiller is scarcely convincing, it seems to me, when we have actually an apostrophized *arrow* (!) and *bow-string* (!) in the soliloquy (!) of the anonymous 'Tell' drama *Der Schweizerbund* (act 4, scene 4). Cf. Gustav Roethe's article: *Die dramatischen Quellen des Schillerschen 'Tell'* in *Forschungen zur deutschen Philologie* (Leipzig, 1894, p. 257). This drama, *Der Schweizerbund*, is now, by some half dozen scholars, assigned to Johann Ludwig Ambühl (am Bühel). It is not unlikely that Schiller was acquainted with it; indeed, just as, in his play, he has perpetuated the name of the historian Johannes Müller (l. 2948), so he has also named one of his characters Burkhart *am Bühel*. On this last point cf. J. Keller in Kehr's *Pädagogische Blätter*, No. 15, pp. 149 ff. (1886). Ambühl's Tell plucks at his *bow-string* in order to test its strength and soliloquizes: 'Gut. Und du! (as he examines his *arrow*) auch gut. . . Wohl es muss seyn, Tyrann! Wenn dir noch ein Heiliger im Himmel wohl will, so abndets dir! . . .' It seems to me quite impossible to deny the suggestive parallelism here with Schiller's:

'Mach deine Rechnung mit dem Himmel, Vogt! . . .
Komm du hervor, du Bringer bitterer Schmerzen,
Mein teures Kleinod jetzt, mein höchster Schatz . . .
 . . . Und du,
Vertrante Bogensehne, die so oft
Mir treu gedient hat in der Freude Spielen,
 . . .
Nur jetzt noch halte fest, du treuer Strang,
Der mir so oft den herben Pfeil beflügelt . . .'

But Handschin finds also in the soliloquy of *Tell* and that of *Golo und Genoveva* a parallel reference to suffering innocence. Suffering innocence, however, and a consequent conviction that the country must be rid of the offenders

are among the very motives of the older 'Tell' plays. Cf., for instance, Ruef's version already referred to above.

Finally as to the music introduced in Schiller's monologue situation—a feature which Handschin also traces to Müller's influence. On October 1, 1803, Schiller saw *Julius Cæsar* played in Weimar, and on the following day wrote to Goethe: 'Für meinen Tell ist mir das Stück von unschätzbarem Wert; mein Schiffein wird auch dadurch gehoben. Er [Julius Cäsar] hat mich gleich gestern in die tätigste Stimmung gesetzt.' *Julius Cæsar*, as well as others of Shakespeare's plays, of course had its influence on Schiller's *Tell*, but, although some of the Shakespearean touches in Schiller's play are very readily recognized, others, again, are more or less conjectural. Still, if we must here again find a precedent for Schiller, I would suggest that perhaps the musical feature in *Tell* is, in part at least, to be regarded as a Shakespearean echo.

At any rate, in *Julius Cæsar* we have music artistically introduced just before the portentous ghost scene, while in *Tell* we have music most effectively introduced just before the tragic shooting scene. Why, then, not connect these two strikingly parallel features? Such a step, indeed, would be much more justified, under the circumstances, than an attempt to involve so problematical a model as *Golo und Genoveva*—a drama which, as I conclude from Handschin's article, Schiller probably never read and probably never saw performed on the stage.

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BROWNING'S EPILOGUE TO *THE TWO POETS OF CROISIC*.

Commentators of Browning have paid but scanty attention to the charming Epilogue to the *Two Poets of Croisic*, beginning:

"What a pretty tale you told me
Once upon a time
Said you found it somewhere (scold me!)
Was it prose or was it rhyme,
Greek or Latin? Greek, you said,
While your shoulder propped my head."

And yet the poem possesses interest, if for no other reason, in that it affords a signal illustration of the foreign debt of English literature. In this note I wish to indicate that debt by quoting a few parallels from the literature of ancient Greece and by drawing from them a conclusion which I wish to be regarded as suggestive rather than definitive.

The poem was written January 15, 1878.¹ Mrs. Orr, to whom it was dedicated, substantially denies the Greek element in the poem. "The 'Tale' with which it (*i. e.*, *The Two Poets of Croisic*) concludes is inspired by the same feeling (*i. e.*, as is *Natural Magic*). Its circumstance is ancient, and the reader is allowed to imagine that it exists in Latin or Greek; but it is simply a poetic and profound illustration of what love can do always and everywhere."² Neither Professor Lawton in his interesting paper on *The Classical Element in Browning's Poetry*³ nor Miss Scudder, *The Greek Spirit in Shelley and Browning*,⁴ alludes to the Epilogue, and it finds no place among the poems cited as coming from Classical sources in *Robert Browning's Poetry, Outline Studies*.⁵ The entire story of the cicada and the lyre-player is nevertheless purely Greek, as the poet himself clearly indicates in the opening lines. The story appears in both verse and prose. Several of the references have been cited by Mr. Mackail in a note on an epigram in the Palatine Anthology in his first edition of *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*.⁶ These were repeated without addition by Mr. Cooke in his *Guide Book*.⁷ The note in the 1896 edition of Browning's poems by Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke, the editors of *Poet Lore*, is based upon the comments of Mr. Cooke and of Mrs. Orr. It is incorrect in saying

¹ *Poetic and Dramatic Works of B. Browning*, vol. vi, p. 116; G. W. Cooke, *A Guide Book to the Poetic and Dramatic Works of Browning*, Boston, 1891, p. 424; *Browning Society Papers*, 1881-1884, Part I, Chronological List of B.'s Works, p. 69.

² *Handbook to Works of Robert Browning*, London, 1885, pp. 217, 218.

³ *Boston Browning Papers*, New York, 1897, pp. 363-387.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 438-470.

⁵ Chicago, 1886, p. 24.

⁶ Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1890: Epigram 6. 54. This edition is now out of print. The epigram is omitted from the second edition, London, 1906.

⁷ G. W. Cooke, pp. 446, 447.

"the tale appears in the Greek Anthology in both prose and verse." There is no prose version in the Anthology. But the earliest and most important of all the versions has escaped notice and no attempt has been made to ascertain the relation of the stories nor how Browning may have come by his own version.

The earliest version extant is in prose and is found in the *Wonderbook* of Antigonos of Carystus, who lived till at least 226 B. C. The *Wonderbook* contains an account, in one hundred and ninety-one paragraphs, of marvellous occurrences, especially in the realm of nature associated with mythology. The story of Antigonos reads as follows :

'Timaeus, the writer of the History of Sicily, says that although the Rhegians and Locrians are divided by the river called Halece the Locrian cicadas sing, while the Rhegian are songless. And a more fabulous circumstance than this is narrated by him. For when the lyre-players, Ariston from Rhegium and Eunomus from Locri, came to Delphi and entered into a dispute regarding the drawing of lots, Ariston deemed it unbecoming to be worsted inasmuch as the entire colony of the Rhegians had come from Delphi, even from the God. But Eunomus ridiculed him saying that they have no business at all with lyre and song among whom not even the cicadas sing. When the Rhegian, notwithstanding, was on the point of success in the contest, Eunomus the Locrian won from the following cause. In the midst of his song a cicada alighted upon his lyre and sang. Thereupon the festal assembly shouted their praise of the circumstance and bade that it be allowed.'⁹

The greater part of the *Wonderbook* is a compilation from the *History of Animals*, of Aristotle, and the *Mirabilia* of Callimachus, the librarian at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus. The other sources are Ktesias, Eudoxus, and Timaeus. The passage cannot have come from Aristotle, for while Aristotle has several references to the singing of cicadas, he nowhere tells the story of Eunomus and Ariston. It is impossible to say for a certainty whether the passage in question was taken directly from Timaeus or indirectly through the work of Callimachus. I believe it was taken directly from Timaeus (1) because of the explicit

mention of the name of Timaeus as the source⁹; (2) because Antigonos, who at the latest came barely a generation after Timaeus, was in a position to know his work at first hand; (3) because Timaeus was much given to the narration of myths, as the numerous fragments show—a tendency which won for him the merited rebuke of a teller of 'old wives' tales' from the sober Polybius¹⁰; and (4) because precisely the same story in almost identical language is given by the geographer Strabo (67 B. C. to 19 A. D.).

'The river Halece divides Rhegium from Locri, flowing through a deep ravine, and there is a certain singular circumstance respecting cicadas which is worthy of note. For the cicadas in the territory of the Locrians sing, while those on the other side of the river are songless. The cause of this is supposed to be the fact that their country is woody so that their membranes are moistened by dew and produce no sound, whereas those on the Locrian side have theirs warmed by the sun's rays, and are dry and horny so that they easily give forth sound. And there is shown at Locri a statue of Eunomus the lyre-player, with a cicada sitting on his lyre. Timaeus says that at the Pythian Games this Eunomus and Ariston of Rhegium contended about the lot, and that Ariston requested the support of the Delphians, alleging that his ancestors were priests of the god and had sent out the colony from Delphi. But Eunomus said the Rhegians had no business at all with musical contests because even the cicadas, the most musical of living creatures, were silent among them. Ariston was in popular favor, nevertheless, and had hopes of obtaining the victory. But Eunomus won and dedicated the aforesaid statue in his native city because, in the course of the contest, when one of the strings snapped, a cicada lighted upon it and supplied the missing note.'¹¹

It will be observed that Strabo, like Antigonos, explicitly mentions Timaeus as his source. Strabo's use of Timaeus cannot be doubted for he quotes Timaeus five times with definite content. The obscure work of Antigonos is nowhere referred to and was probably unknown to him. The earliest known authority, therefore, for the cicada story is Timaeus of Tauromenium who lived from about 350 to 260 before Christ.

The myth must early have found its way in

⁹ Cf. *Antig. Caryst.*, C. 149.

¹⁰ *Polyb.*, 12. 24, 5.

¹¹ Strabo, *Geographica*, 6. 1, 9 (p. 260).

⁸ *Antig. Caryst. Hist. Mir.*, C. 1, Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. 1, p. 206.

stereotyped language into the collections of the mythographers. For it reappears as the fifth fable in the collection of Konon, the mythographer, preserved in the yellow pages of Photius the lexicographer. Nothing is known of Konon save that his book comprised fifty fables and was dedicated to the learned Archelaos of Cappadocia.

'The fifth tale tells the story of a Rhegian and Eunomus the Locrian, the lyre-players, and how they came to Delphi; and that the Rhegians and Locrians being divided by a river (the river's name is Halece) the Rhegians have songless cicadas, while Locri has cicadas that sing; and how Eunomus in a contest with the Rhegian through the song of a cicada defeated his opponent. For the harmony then being of seven strings, and one of the strings breaking, a cicada leaped upon the lyre and supplied the want of the missing string.'¹²

The relationship of these literary scrap-books, from Callimachus down, it is impossible to determine with certainty. But so far as this cicada story is concerned there can be no doubt from both its form and content that it is a lineal descendant of Timaeus's source and that it is also an ancestor, or the ancestor, of versions which we shall find in the Anthology. Not a few epigrams in the Anthology must have been based upon some such mythographical source-book as Konon's or Callimachus's.

Clement of Alexandria repeats the story with the addition of such moralistic elements as were common to the Church Fathers in their treatment of Greek mythology. 'I might tell you,' he says in his *Exhortation to the Heathen*,

'I might tell you also the story of another, a brother to these—the subject of a myth and a minstrel, Eunomus the Locrian and the Pythian cicada. A solemn Hellenic assembly had met at Pytho to celebrate the death of the Pythian serpent when Eunomus sang the reptile's epitaph. Whether his ode was a hymn in praise of the serpent or a dirge I am not able to say. But there was a contest and Eunomus was playing the lyre in the summer time: it was when the cicadas, warmed by the sun, were chirping beneath the leaves along the hills; but they were singing not to that dead dragon but to God all-wise—a lay unfettered by rule, better than the numbers of

Eunomus. The Locrian broke a string. The cicada sprang on the neck of the instrument and sang on it as on a branch; and the minstrel, adapting his strain to the cicada's song, made up for the want of the missing string. The cicada, then, was attracted by the song of Eunomus, as the fable represents, according to which also a bronze statue of Eunomus with his lyre, and the Locrian's ally, was erected at Pytho. But of its own accord it flew to the lyre, and of its own accord sang, and was regarded by the Greeks as a musical performer.'¹³

In a letter to Jamblichus (Ep. 41) the emperor Julian writes:

'Do not yourself deign to add your want. Even before now God stood by an archer, when called upon, and laid his hand on the shaft; and when a lyre-player was singing the orthian strain, the Pythian god through a cicada rightly supplied the sound of the missing string.'

Aelian¹⁴ and Pausanias,¹⁵ the second century Baedeker, are also impressed by the musical qualities of the Locrian cicadas but do not relate the myth of Eunomus. The Rhegian cicadas, says Pausanias, 'utter never a cheep,' and Aelian admits the fact but does 'not know the cause; nobody knows; nature alone knows.'¹⁶

Plato called the cicadas 'the prophets of the Muses' and their singing was proverbial among the Greeks for sweetness, as many passages attest.¹⁷ And the tradition has remained in English poetry. But Herakles had a duller ear and a shorter temper than most, if we are to believe Diodorus Siculus (4. 22). For when the cicadas disturbed Herakles's sleep during a night's stay in the Locrian region, he swore to the gods that he would clean them out. 'And in all after time,' Diodorus continues, 'none was ever seen there.' Not so. But Diodorus was a book-worm and probably didn't know a cricket when he saw one.

¹³ Clem. Alex., *Protrept.* C. 1.

¹⁴ *De nat. animal.* 5 (E) 9.

¹⁵ 6. 6, 2.

¹⁶ Cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, 11. 26 (32). In Lucian's *Vera Historia*, bk. 2. 15, Eunomus is a leader of the Elysian chorus.

¹⁷ Cf. Il. 3. 151; Hesiod, *W. D.*, 582; Alcaeus frag., 39 (B); Theocr. 1. 148; 16. 94; Anacreontea, 32; Aristoph. *Par.*, 1159; Anth. Pal., *passim*.

¹² Photius, cod. 186, narratio 5; cf. also Theophrastus Simoc. in *ἀπορ. φυσ.* proem.

The story occurs twice in the Anthology, once under the name of Paulus Silentiarius (6. 54), who was a court official under Justinian, and again among the anonymous epigrams (9. 584). Paulus's poem bears a heading which may have been identical with the dedicatory inscription: 'the offering of Eunomus, the lyre, to Apollo.' The poem itself differs from the foregoing versions in that the name of Eunomus's opponent is given as Parthes, not Ariston. It reads:

'The Locrian Eunomus offers up this bronze cicada to the Lycorean god as a memorial of his contest for the crown. For the contest was of the lyre and Parthes stood against me¹⁸; but when the Locrian shell sang under the plectrum, a lyre-string rang and snapped jarringly. But ere the rhythmical song halted in its harmony, a cicada, trilling delicately, settled on the lyre and took up the note of the missing string. And the rustic sound that till then chirruped in the woodlands it turned to the measure of my touch upon the lyre. Wherefore, blessed son of Leto, he honors thy cicada, seating the singer in bronze upon his lyre.'¹⁹

The anonymous version is four lines longer and presents slight variations. The heading runs: 'on a statue of Eunomus the lyre-player standing in Delphi, having a musical cicada on the lyre.' The opponent is now Spartis, and the poem is characterized by a slightly different tone, a note of almost Pindaric pride:

'Thou knowest, Apollo, how I, Eunomus, the Locrian, once defeated Spartis. I speak to those who know. I was playing a fast lay—if αἰόλον νόμον is not classical for a rag-time lay—on my lyre when, in midst of the song, my plectrum snapped a string. And when occasion called for the proper note it remained no longer true to the rhythmic strains. But a cicada alighting of its own accord upon the lyre's bridge supplied the want in the harmony. For I struck the six strings and when I took thought of the seventh I found the cicada's note. For the singer of the noon-day sun then fitted its pastoral song to my lay and whenever its song came forth it altered its note to chime with my soul-less strings. Therefore I render thanks to the symphonist who, moulded in bronze, sits upon my lyre.'²⁰

¹⁸ This line is quoted by Suidas under *Parthes*.

¹⁹ *Anthol. Pal.*, 6. 54.

²⁰ *Anthol. Pal.*, 9. 584.

These detailed references disprove Mrs. Orr's note. Now which of these versions, the oldest going back to Timaeus, was Browning most likely to have known? Browning's reading in Greek, as numerous passages in his letters prove, was confined fairly closely to the usual, beaten track, and none of these versions can be said to lie in books commonly read. I think that Browning's poem itself supplies the first clue to his immediate source. For there can be no doubt, it seems to me, that the "you" of the poem is Mrs. Browning, although the poem appeared sometime after her death. Mrs. Browning's reading in Greek covered a wide range and often penetrated into dark corners. "I read much," she writes in *Aurora Leigh*:

"I read much. What my father taught before
From many a volume, love re-emphasized
Upon the self-same pages: Theophrast
Grew tender with the memory of his eyes,
And Aelian made mine wet."²¹

It is certain that she knew Paulus Silentiarius. For in a letter to Mr. H. S. Boyd, her director in Greek, she writes under the date of March 29, 1842:

"I send you Silentiarius and some poems of Pisida in the same volume. Even if you had not asked for them, I should have asked you to look at some passages which are fine in both. It appears to me that Silentiarius writes difficult Greek, overlaying his description with a multitude of architectural and other far-fetched words."²²

And again she writes to him on May 17, 1842:

"You do not like Silentiarius *very much* (that is *my* inference), since you have kept him so short a time. And I quite agree with you that he is not a poet of the same interest as Gregory Nazianzen, however he may appear to me of more lofty cadence in his versification. My own impression is that John of Euchaita is worth two of each of them as a poet."²³

This volume must have been the thirty-second in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, published at Bonn in 1837. Her remark about Silentiarius "overlaying his description with a mul-

²¹ Bk. 1. Cf. what she says of Proclus, bk. 5.

²² *Letters of E. B. Browning*, 3rd edit. London, vol. I, p. 103.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

titude of architectural and other far-fetched words" is due to the fact that the volume contains only the *Ekphrasis*, a descriptive poem, in tedious hexameters, of the Church of St. Sophia and its chancel, at Constantinople. Paulus is also the author of some seventy-eight epigrams in the Anthology which are characterized by a perfection of finish second only to Meleager's.

It is safe to say that with all her breadth of reading, Mrs. Browning would not have left unread so interesting a portion of the later literature, so interesting above all to a poet, as the Anthology. And the Anthology was easily accessible to her in the three small volumes of the Tauchnitz edition first published at Leipzig in 1829 and later running through several editions. From this Garden of Song, as the Greeks liked to call it, she must have culled the story which she gave her husband. For Browning's version bears most striking resemblance to the anonymous epigram and there can be no doubt that his poem was based upon it. It is improbable, I think, that Mrs. Browning was familiar with the prose versions of Strabo or Konon or Antigonos of Carystus.

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FRENCH WORDS IN ENGLISH AFTER 1066.

In his *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, pp. 93-94, Professor Jespersen shows the influx of French words at different periods by means of a table comprising one thousand words. The table gives the half-century to which the earliest quotation in the *NED.* belongs and proves "conclusively that the linguistic influence did not begin immediately after the conquest, and that it was strongest in the years 1251-1400."

In my opinion this method cannot lead to satisfactory results. I set aside the question of the exact date of some early Middle-English texts, and do not dispute the authority of the *NED.*, though inaccuracies occur even in that monumental work. My objection is that the loan-words are counted without regard to the scope

and the nature of the literature in which they are found. The fourteenth century is represented by 300 borrowings, the twelfth by 16 (15 in the second half, 1 in the first). But the fourteenth century possesses a rich and varied literature which, as a matter of course, offers a far greater number of loan-words than we can possibly expect to find in the scanty and poor products of the century that followed the Conquest. A hundred pages contain more foreign words than ten pages do.

Kluge enumerates some twenty French words in late Old English (*Engl. Stud.*, xxi, pp. 334 f.), unfortunately without giving references. Some of these words are very doubtful,¹ but on the other hand we may add *drut*,² *tur*, and perhaps *gingifer*, *burse*, *cuffie*, *cantel*, *butse* (?), see Dictionaries.

Was the Norman Conquest immediately followed by a stronger influx of French words?

The literary sources are so scarce that it is difficult to draw conclusions as to the number of the loan-words and the date of their adoption. In a great many cases Latin paved the way to French; but it is also possible that French influence was at work through the medium of the language of the Church.

Legat is found twice in *Pet. Chr.*, 675 (*Pet.* insertion), rendering Lat. *legatus*, and further *ib.* 1123, 1127, at any rate reinforced by French, like *aduent*, *ib.* 963, 1099, 1120, and perhaps *euangelista*, *ib.* 1119. *Capellan* appears towards the end of the eleventh century, *Land Chart*, p. 251, *Pet. Chr.*, 1099;³ the use of the word was

¹ *Tresor* is now placed by Kluge in the 12th c., see *Grundr. d. roman. Phil.*, I, p. 513. I think *roce* is Germanic. If *catt* is French at all, it is certainly not a late borrowing. *Arce-* is rather due to Latin; in spite of an increasing French influence the later annals of the *Pet. Chr.* prefer *ercc-* (French *arche-* seems to appear about 1200, Lamb. H. 41, Lag., III, 193, Earle, *Land Charters*, pp. 377 f., etc.). As to *clerc*, cf. MacGillivray, *The Influence of Christianity*, etc., p. 75; the very nature of the liquids implies uncertainty in spelling, comp. conversely Lag., B III, 196 *clearekes*, etc. I observe that *cumin*, which may be French, is quoted by the *NED.* from Mt. xxiii, 23 Hatt. ms. (cf. *v* in the emendation to Corp.). *Cumin* also occurs in *Peri Didax.*, p. 45, 18 (Löwenneek's edition).

² *Drut*, *Be domes dæge*, v. 290; *drwð*, *Cant. Godr.*, *Zup- itza*, *Engl. Stud.*, xi, 431.

³ The contracted form *capel* occurs in *Land Chart.*, p. 261.

certainly suggested by French; *Pet. Chr.*, 1114, has the true Norman form *capeleïn*. *Ib.*, 1123, we find *canonie*, 1129, *canonias*, and somewhat later *canon*, *Land Chart*, p. 261.⁴ *Cardinal* occurs *Pet. Chr.*, 1125. In *nonnan*, *Sax. Chr.*, D 901 (ms. from about A. D. 1100), it is doubtful whether French influence went beyond the spelling.

According to MacGillivray, *l. c.* p. 72, "prior is not found in Old English at all." It is also worth noticing that the word was not adopted into Old Norse. It should however be observed that only few priories existed in England before the Norman time. About A. D. 1100 there are numerous examples of the word in English texts, see *e. g.* *Land Chart*, p. 271, *Pet. Chr.*, 1107, Thorpe, *Diplom. Angl.*, p. 445.⁵ In the *Winteneý Reg. Ben. ealdor* is still retained as translation of Lat. *prior* (p. conventualis), while *priore* renders *praeposita* (*prafost* in the older versions), see *e. g.* Cap. xx, xxi, lxv.

Cellas occurs in *Pet. Chr.*, 1129; the ending *-as* is not Latin, as shown by *canonias* in the same passage. *Sax. Chr.*, A 1070, has already *serfise* (church-service), and *Pet. Chr.*, 1070, *cantel-capas*.⁶ *Concilie* in *Pet. Chr.*, 1125, is doubtful as it may have been regularly formed from *concilium*, used *ib.* 1119 and in *Sax. Chr.*, A 1070. Similarly *Pet. Chr.*, 1137, *privilegies* (*Diplom. Angl.*, p. 391, *privilegium*). *Sauters* in *Diplom. Angl.*, p. 555, is probably too late to interest us here.⁷ *Pet. Chr.*, 1131 (and probably also 1125) retains the Latin form *processionem*, but *procession* appears *ib.* 1103, *processiun*, *ib.* 1154, and in *Land Chart*, p. 260.⁸

⁴ Cf. MacGillivray, *l. c.*, p. 109.

⁵ Wulstan, the prior mentioned in this document, was made prior before 1058, see Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.*, I, p. 580.

⁶ Perhaps an innovation of *cantercæppe* = O. Norse *kantakápa* (see Fritznér, *Diet.*) used at the altar by the bishop or the priest; cf. the archbishop's *cantel-cape* in *Lag.*, III, 193.

⁷ *Capitularie* in Leofric's letter in *Land Chart.*, p. 251, is not recorded by Dictionaries. The word has certainly nothing to do with French. As to *tropere*, *ib.*, p. 250 and elsewhere, cf. also *troperium* in Ducange. Does *caliceas*, *ib.*, p. 250, indicate the Norman-French form, later *caliz*?

⁸ *O* may interchange with *u* in French loan-words, thus the last Peterborough annalist writes *treson*, *tresor*, besides *prisun*, etc. But *procession* is not necessarily a French form, cf. *twa passione* in Sweet's *O. E. T.*, p. 444, 37.

Pentecosten is so frequent in Old English texts that we are almost surprised to see *on ðisum dæge þe is Pentecostes gecweden*, *Ælfc.*, *Hom.*, I, p. 314, interpreted later on in *Lamb. H.*, 89, *on þisse deie þet is pentecostes and wittesunnodeie on ure speche* (similarly some lines above in the same homilies). But *eastron* prevails everywhere, and it seems likely that *pasches*, *Pet. Chr.*, 1122, is due to French examples. *Natiuiteð* = *Cristes mæsse* occurs eight times in *Pet. Chr.*, 1102–1116, but exclusively in passages derived from the southern annals.

The last hand of the *Pet. Chr.* offers 1137 *carited* (*d* = *þ*) and *miracles*.

Angel is found in *Eadw. Canterb. Ps.*, 34, 6 (written by a corrector), *magnifieð* (gloss) *ib.*, *Hy.*, 10, 46.⁹

All of these words are connected with the Church. Without underrating the Latin element we are entitled to say that their employment was largely due to French.

The first scribe of the *Pet. Chr.* retains the Latin form *Augustus*, 1013, but he generally drops the Latin ending, *e. g.*, 678, 1097, 1106. Plummer takes *Maies monðe*, 1080, 1110, *Junies monðe*, 1110, *Julies monðe*, 1115, as genitives (see Glossary). It is possible that the endings were given up in imitation of the French names of the months, though it is equally possible that the language gave them up on its own account. But an appositive genitive of that kind looks very suspicious at such an early date. I am inclined to believe that *Julies monðe*, etc., is a weakening of *Julius monað*, *Menologium*, 132, etc. This weakening, which was perhaps due to the existence of the shorter forms, later on conveyed the notion of a genitive.

Corona has been recorded a few times in Old English. After 1066 it begins to displace *kynehelm* (*Sax. Chr.*, D 1066, *Pet. Chr.*, 1085, 1111), probably disguising the French vocable, cf. *coruna* in *Eadw. Canterb. Ps.*, 20, 4. About the same time we meet with *prisun*, *Sax. Chr.*, D 1076, *Pet. Chr.*, 1112, 1137, 1140; *arblast*, *Sax. Chr.*, D 1079; *canceler*, *Pet. Chr.*, 1093, 1123,

⁹ Wildhagen, *Engl. Stud.*, xxxix, p. 199. Other quotations in the following.

1137. [*He*] *dubbade*, *ib.* 1085, is at least French as regards the sense of dubbing a knight.¹⁰

Somewhat later we find *werre* (*wyrre*), *Pet. Chr.*, 1116, 1118, 1119, 1140,¹¹ (the verb *werrien*, *ib.* 1135), *acordian*, *ib.* 1120, 1121, 1135, and *duc*, *ib.* 1129. The latter word was certainly adopted much earlier, cf. *duxes* (with English inflexion), *Sax. Chr.*, C 755 = *eoldormannes* in the other MSS.

Besides *carited*, *miracles*, *privilegies* (and *werrien*, *processiun*, etc.), the last annals offer *pais*, 1135, 1140 (three times; the phrase *pais macian* is perhaps modelled on French), *treson*, 1135, *iustice*, 1137, 1140, *crucethus*, *rentes*, *tresor*, *tense-rie*, 1137, *cuntesse*, *empericc*, 1140, *curt*, 1154.

Proper names are of minor importance. As belonging to that category I mention *Sax. Chr.*, D 1066, *Wyllelm bastard*, *Pet. Chr.*, 1094, *p mynster at þære Bataille*. From *ib.* 1086, *France* supersedes *Francland*, *Francric*. As the scribe did not alter the old forms in the earlier annals it is probable that he found *France* in the text he had before him. *De* in territorial titles: *Rotbert de Balesme*, *ib.* 1104. *Ræins* (for *Remis*, etc.), *ib.* 1119. The last hand has *Standard*, 1138, *Alamanie*, 1140 (for *Sexland*).

Eadw. Canterb. Ps. further contains *seime*, 62, 6 (added by a corrector), *latimeres* (plur.) *Hy.*, 16. I am not certain about *spunge*, quoted by Behrens¹² from Roy. MS., Mk. xv, 36 (also John xix, 29?).

The *NED.* cites as the earliest instance of

¹⁰*Tur*, which occurs already in *Rit. Dun.*, 176, 18, appears *Pet. Chr.*, 1097, 1100, 1101, 1117, 1140. *Laces* in *Pet. Chr.*, 656 (*Pet.* insertion) renders Lat. *laciis*, Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, I, p. 35; but *laciis* is here associated with *stagnis* (*meres*) and *paludibus* (*feonnes*). Such rural terms should be explained, as far as possible, without the aid of foreign influence. Norwegian *lök* means a brook, a swamp, a puddle, in some dialects also smooth spots on a rippled sheet of water (H. Ross, *Norsk Ordbog*); cf. also Skeat, *Notes on English Etymology*, p. 153, and Staub & Tobler, *Schweiz. 1. Idiotikon*, 'Lache.'

¹¹*War-scol* in Pseudo Cnut is much later (see Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*). Kluge, *Grundr. d. roman. Phil.*, I, p. 513, mentions *werre* (and *servian*) as borrowed in the eleventh century. In Kluge-Lutz, *Engl. Etym.*, these words are assigned to the twelfth century. *we serueden* occurs in *Mor. Ode*, 319 (Lamb. Hom.).

¹²*Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England*, p. 51.

master prefixed to a proper name *maister William* in Rob. Glouc., but it occurs already in *Land Ch.*, p. 258,¹³ *on Viuienes gewitnisse. ȝ mestre Odo. ȝ mestre Leowines*. Contrasting with other titles in this and similar documents *mestre* is placed before the name. Sense and sound betray its French origin.

Finally, I mention *Cantus beati Godrici*¹⁴: *Sainte Marie*¹⁵ *virgine, flur* (and *druð*). Godric died in 1170, but he was then a very old man, and the poem may have been composed at a much earlier date. In the Worcester Fragment,¹⁶ which is perhaps too late to be adduced here, I find the earliest instance of *questiun*¹⁷ (*Curs. Mund.* in the *NED.*).

From 1066 to 1131 half of the borrowings had a learned character, being chiefly connected with the Church, and were strongly supported by Latin. From 1132 up to the middle of the twelfth century the loan-words were, on the whole, of a more popular kind and more genuine French, though they do not disclose such intimate relations as some of the Scandinavian words do. It is also uncertain how far they had become current: the Peterborough annalist finds it necessary to explain *crucethus* and *tense-rie*.

The percentage of the borrowings cannot be fixed exactly. We are at the mercy of the fancy and taste of a few writers, and in many cases it is doubtful whether a particular word should be considered as mainly French or mainly Latin. In approximate figures the *Peterborough Chronicle* may be said to contain: from 1066 to 1121 in 43 pages at least 8 novel words, 1122–1131 in 12 pages 6 words, 1132–1154 in 6½ pages 13 words, which gives a ratio of 2:5:20 words respectively.

¹³Placed by Earle among *Genuine Records Undated, Eleventh Century*, but Earle's *Eleventh Century Records* also contain documents belonging (in substance) to the twelfth century, cf. *c. g.*, p. 261.

¹⁴Zupitza, *Engl. Stud.*, XI, p. 431; Liebermann, *Herzog's Archiv*, CIV, p. 125.

¹⁵*Seinte Marian* in *Elucidarium* (early 12th c.), ed. M. Foerster, *Furnivall Misc.*, p. 89.

¹⁶Varnhagen, *Anglia*, III, p. 424.

¹⁷*Wint. Reg. Ben.*, which cannot be included in this list, has, p. 147, *sermun, collatiuns*. I have not had access to Gray Birch, *Liber vite*, nor have I seen L. Gay's article: "Anglo-French Words in English," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIV, 81–85.

On the other hand, the closing leaves of *Sax. Chr.* A and D 1066-1080 have in 10½ pages 4 words, i. e., the ratio : 4. The loan-words in Godric's twelve lines baffle any statistics.

In the first decades after the Conquest we observe only a slow increase of French words. The influx is growing considerably stronger towards the middle of the twelfth century.

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ECHOES OF THE CLASSICS IN KIPLING.

Few students of literature, I suppose, would expect to find any classical influences in the writings of so unconventional a versifier as Kipling. On the other hand, any one who appreciates the poet's power of adapting all his experiences to the service of his pen would naturally expect that some references would be found in his writings to the early grind in the classics which was not to be escaped even in a technical school. And so we find that Vergil, Horace, and Homer are not forgotten, even if remembered only to point a jest. In his first volume, *Early Verse*, are found several humorous efforts under the titles, *This Side the Styx*, suggesting *Aeneid* VI; *Caret*; *Solus cum sola*; *Quaeritur*; *Carmen Simlaense* resembling in name only the *Carmen Saeculare* of Horace, *Donec gratus eram*, a burlesque imitation of Horace III. 9, and more serious verses under *Requiescat in pace* and *Ave Imperatrix*. Another Latin title *Credat Judæus* comes, of course, from Hor. Sat. 1. 5. 100, and though now a proverb was no doubt familiar to Kipling in its original setting. In *The Maid of the Meerschaum* one famous phrase from Horace is incorporated without translation—, *labuntur anni fugaces*.

In the next volume *Ballads and Barrack-room Ballads*, the school-boy trifling is laid aside and there are a few serious classical allusions. The introductory poem contains references to the religions of Greeks, Mohammedans, and Hebrews. The Greek reference is commonplace and would not necessarily indicate any knowledge of Greek literature,

They are purged of pride because they died; they know the worth of their bays,
They sit at wine with the *Maidens Nine*, and the *Gods of the Elder Days*.

The best poem in the volume is the *Ballad of the East and West*, characterised by Tennyson as the "finest thing of the kind in English verse." I think that the scene therein portrayed of the robber chieftain and the young officer, each instinctively recognizing the true man in the other, pledging friendship and exchanging gifts must surely have been inspired by a similar scene in Homer, *Iliad*, VI, 119-234. At least the Homeric scene would have been in Kipling's mind. In the poem *The English Flag* occur the lines :

Never the lotos closes, never the wild-fowl wake,
But a soul goes out on the East-Wind that died for England's sake.

The idea here may have been suggested by Vergil *Aen.* IV, 705, describing the death of Dido,—*Omnis et una dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit*. The next volume, *The Seven Seas*, contains a few noteworthy allusions. In *The Native-Born* Kipling has translated a familiar line of Horace very happily :

They change their skies above them,
But not their hearts that roam.

which the Roman poet had written in *Epis.* I. 11. 27,—*Coelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*. In the same poem another undoubted classical phrase is used, this time from Homer—*Iliad* 9. 594, *βαθυζώνους τε γυναικας* :

To the tall deep-bosomed women
And the children nine and ten.

In the *Song of the Banjo* there is the obvious Homeric reference in *I have sailed with young Ulysses from the quay* and to Hesiod's story of Mercury in "*The grandam of my grandam was the Lyre, That the stealer stooping backward filled with fire.*"

In Kipling's last volume, *The Five Nations*, no trace of classical allusion can be detected except in such stock phrases as *doves of Venus*, *Port of Paphos*, *old Hesperides*, *Syren's whispering shriek* and the titles for two humorous poems, *Ubique* and *Et dona ferentes*, the latter of which contains a line which reminds one of something in third-

year Latin—*They removed, effaced, abolished all that man could heave or lift*—, compare Cic. in Cat. II, 1, *Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit*. The volume closes with Kipling's greatest production, the *Recessional*. I may be wrong in suggesting a Greek influence here, but it has always seemed to me that the tone of that great poem is more in accord with the feeling of Greek tragedy than that of Christian theology. Excessive prosperity was dangerous to the Greek. It made him insolent and neglectful of the gods. He therefore feared a νέμεσις for his ἰβρις. So here the poet prays for freedom from a boastful spirit "lest we forget" the power that can destroy as well as create.

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A MIDDLE ENGLISH ADDITION TO THE WAGER CYCLE.

The recently "discovered" ¹ Worcester Cathedral ms. contains several pieces of more than ordinary interest to the student of medieval literature, some of which were previously unknown in English versions. The most significant of the new pieces are several moral treatises (one by Richard Rolle of Hampole), copies of two or three archiepiscopal documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially the *Statutes of Roger Niger*, bishop of London (1229-1241), and finally a Middle English version of Peter Alfouse's *Disciplina Clericalis*. This famous collection of oriental tales which was written in Latin by a converted Jew of Spain early in the twelfth century, has been preserved by translation or adaptation, as a whole or in part, in every important literature of Europe. The tales became widely known thru the medium of Old French poetical versions during the first one hundred years after their composition, and it was not much later before they had found their way into Italian, English, German and Scandinavian literatures. Certain of the more popular stories were

incorporated in slightly modified form into the most famous collections of medieval tales, such as the *Gesta Romanorum*, *Alphabetum Narrationum*, *Cento Novelle Antiche*, Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, and the *Conde Lucanor* of Don Juan Manuel.

By the end of the fourteenth century at the latest Peter Alfouse's work seems to have been well known in England, for Chaucer refers to it in the *Canterbury Tales* ² with the air of perfect familiarity. And not long after the date of the *Canterbury Tales* we have a Middle English version of the *Alphabetum Narrationum* ³ in which more than a third of the tales of the *Disciplina Clericalis* are reproduced in abbreviated form. Then late in the fifteenth century Caxton printed an English version of thirteen of the stories in *The Booke of the Subtyl Historyes and Fables of Esope* (1483). About the same time the Worcester ms. version was probably made. At any rate the ms. belongs to about the middle of the fifteenth century and it contains twenty-five of the tales,—the only early English version of anything like the complete *Disciplina*. While this version omits eight of the stories found in the most complete Latin ⁴ versions, it contains two or three that have not been found in any other translation or adaptation. One of the latter is of especial interest to the student of comparative literature, in that it represents what seems to be the shortest, most simple, and most primitive form of any of the tales of the well-known cycle of "The Woman Falsely Accused," which was so popular

²See his *Tale of Melibeus*. It may, however, be doubted whether Chaucer knew anything about the *Disciplina Clericalis* except what he found in the sources of this tale. Albertano of Brescia (flor. 13th cent.) gives numerous quotations from Peter Alfouse in his *Book of Consolation and Counsel* (ed. Thor Sundby for Chaucer Society, 1873), which Jean de Meung reproduced in his *Livre de Mellibee et Prudence*.

³*An Alphabet of Tales. An English 15th Century Translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum*, etc. Edited by Mrs. Mary M. Banks. Two parts, London, EETS., 1904, 1905. Cf. also P. Toldo, *Dall' Alphabetum Narrationum*, *Herrigs archiv*, 117, 68 ff.

⁴Cf. *Petri Alfonsi Disciplinæ Clericalis*. Zum ersten mal herausgegeben, etc., von Fr. Wilh. Val. Schmidt, Berlin, 1827; also, *Discipline de Clergie de Pierre Alfouze*. Société des Bibliophiles français. Par J. Labouderie, Paris, 1824. See also Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, tom. 157, col. 671 ff.

¹Cf. W. H. Hulme, *A Valuable Middle English Manuscript*, *Mod. Phil.*, iv, 67 ff. (1906).

and appeared in so many different forms in various literatures of the Middle Ages. The story also belongs to the important subdivision⁵ of this cycle which Gaston Paris calls *Le Cycle de la Gageure*.⁶ It should be of especial interest to Shakesperian students, because it serves to throw a little more light on the difficult question of the ultimate source, or sources, of the plot of *Cymbeline*. The short piece occurs on fol. 137 of the Worcester ms. 172, and runs as follows :

"Ther were ii marchauntis in Rome, of the whiche that oon had a wif a chaste and a faire womman. Forsoth that other no trustifeith had in no womman. Whan and wherfor suntyme whan an(d)⁷ other wern disceived of wymmens lightnes,⁸ he joied. He forsoth of the trust and feith of his wif ageynsaide that other, of the whiche thei put in plegge al their possessioun : this that he shuld corrupt hir withyn xv daies, he, for whi as with this condicioun stidefastly kept, that the husbond shuld nat warne or tel his wif of this covenant. She therfor busied with al maner of lightnes as wif nothyng had nor huyred bi hir footemayde or servaunt with yiftes corrupt she was disceived. Forsoth she had a Ryng, that is to [say],⁹ of hir first husbondes yift above al possessiouns most diere. She had also a vernacle in signe and of an hand and an half from the kne vnto the Right hiipe. And whan so bi the footemaide or servaunt prively had taken he that knowen Ryng and with kuowlache that I have saide told and rehersed to his felaw, as signes and tokenes of most certayne advowtrye, he bitake with cursid suspeccioun exiled hymself of his possessioun and vsid of exile. This thyng noised bi the Citeo she was outcast as advowteres and to the nephew or cosyn of hir husbond she was committed. Ther [he] cam into Alisaunder and covered and hid with strength and kynde of clothis beryng hymself evene to the kyng in manyfold servyce, in the friendship of the kyng hym bare as myght be in curtesye most swift and light as admystratrice of al pe Realme. The kynges Rentis wern infynitly multiplied bi his providence. Than thempour of Rome dede. His yong sone whan he Empired in the (f. 137b) Empire herd of the sapient wisdam of hym of Alisaunder [and] sent [for] hym to Rome. [He]

peased thempire, Restored soft and easy lawes into the friendship of thempour and the Citezenis and the provynce with his high merites, nat puttyng hymself any symulacioun or token vnto his traitour. Bi hap and fortune [she] fond hir husbond among poore folk most porest and dide hym to be nurished. And bfore his traitour dide to be Rehersed his treason bfore the Citezeyns. Pat don [he] arraied a feste to the delectacioun, that is to say, of felawship and festers. Than at the last he opened and [was] deemed into deth of his owne confessioun. The pore man went his wey and she to hir husbond."¹⁰

Now, it is evident that the tale as here given has been translated and possibly abbreviated. The translator was apparently rather ignorant of the idiomatic English of the late fifteenth century, or he was probably trying to reproduce a word for word translation of his original. But in spite of the awkward language and the loose style we can easily gather that the subject of the tale is virtually the same as that which Gaston Paris calls the "fundamental theme" of all the varieties of the Wager cycle.¹¹ That is to say, we have here a man who boasts of the virtue of a woman in the presence of another man who undertakes to seduce her. By means of deception the gallant makes it appear that the woman has yielded to his solicitations, but in the end her innocence is established and the would-be-seducer is punished.

It is not possible or necessary to attempt here to analyze the numerous varieties of the tales belonging to the Wager cycle. For this group is not only very large, but it is in itself, as I have said, a branch of the still larger cycle of "The Woman Falsely Accused."

Paris in his thorough study of the Wager cycle makes two grand divisions of the tales belonging under it, and several sub-divisions. In tales of the first division (A), the gallant acts thruout in good faith. In those of the second class (B), he sets out to win by fair means or foul and employs strategy, bribery, and deception of every sort to compass his ends. Paris is of the opinion that (A) represents more primitive forms of the story, in which it is a sister whose chastity is the object

⁵ Cf. Edwin A. Greenlaw, *The Vows of Baldwin* (Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc., XXI, 607 (footnote)).

⁶ *Romania*, XXXII, 481 ff.

⁷ Letters in parentheses are redundant, the punctuation is my own.

⁸ This word added on margin of ms.

⁹ Letters or words in brackets are my own addition.

¹⁰ This version seems to be a corrupt and abbreviated reproduction of the original, about which I have as yet obtained no information whatever.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 481.

of the wager, and not a wife. He accordingly reconstructs¹² what he thinks might represent the original form of the tale :

A young hero praises his sister's virtue at the court of a king. The king (or another) asserts confidently that he can seduce her, and the hero is cast into prison to await the issue. If the attempt prove successful, he is to forfeit his life. The sister receives the solicitations of the gallant and pretends to acquiesce. But she persuades a maid-servant to take her place, whose ring-finger the gallant cuts off and brings with him as proof of his success. The hero thinking he has lost, is preparing for death when the sister arrives and shows her finger intact.¹³

This simple form of the story has been preserved in a medieval Greek poem, an outline of which is given by Paris,¹⁴ and also in the ancient Scottish ballad, *The Two Knights*.¹⁵ In the latter tale it is, however, a wife instead of a sister, on whose virtue the wager is laid. The change from sister to wife is not difficult to account for when we consider the numerous transformations which simple, primitive stories underwent during the Middle Ages.

While this form of the wager story is not known in any oriental version, its general characteristics are such as to suggest an oriental origin. Von der Hagen¹⁶ thinks the method of obtaining evidence by mutilation (that is, by cutting off a finger) points to the great antiquity of the story. And the development of the mutilation feature in oriental medieval tales is very interesting in connection with the study of the origin of birthmarks, and of fadeless flowers or pictures as emblems of faithfulness between husband and wife ; but such considerations would lead us too far afield. These and all other features of the wager cycle have either been touched upon or treated in detail by Von der Hagen,¹⁷ Landau,¹⁸

Ohle,¹⁹ Greenlaw, Paris and others. Suffice it to say that in most cases the gallant attains his end (or thinks he does so) by means of deception practiced with the help of a middle-woman (chambermaid, nurse, or other familiar of the lady). Sometimes he gains admittance to the lady's chamber by means of some such ruse as concealing himself in a chest and having it deposited in the room. Sometimes a maid-servant or other attendant of the lady describes the interior of her room to the gallant, as well as a birthmark on the lady's body, and steals for him some precious piece or pieces of her jewelry. And sometimes the gallant succeeds in having an accomplice concealed in the lady's chamber, whose discovery by the husband (or others) places her in a compromising situation.

In the stories which have thus far been recorded the defeated brother, lover, or husband employs numerous devices for avenging himself upon the lady who he supposes has deceived him. And in every case the treachery of the gallant is laid bare, or his mistake (in those instances in which he acts in good faith) is corrected. In the end punishment is meted out where it is due, and reconciliation is generally effected between lover and beloved.

The Worcester version of the story clearly belongs in class B, and its very simple and primitive character might seem to make it doubtful whether Paris is correct in supposing that A represents an earlier form of the cycle. But this question can only be settled in a convincing manner by a more comprehensive study than has thus far been undertaken of the entire cycle of "The Woman Falsely Accused." Our tale presents the following characteristics which will be found in some one or in several of the tales of the Wager cycle, as it is analyzed by Paris : (1) A wager is laid by a husband on the chastity of his wife. (2) When his advances are rejected, the would-be seducer employs deception and bribery to compass his ends. (3) By such means he gains possession of a highly prized ornament (a ring) belonging to the lady, and he also learns about a birthmark,—its appearance and location on her body. (4) The deceived husband attempts to punish his apparently disloyal wife (that is, she is committed "to

¹² P. 546.

¹³ While such reconstructions are largely a matter of guesswork, Paris's attempt seems to be more plausible than that of Ohle (55 f.),—tho Ohle is concerned principally with that form of the story which furnishes the plot of *Cymbeline*.

¹⁴ P. 483.

¹⁵ Described and printed by Child, ix, 21 ff.

¹⁶ *Gesammt Abenteuer*, III, p. lxxxiii ff.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*

¹⁸ *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, 135 ff.

¹⁹ *Über die Romanischen Vorläufer von Shakespeares Cymbeline*, Leipzig, 1890.

the nephew or cosyn of hir husbond").²⁰ (5) But she disguises herself as a man and flees to Alexandria, where she wins great favor as a counsellor and efficient officer of the ruler of the country. (6) In the performance of her duties there she one day discovers her husband among the beggars of the city, makes herself known to him and they are reconciled. (7) Thru the energetic action of the lady the treacherous gallant is brought to bay and made to suffer for his crimes.

While we find all these common characteristics present, there is only one of the score and more tales recorded and described by Paris²¹ that offers any very close parallel to the Worcester version. And this tale is preserved in the Tours ms. 468, fol. 165. It is as follows: There was once a lady famous for her great virtue. On a certain occasion when courtiers were traducing women in the presence of the king the conversation turned to the lady. One of those present said: "I wager my estate that I can go to her home and do what I wish with her in fifteen days; and I will prove my success by reliable evidence." The husband denies that he can do it, and wagers his estate also. The gallant repairs to the dwelling of the lady, but failing to gain access, he beguiles by fraud a maid-servant of the lady, who steals and turns over to him a ring which the lady had received from her husband. Moreover, she reveals to him the fact that the lady has a birthmark on her thigh.

On his return he reports that he has won and produces the evidence. When the husband hears it, he withdraws confused and very credulous, and having conducted his wife to his manor house he throws her into the water. She is rescued, and having exchanged her dress for male attire goes into a monastery, is converted, and having behaved herself there in an edifying manner she is given by the abbot to the king as almoner, and performs her duties willingly and very acceptably. One day while distributing alms she sees her husband among the poor people. She takes him aside, addresses some kind words to him and asks his history. He relates it to her and

tells her in confidence that the thing which gives him most pain is the thought of his cruel treatment of his wife. Then she tells him what has happened to her, and having obtained permission of the king to return to her own country, and having procured a horse and arms for her husband, she returns to the court of the (first) king in the fitting garb of woman and accuses the gallant of treachery and of having used violence. He denies on oath that he has ever seen her. She then addressing the king says: "Sir, grant me justice, I pray, for he has traduced me, thru his perfidy my husband lost his estate, and I was forced into exile." The treacherous gallant is condemned to be hanged, the husband's estate is restored to him, and she returns with him to their home.

While there are a number of striking points of similarity between this Tours ms. story and that of Worcester ms. 172, it is very evident, I think, that neither of them is derived immediately from the other. In this connection the following differences are significant: (1) The Worcester version is one of the few tales of the cycle in which the scene of action is laid mainly in Rome.²² (2) The deceived and disappointed man does not attempt to drown his wife, but she is cast out of her native city as an adulteress. (3) The wife escapes to Alexandria disguised as a man, and there becomes the confidential adviser of the king.²³ (4) Her great ability as statesman at Alexandria becomes known at the Roman court, and the young, inexperienced emperor sends for her to assist him in reducing the affairs of his realm to peace and order. (5) There (*i. e.*, at Rome) she accidentally meets both her husband and the villainous gallant, with the former of whom she is reconciled, while she causes the latter to be justly punished.

The time limit of the wager is the same, fifteen days, in both stories, and I think these are the only known members of the cycle in which this number of days is stipulated.

The birthmark feature occurs in many of the

²⁰ The "nephew or cosyn" corresponds to the servant in *Decameron* and *Cymbeline*.

²¹ P. 499 ff. Paris's study includes modern as well as medieval versions.

²² Also in *Cymbeline* and the *Miracle de Oton, Roy d'Espagne* (cf. *Ander's Shakespeare's Books*, p. 60 f.); on the scene of action generally see Ohle, 54 f.

²³ This feature appears in other versions of the tale, but it is not present in that of the Tours ms.

tales, and its character and location are of great interest. It is generally a flower (violet or rose), a mole, a wart, or a bunch of hair, which appears on or near one of the lady's breasts, or on one of her thighs, or sometimes on one shoulder.²⁴ But no other known story describes the birthmark as a "vernacle in signe," which we are told was located "an hand and an half from the kne unto the right hipe." The birthmark figures in so many²⁵ of these medieval tales that we must believe it originated very early in the genesis of the cycle. It does not occur, I think, in any of those tales in which the plot hinges on substitution and mutilation. But the use of the "slave brand" to mark the entrapped suitors of the "lady with the lotus flower" in an oriental (Cashmere) tale of Soma Deva²⁶ suggests at least a remote connection between mutilation²⁷ and birth-marks.

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Pedro Sánchez by D. JOSÉ M. DE PEREDA, with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary, by RALPH EMERSON BASSETT. Ginn and Co., 1908.

During the past few years a distinct advance in text-editing has been marked by the appearance of a number of admirably edited volumes, several of which are fortunately in Spanish. The service rendered by such works to this kind of scholarship—for text-editing ought to merit such a title

—cannot be overestimated, inasmuch as they remove from it the stigma of amateurishness due to the productions of inexperienced and over-cager editors. Heretofore, we have unfortunately considered text-editing as a somewhat scornful hack-work left to the tyro; and, as a result of this attitude, we have not a small number of texts that certainly deserve no better qualification. In the midst of so much around us to condemn, it is therefore with pleasure that we welcome any text-book like the present one which is worthy of high commendation, deserving a place among our best-edited Romance texts.

The purpose of the book, as summarily set forth in the Preface and in the Introduction to the Vocabulary, is two-fold: in the first place, a cultural one by means of a notable work dealing with modern Spanish society in its most classical spirit; and, secondly, a linguistic one, by taking a model text as the basis for careful language study in elementary or intermediate classes with all possible annotation for the realization of this intention. In each respect Pereda presents uncommonly strong advantages. He is the embodiment of the Spanish temperament to a degree hardly equalled by any of his contemporaries, the personification, so to speak, of Spanish sentiments and ideals; while, at the same time, as the heir of the best literary traditions of classical Spain he has produced a quality of work serving as the model of the *castizo* in Spanish expression.

Pereda is also a striking example of an author whose personality is so completely merged into his work that the significance of the latter is missed without a full knowledge of the former as reflected in his literary output in its entirety. It is obvious, then, that an editor of a work of Pereda must be one who is capable of demonstrating the vital relationship that exists between the author's personality and the honesty, the sincerity, and, especially, the finish and elegance characterizing his literary expression. Furthermore, any text—and particularly one of an author like Pereda—serving as a linguistic model loses its chief *raison d'être* unless it be made the means of emphasizing the important characteristics of the language. To perform this double task, the qualifications of long experience and patient observation are necessary; and, apparently in this instance, the editor fulfills all requirements.

²⁴ Cf. Ohle, 16 f. On a possible origin for the birthmark feature in these tales, see Ohle, p. 58.

²⁵ The birthmark is a violet in *Le Roman de la violette* (ed. Michel, Paris, 1834); a rose in *Guillaume de Dole* (ed. Servois, *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 1893; cf. Todd, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, II, 107 ff.); a wart surrounded by a tuft of golden hairs beneath the left breast (*Decameron*, 9th story, 11th Day); "a mole cinque-spotted" (*Cymbeline*); a lock of hair on the left shoulder (*Eufemia*, Comedy by Lope de Rueda, 16th cent., cf. Paris, p. 491); a strawberry on the shoulder (*Contes Mentonais*, Paris, 497); three grains of coffee on the thigh (*Moslema and Rasimi*, Paris, 523); a small black wart on the left arm (*Ein liebliche histori und wahrheit von vir Kaufmenden*, cf. Von der Hagen, III, p. ciii).

²⁶ Von der Hagen, III, p. lxxxiv f.; R. Köhler, *Zu der Erzählung Adams von Cobsam*, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Litt.*, VIII, 61 f.

²⁷ See Paris, p. 509, footnote 2.

The Introduction has aimed to present those salient traits of the author necessary for the proper appreciation of his work either as a whole or in isolated volumes. For this reason it is divided into three parts: first, the study of Pereda's work as the reflection of his literary personality; next, a summary of the leading events of each volume with a commentary—a proceeding justifiable by the fact that Pereda's works are destined to become a part, so far as we can judge at present, of the permanent body of Spanish classics—; and, finally, a sketch of the last century of Spanish politics, which is absolutely indispensable for any intelligent reading of *Pedro Sánchez* and which is nowhere else accessible in so brief a form. This first part of the work contains a considerable amount of original material, as, for example, concerning Pereda's life and work, which it is to be regretted that the editor did not see fit to publish first in some learned review. As such material is rarely expected in a text, the ordinary scholar may not be cognizant of its existence unless his attention is directed to it in some way.

It is also to be regretted that the editor was obliged to abridge the Spanish text. Such surgery, unfortunately too frequent in dealing with foreign works, is always to be feared. Yet it is more pardonable in regard to Spanish fiction which is usually so bulky that only through some sort of a reduction can a novel be rendered available for class use with the editorial accessories needed. Furthermore, in a volume like the present one, a skillful abridgment is a distinct gain, inasmuch as it minimizes for the learner's mind the danger of congestion from the display of an overassortment of narrative facts along with the other demands upon his attention. Pereda's better known works, such as *Sotileza* and *Peñas arriba*, present almost insuperable difficulties for such treatment. But *Pedro Sánchez*, which possesses the broadest human interest and most permanent elements of vitality of any of Pereda's works, lends itself readily to a reduction that seeks to retain the movement while dismissing characters and incidents *de second plan*. Yet it cannot be denied that all the accessories are necessary to make the complete picture effective to the trained mind provided with a vision capable of embracing all the details and understanding their relations to one another.

The Notes deal either with historical and social matter specifically called forth by a given occasion in the text or with explanatory matter difficult, or too long, to classify in the Vocabulary. With regard to this last feature of the work—i. e., the Vocabulary—to which the editor has given especial emphasis, the question immediately arises whether it is at all necessary in an advanced text. Our answer would probably be in the negative, if we were concerned with French, in which good dictionaries abound. But with regard to Spanish where no thoroughly satisfactory dictionary—not even in the Castilian itself—is yet available, such a feature seems almost imperative in every text. Besides, an author whose vocabulary is as rich and varied—at times, even exotic—as that of Pereda requires a more special explanation than is found in the ordinary dictionary. Furthermore, in this particular case, the ingenious use of cross-references is not only of great assistance to both the teacher and student, but will merit the consideration of the future lexicographer of Spanish.

Into the Notes and Vocabulary have slipped—quite unavoidably from the peculiar nature and inception of the task—some slight mistakes which doubtless prevent the completed work from fulfilling in all respects the good intentions of the builder in harmony with its imposing outlines. These blemishes, though not of much importance, are to be honestly and candidly noted:

Page vii. The appearance of the page would be greatly improved by the omission of the long series of "its." P. xix, l. 10. Would it not be more exact to say "about the end of the seventeenth century," inasmuch as some of Calderon's best work appeared after 1650? P. xix, ll. 21, etc. Although published after several of Pereda's works, did not *Pepita Jiménez* establish the type of the modern Spanish novel to the world in general? (Cf. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Span. Lit.*, 1898, pp. 387-8.) P. xxxvi, l. 1. The figure 1 after "blandishments" belongs doubtless to p. xxxv, l. 26. P. xxxix, l. 2. *Inéz* should be *Inés*. P. lxxxviii, l. 25. *Alfonso XIII* should read *Alfonso XII*. P. 1, l. 1. As an argument in favor of the little recognized two-fold nature of *pueblo* as composed of town proper and outlying *comarca*, cf. p. 5, l. 10, *las mieses del pueblo*. P. 10, l. 18. *Siendo muy de tenerse en cuenta*: while quite clear in sense a satisfactory phraseology is not easy to produce

from the vocabulary data (cf. *ser*). It would be well to make a note, as, for ex., "it is well worth bearing in mind." P. 11, l. 18. This much-needed explanation of the invariable *lo* in juxtaposition with a variable adjective might be improved in clearness. P. 40, ll. 32-33. The wording of the note would imply that the *lucero del alba* was the victim of the *cesantias* of which D. Serafín complains, whereas, in reality, the *lucero* is referred to as the dispenser of them. P. 67, l. 16. The editor's language in regard to the *Clarín* seems a little too severe. However frothy its politics might have been, *Matica* (p. 72, ll. 2-13) calls it a "journal of good business methods and high literary standing." P. 72, l. 7. "Quite as well" rather "the best that can be." In regard to the Vocabulary, the following omissions have been noted: *trashumante* (p. 6, l. 23), *vínculo* (p. 11, l. 32), *hiriendo* (p. 13, l. 6), *centella* (p. 21, l. 25), *tapicería* (p. 48, l. 16), *sobrado* (p. 56, l. 25), *aduana* (p. 62, l. 19), *armario* (p. 73, l. 27). "Just as" for *así como* (p. 60, l. 16) does not appear anywhere. Under *cargo*, the expression *hacerse cargo de* (p. 5, l. 4; p. 56, l. 23), "to become aware of, to realize," is not recorded. Under *cuarto*, the value of "about 6 cents" should read "about 6 mills." Under *guitar*, we find *quita*, interj., "God forbid!", for 148, l. 3; rather "nonsense! go away!" The meaning of *higa* should be made to read: "fig (contemptuously—the fruit is *higo*)," etc.

As will be readily seen, these are errors of commission and omission that naturally find their way into a first edition. It is to be hoped that the editor and publishers—who, by the way, are to be congratulated on the typographical beauty and compactness of the book—will see to it that in the second edition these slight improvements are made so as to render the work as nearly perfect as possible.

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HONOR TO WHOM HONOR IS DUE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In the September number of *Harpers' Monthly Magazine* appears a criticism of Shakes-

peare's *Antony and Cleopatra* by Mr. James Douglas. This unfortunately does not keep up to the level of the earlier reviews of the series, by Swinburne. One-fourth of the article is devoted to the word-music of "the purple patch" description of Cleopatra's meeting Antony on the river Cydnus. Mr. Douglas talks for three columns of the wonderful combinations of "liquids" and "open vowels" and so on; but he does not mention the fact that the passage is taken from North's *Plutarch* with very little change. If he had considered the entire description, he would have found it almost word for word in *Plutarch*. I quote the selection given by Mr. Douglas, and then the passage from North's *Plutarch*, underlining the words taken directly from North:

"The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne,
Burn'd on the water: the poop was beaten gold;
Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
The winds were love-sick with them; the oars were silver,
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
The water which they beat to follow faster
As amorous of their strokes."

(Act II, Sc. ii, ll. 196-202.)

"She disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poepe whereof was of gold, the sailes of purple, and the owers of siluer, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the musicke of flutes, howboyes, cytherns, vyolls, and such other instruments as they played vpon in the barge . . . others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull passing sweete sauor of perfumes that perfumed the wharfes side."—North's *Plutarch*, 1595, from Furness's *Antony and Cleopatra*, p. 390.

Shakespeare changed the word-music of prose into the word-music of poetry, but he did not originate the music nor create the picture.

Mr. Douglas's other criticisms add little to the appreciation of Shakespeare's power. He shows how Shakespeare's delineation of Cleopatra's character differs from that of Plutarch; but this we all could have read in Prof. Ferrero's *Greatness and Decline of Rome*.

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AN UNPRINTED VERSION OF "A CRISTEMASSE SONG."

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Among the beautiful carols of the Virgin and her Child, published by Dr. Dyboski from Richard Hill's *Commonplace-book*,¹ there is none more touching than the *Gloria in Excelsis*, as it might be called. The dialogue between the holy mother and her son, carried through eleven stanzas, depicts the heart-wrung Maiden, distraught at the grief of her Child, learning for the first time of the sorrows that are in store. At the same time there ring above this poignant sorrow the joyous notes of the angels singing in heaven. "The poem," says Professor Padelford,² "portrays the crushing grief of the Virgin with the naïve fidelity and tenderness characteristic of medieval workmanship."

It needs no excuse, therefore, if I call the attention of students of the period, and particularly of the editors of future carols, to a manuscript containing the first stanzas of this carol, in an unnoticed version decidedly better than that published by Dr. Dyboski. This ms., Laud 683, is probably not later than 1460, and it therefore antedates the Hill version by at least seventy years. Its version corrects that of the worthy song-loving freeman of Grocers Hall, to an extent that makes printing the whole text advisable. I therefore subjoin a literal transcript of the Laud copy, which is on the last folio, 105b, an odd page left vacant. The leaves which contained the rest of the song, and possibly other carols, are lost. As is customary in such texts the refrain is given as a heading, and not repeated in full thereafter.

HERE BEGYNNETH A CRISTEMASSE SONG.

[fol 105b]

Synge we with angelis. gloria in excelsis a

A babe is born, our blyse to brynge,¹

A maide ther was dyd² lully and synge ;

¹ Early English Text Society, Extra Series, CI (1908). The poem is printed pp. 21-23. It has also been printed by Flügel in *Festschrift für R. Hildebrand*, 1894, and in *Anglia*, xxvi, 247 (1903). Prof. Holthausen corrected his text in *Anglia*, xvii, 444.

² *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, 382. He seems ignorant of this Laud text.

She saide : "dere sone, leve thy wepynge,
Thy ffader ys the kyng of blys."
Synge we, [with angelis, gloria in excelsis].

"Lullay," she sange and saide³ also,
"My nowne⁴ dere sone, why artow⁵ wo ?
Haue I not do that⁶ I sholde do ?
Thy grevaunce, telle me what it is!"
Synge we, [etc.]

"Nay, modir,⁷ for this⁸ wepe I nought,
But for the wo that shal be wrought
To me, er⁹ I mankynde haue bought :
Was neuer no¹⁰ sorwe so lyk, I wys."¹¹
Synge we, [etc.]

"A, pore dere sone !¹² telle me not soo,
Thow art my child, I haue no moo ;
Sholde I se men myn owne sone slo ?
Allas ! dere child,¹³ what menyth¹⁴ this ?"
Synge we, [etc.]

"Yis, modir, myn handis,¹⁵ that ye here¹⁶ se,
They¹⁷ shal be nailed to¹⁸ a tre,
My fleet also fastened¹⁹ schul be ;
That man shal wepe that seeth²⁰ this."
Synge we, [etc.]

"Allas, dere child !²¹ hard ys myn²² happe,
To se my sone that sook²³ my pappe,
His handys, or²⁴ feet, that I sholde lappe,²⁵
Be nailed so sore,²⁶ that neuer dyd amys."
Synge we [with angelis, gloria in excelsis].

Variants in Hill's version : Refrain a. Now synge (in every case). This points to the dropping of final -e as a song syllable, in Hill's version. 1. to blys us brynge. Holthausen corrected to "us blis to brynge"; but Dyboski defended Hill, and said *brynge* might be subjunctive. 2. I hard a mayd. 3. said & songe. 4. Myn own. 5. art þow. 6. as. 7. Nay dere moder. 8. þe. 9. or. 10. om. Hill. 11. ywis. 12. Pesse dere sone. 13. my dere son ! 14. menyys. 15. My hondis, moder. 16. may. 17. om. Hill. 18. vnto. 19. all so fast. 20. Men shall wepe that shall se. 21. A, dere son ! 22. my. 23. sokid. 24. his. 25. dide wrappe. 26. Be so naylid.

HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN.

WRITERS WITH NEW IDEAS.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—When a writer or speaker is struck powerfully by a new idea, he generally shows marvelous ingenuity in working it into his next production. I have found what seems to me a curious instance of this often exemplified tendency. In *Les Annales Politiques et Littéraires* for March 28th, the French critic Émile Faguet re-

views Charles Régismanset's collection of epigrams entitled "Les Contradictions." The reviewer is especially struck by the warning :

"Ne dis pas :

"— Je n'aime pas la danse.

"Mais :

"— Je danse mal."

He applies this bit of searching criticism to various phases of life, and quotes it repeatedly in the course of his review.

In the April number of the *Quarterly Review*, the hundredth anniversary of Tennyson's birth is commemorated by an appreciation of the English poet from the pen of the same French critic. In the course of a rapid summary of the chief facts of Tennyson's life, Faguet says :

"Après quelques changements de résidence il se fixe à Farringford, dans l'île de Wight, s'y complaît et y caresse son bonheur, ne s'écartant de ce lieu que rarement pour aller à Londres qu'il aime peu ou plutôt où il s'aime peu.

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"NEVER LESS ALONE THAN WHEN ALONE."

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In connection with the comment in *Modern Language Notes* for February and April by Professor Cook and Professor Allen on the source of the apothegm, "Never less alone than when alone," I venture to call attention to the opening sentences of Cowley's essay, "*Of Solitude*," which are as follows:—

"*Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus*" is now become a very vulgar saying. Every man and almost every boy for these seventeen hundred years has had it in his mouth. But it was at first spoken by the excellent Scipio, who was without question a most worthy, most happy, and the greatest of all mankind. His meaning, etc."

Professor Allen's citation of Cicero's *De Officiis* (3. 1) apparently determined the source of the apothegm for English literature, but Cowley's testimony to its longstanding popularity seems worth quoting.

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LITERATURE OF MELANCHOLY.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In his *Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement* (p. 91), Professor Phelps says regarding the "literature of melancholy" which flourished in the middle and latter half of the eighteenth century, "Of course its original inspiration from *Il Penseroso* is indisputable." Professor Beers, in his more extended work on the same subject, is guarded in his statements but seems to think Milton's poem was an important influence upon this so-called "graveyard poetry." Altho one or the other of these opinions has been accepted by most students of eighteenth century literature, both seem to me to be based upon a confusion of several quite different things and a misunderstanding of Milton's poem.

In the first place, the fondness of the eighteenth century for gloom found expression in a number of notable works which were entirely uninfluenced by *Il Penseroso*, for example, Young's *Night Thoughts* (1742-8), Blair's *Grave* (1745), and the less known *Night* (1728) of Ralph in poetry, and in prose James Harvey's *Meditations among the Tombs* (1745-6). There is also a remarkable expression of it as early as 1725 in a letter of the poet Thompson's, "Now I imagine you seized with a fine romantic kind of melancholy on the fading of the year; now I figure you wandering, philosophical and pensive, amidst the brown, withered groves, while the leaves rustle under your feet, the sun gives a farewell, parting gleam . . . Then again when the heavens wear a more gloomy aspect, the winds whistle, and the waters spout." It seems pretty clear, accordingly, that *Il Penseroso* did not furnish the original inspiration for the "literature of melancholy." To what degree did it influence that literature?

About 1740 Milton's octosyllabics became very popular and furnished a model for hundreds of poems. It would be natural to suppose, if *Il Penseroso* were closely connected with the poetry of gloom, that a large number of these imitations would be of a melancholy character and that many of them would breathe the clammy air of the tomb. This is very far from being the case. My recollection of the four hundred and more poems

of this type that I have found is that there are very few gloomy pieces among them, far fewer, I am certain, than among the poems written at the time in other forms. *Il Penseroso* seems to have been scarcely more popular and no more imitated than its joyous companion piece. Poems on solitude, contemplation, and similar subjects connected with a love of retirement and seclusion are, to be sure, frequently found and were without doubt influenced by Milton's poem. But these themes are not gloomy any more than is *Il Penseroso*—which, it should be observed, is not *Il Melancholio*. They praise a quiet, contemplative life and they praise it, as Milton does, because it seems to them the happiest life and not because they are deprest or because they enjoy gloom. It is a far cry from the mood of *Il Penseroso* to that of the *Night Thoughts* or of such passages as the following from Warton's *Pleasures of Melancholy*:

But when the world
Is clad in Midnight's raven-colour'd robe,
Mid hollow charnal let me watch the flame
Of taper dim, shedding a livid glare
O'er the wan heaps; while airy voices talk
Along the glimm'ring wall; or ghastly shape
At distance seen, invites with beck'ning hand
My lonesome steps, thro' the far-winding vaults.

Professor Beers apparently uses the terms "elegiac mood," "love of retirement and seclusion," "low spirits," and "Pensive Meditation" interchangeably (*Eng. Romanticism XVIII Cent.*, p. 162), and accordingly, it would seem, groups all the poetry of the mid-eighteenth century which exhibits any of these under what he calls "the *Il Penseroso* school." Then, too, tho he says, "There were various degrees of somberness from the delicate gray of the Wartons to the funereal sable of Young's *Night Thoughts* and Blaire's *Grave*," Professor Beers fails to call attention to the important fact that the sombreness of one poet differs radically from that of another in kind. We have, for instance, the real tho far from intense melancholy of Gray, the exaggerated love of gloom of Thomas Warton and Walpole—which is genuine only as it comes from a healthy enjoyment of ghosts, mysteries and Gothic architecture,—and the fondness for a retired, studious life which is exprest in *Il Penseroso* and was exemplified by Milton's happy years at Horton. The love of gloom which characterized much of the literature

of the middle and later part of the eighteenth century belongs with the fondness for the Middle Ages, for ruins, and for wild nature. It was a part of the romantic and rather sentimental tendencies of the time; it is alien to the mood of *Il Penseroso* and would have been quite the same if Milton's poem had never been written.

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THE MEANING OF VITA NUOVA.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—The word *Nuova* in the title of Dante's famous opusculum is usually interpreted to mean either 'youthful,' or 'new' in the sense of regenerate through his love for Beatrice. Witte in the *Prolegomena* to his edition pretty effectually disposes of the former interpretation but accepts the latter. It has always seemed to me unsatisfactory to connect the idea of regeneration through love with a nine year old boy, even after making all possible allowances for the precocity of genius, and it has long seemed to me that the word might bear another meaning, which, so far as I am aware, has not been proposed. This meaning is that of 'strange,' or 'mystic.'¹ It must be remembered that Dante gives the title in Latin, and that *novus* has at times the sense of 'strange,' 'never before experienced,' while, so far as I know, it does not connote the idea of regeneration. In Italian, too, examples of *nuovo* = strange, are plentiful. The life which Dante describes is certainly a mystic one, in which by meditation and certain conduct he attains an esoteric knowledge of love. I think this is true whether we regard Beatrice as wholly human, wholly allegorical, or partly one and partly the other.

¹ It is true that Witte pointed out the sense of *meraviglioso, straordinario*, which *nuovo* and *novello* sometimes have, especially in poetic language (*Anmerkungen zu den Gedichten der V. N.*, in *D. A.'s Lyrische Gedichte übers. u. erl. von Kannegiesser u. Witte, Leipz., 1852*), but he does not interpret this meaning as equivalent to 'mystic,' nor does he adopt it as explaining the title; also that Rossetti uses the word 'strange' as a translation of *nuovo* in the text, but he expressly adheres to the translation *New Life* (in the sense of regenerate life), calling this, however, the more 'mystical' interpretation (*Early Italian Poets*, Part II, Introduction).

There are fifteen examples in the *Vita Nuova* of the use of the word *nuovo*, beside one of the superlative *novissimo* (see Sheldon-White, *Concordanza*, pp. 417, 420-1). Of these sixteen instances it seems to me that nine lend themselves readily to the interpretation which I have suggested, as follows :

- Sonnet 7, line 3.
- Chapter xv, line 1.
- Chapter xviii, line 17.
- Sonnet 11, line 14.
- Canzone 2, line 13 of stanza 1.
- Chapter xxiv, line 10.
- Canzone 3, line 5 of stanza 5.
- Chapter xxxix, line 1.
- Sonnet 25, line 3.

In the cases of Chapter xxxi, line 8, and Sonnet 22, l. 10, I think the interpretation is at least possible.

It is not my intention to elaborate here this suggestion, by reference to Dante's other works or otherwise ; I merely give it for what it may be worth.

Two other questions :—Was there any connection in Dante's mind between his use of *nova* in the title and the *dolce stil nuovo*, which treats mystically of love, or with the recurrent mystical number *nove*, so similar in sound ? As he used a symbolism of numbers and colors, why not a symbolism of sound ? (cf. *Primavera*).

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AN OBSCURE ALLUSION IN HERDER.

Supplementary Note.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—In the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* (Vol. xxii, pp. 550 f.), I suggested a possible explanation of a passage in Herder for which Suphan failed to find any authority in ancient literature. Herder wrote¹ : "Der wahre Tempel des Geschmacks ist nicht eine Orientalische Pagode, ein Ruhesitz, wo man als am Ende seiner Wallfahrt sich niederlässt ; er ist vielmehr wie der Tempel des Marcellus gebaut ;

die Pforte des Geschmacks, auch in Münzen, ein Durchgang zur Wissenschaft : zur Wissenschaft, welche es wolle." I thought this description might be a vague reminiscence of Moses Mendelssohn. It appears, however, that Mendelssohn² took the description from Winckelmann, from whom Herder might just as well have got it. Winckelmann, attempting to show allegory even in the architecture of the ancients, thus interprets the temple of Marcellus³ : "Noch gelehrter war der Bau des Tempels der Tugend und der Ehre, welchen Marcellus unternahm. Da er die Beute, welche er in Sicilien gemacht hatte, hierzu bestimmte, wurde ihm sein Vorhaben durch die Oberpriester, deren Gutachten er vorher einholte, untersaget, unter dem Vorwande, dass ein einziger Tempel nicht zwei Gottheiten fassen könnte. Marcellus liess also zwei Tempel nahe an einander bauen, (Plutarch. Marcell. [c. 28.]) dergestalt, dass man durch den Tempel der Tugend gehen musste, um in den Tempel der Ehre zu gelangen ; um dadurch zu lehren, dass man allein durch Ausübung der Tugend zur wahren Ehre geführt werde. Dieser Tempel war vor der Porta Capena (Vulpium Latium, t. 2. l. 2. c. 20, p. 175)." Mendelssohn's comment seems not injudicious : "Die Bedeutung ist offenbar, allein die Unternehmung selbst scheint allzu sehr von dem Geiste der Baukunst entfernt zu sein. Die Beschreibung eines solchen Gebäudes macht den Sinn der Allegorie weit anschaulicher, als das Gebäude selbst ; ein untrügliches Kennzeichen, dass der Einfall mehr zur Dichtkunst als zur Baukunst gehört." But Mendelssohn's criticism is directed against Winckelmann, not against Plutarch, who says nothing about the relation in which the buildings stood to each other. That the builder's idea was quite so allegorical as Winckelmann assumed, is very doubtful. But Herder apparently accepted Winckelmann's view, and in the passage in question referred to him rather than to Mendelssohn.

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² Über die Hauptgrundsätze, *Ges. Schriften*, Lpz., 1843, I, p. 298.

³ Erläuterung der Gedanken von der Nachahmung der griechischen Werke, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Eiselein, Donauöschingen, 1825, I, p. 197.

¹ *Werke*, ed. Suphan, III, p. 382.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXIV.

BALTIMORE, DECEMBER, 1909.

No. 8.

THE WOOD OF BIRNAM.

In his notes to the Variorum edition of *Macbeth*, Dr. Furness has collected much evidence in favor both of the mythical and the military sources of Malcolm and Siward's device of utilising the trees of Birnam Forest in their attack on the castle of Dunsinane; the mythical sources, however, predominate.

The following is a summary of the evidence of the mythical origin of the incident:—

Prof. Schwarz, in his *Notabilia*, speaks of a certain king, who together with a daughter of miraculous gifts, is besieged in his castle by King Grünewald; the latter on May-day captures the castle by means of the moving forest scheme.

2. Grimm, in his *German Popular Tales*, and J. G. Ritter ascribe the same design to Fredegunda, who triumphs over her enemy in this way and secures the victory for her son Clothaire. This version differs from others, in that the queen attaches bells to the horses' heads, so as to further mislead the enemy, who think their own horses are browsing among the trees.

3. Simrock, in his *German Mythology*, shows that the legend 'originated in the German religious custom of May-festivals, or Summer-welcomings, and that King 'Grünewald' is originally a Winter-giant, whose dominion ceases when the May-feast begins and the green-wood draws nigh.'

4. Halliwell states that the same incident occurs in the old romance of *Alexander the Great*, found in the library at Lincoln cathedral, Alexander overcoming Darius and taking Susa by storm.

The King Grünewald story which Simrock considers to be 'the mythical basis of the Macbeth legend,' it may be pointed out, seems closely related to the custom, now fast dying out, in provincial England of celebrating May day by a mumming representation of Jack-in-the-Green.

The late W. Owen Pughe believed this practice to be bound up with a legendary source, since in Welsh mythology Nelvas disguises himself with green boughs, and lies in waiting for Queen Guinevere as she is returning from the hunt.

On the other hand, much may be said as to the actual military derivation of the episode in *Macbeth*. Dr. Furness, in his Notes to the play, pp. 325-7, cites the following instances:—

1. An Arabic legend quoted by Jastrow in *Folk-Lore*, 1890, which connects the story with the generation subsequent to Mahomet, and which is the oldest recorded version. Jastrow says: 'I do not think that scholars will hit upon Arabia as the final source. Woods and forests are not the characteristic features of Arabia . . . It is likely that we shall eventually be led to India, the home of so many tales that have wandered all over the world.'

2. Saxo Grammaticus relates that Hakon made use of the same stratagem in his fight with Sigurt.

3. In 1332 Patrick, Earl of March, after the battle of Dupplin, practised these arts in a modified form in an attack on Perth by ordering his troops to cut faggots from the wood of Lamerkin with which to fill up the ante-mural fosses of the city. It is quite possible, Furness thinks, from the close proximity of Dunsinane to Perth that Wytoun, in his *Chronicle*, may have utilised the story of Lamerkin for the purposes of embellishment, as it is very generally deemed to be historical; while the incident in *Macbeth* rests on very doubtful grounds.

To these instances may be added the one, referred to by Dr. W. E. Roloff, in his letter in the *Modern Language Notes*, xxi, 192, of the people of Ditmarschen outwitting the Count of Bökkenborg by the same means. There is still another occurrence of quite recent date that belongs to this category. In 1904, it will be recalled, the Japanese commander, perhaps on the strength of a Shakespearean reminiscence, when approaching the Russian entrenchments on

the western bank of the Yalu, took the precaution to erect a series of trellis works made of bamboo boughs, by means of which their numbers and proximity were materially concealed: the result being that a heavy cannonade was opened upon the Russians from this masked position, which speedily led to the victory of the Japanese.

In spite of the strong evidence adduced by German critics of a mythical origin for the 'moving forest legend,' I think it is safe to say that the ruse attributed by Shakespeare to Malcolm had its rise among purely military surroundings.

In *Judges*, ix, after a relation of the conquest of Shechem by Abimelech, the natural son of Gideon, and the sowing of it with salt, the Scriptural narrative continues:—

'And when all the men of Shechem heard that, they entered into a hold of the house of the god Berith. And it was told that all the men of the town of Shechem were gathered together. And Abimelech got him up to Mount Zalmon, he and all the people that were with him; and Abimelech took an axe in his hand, and cut down the bough from the trees, and took it, and laid it on his shoulder, and said unto the people that were with him, "What ye have seen me do, make haste, and do as I have done." And all the people likewise cut down every man his bough and followed Abimelech, and put them to the hold and set the hold on fire upon them; so that all the men of the town of Shechem died, also about a thousand men and women.' (Vv. 46–9.)

The circumstances here related seem, in my opinion, to give the clue to the real origin of the incident as adapted to military purposes by different commanders. I take it that the happy thought did not in the first instance suggest itself to a leader of troops to provide his men with branches of trees simply for the purpose of concealment. That was a lucky afterthought. The ultimate design arose from the far more natural prompting, which barbarians have always evinced, to call in the agency of fire to destroy the enemy's stronghold, when they were otherwise unable to capture it, or could only capture it with great difficulty and loss of life. This would naturally lead to the discovery that the branches borne to the end of incendiarism became a potent means for other purposes as well: such as hiding the advancing

man or filling up the insurmountable ditchway; besides affording a certain immunity from attack at the same time. This is, I think, in brief, the genesis of the Birnam Wood mode of attack. Without pretending to attribute to Abimelech the priority of its invention, it may probably be safe to date back its inspiration to a very ancient and remote past.

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BIBLIOGRAPHIE ZUR TECHNIK DES NEUEREN DEUTSCHEN ROMANS. I.

Für das grosse Interesse, welches das Studium der Romanteknik neuerdings erregt, zeugt der Umfang der vorliegenden Bibliographie, die nicht einmal die Masse der Rezensionen einzelner Werke und Autoren berücksichtigt.

In Deutschland haben Schriftsteller und Literaturhistoriker später als in England und Frankreich begonnen sich diesem Studium zu widmen. Zum grossen Teil hat man die ausländische Technik nachgeahmt und das zwar bis auf den heutigen Tag, so dass man vielerorts noch von einer spezifisch deutschen Technik sich nicht zu reden getraut. Unter einer Anzahl der bedeutendsten gegenwärtigen Romanschriftsteller, deren Gutachten hierüber vom Unterzeichneten eingeholt, ist die grosse Mehrzahl der Ansicht, dass es keine spezifisch deutsche Technik gebe. Wie dem nun sei, ob es eine spezifisch deutsche oder eine internationale Technik ist, man befasst sich mehr und mehr damit.

Die ersten, die sich in Deutschland mit der eigentlichen Technik befassten, waren, wie das auch ganz sachgemäss scheint, die Romanschriftsteller selbst, denn was Bodmer, Gottsched, Blankenburg u. a. hierüber gehandelt, ist ganz allgemein gehalten. Tiecks Arbeit über die Novelle, Goethe und Schillers Abhandlungen über die epische Kunst, die Romantiker, in neuerer Zeit aber besonders Ludwig und Spielhagen, behandeln Technisches.

Sodann begaben sich die Literaturhistoriker an die Geschichte des Romans. Es entstanden Werke wie Cholevius, Bobertag, Eichendorff, Wolf, die ins-

gesamt nicht über geschichtliche Zusammenfassungen und zerstreute Bemerkungen hinauskamen.

Tiefer in die Probleme der Technik drangen Ludwig und Spielhagen. In neuester Zeit, da das Theoretisieren über die eigene Kunst allgemein geworden, gibt es kaum einen Romanschriftsteller, der nicht auch über Technisches etwas verlauten lässt. Auch darf man getrost sagen, dass das Wertvollste über Technik von Schriftstellern geschrieben worden ist.

Mielke bleibt das Verdienst als erster das gesammte moderne Material zusammengetragen und geordnet zu haben. Rehorn und Keiter sind weniger vollständig und weniger brauchbar; ersteres Werk verhält sich gegen die neueren Richtungen ablehnend, letzteres ist tendenziös gehalten.

Die neuerdings beliebte Behandlung von Romangruppen, so: Ritter- und Räuberromane, Schelmenromane, Gespenstergeschichten, auch die Behandlung von besonderen Themen, z. E. der Verkehr im Roman, der Arzt im Roman, die Ethik des Romans u. s. w. hat viel wertvolles hervorgebracht, ist auch in so fern geraten als die Bewältigung des ganzen ungeheuren Materials dem einzelnen beinahe unmöglich wird.

Auch auf höheren Schulen wird gegenwärtig dies Studium eifrig betrieben, während noch vor einem Jahrzehnt ein Lehrer durch das Studium der Romanliteratur in eigens dazu eingerichteten Kursen in Gefahr kam als unwissenschaftlich verschrien zu werden.

Es ist ja wahr, dass das Studium der Romantechnik wissenschaftlich keineswegs so fest begründet ist, wie z. B. das der dramatischen Technik. Ein grösseres, zusammenfassendes, regelndes Werk über die Romantechnik steht noch aus. Zur Voraussetzung muss es haben: Eine Übersicht der gesamten Romanliteratur Deutschlands, und z. T. der anderen Kulturstaaten. Dazu unmittelbare Kenntnis der Romankunst sowohl als eine richtige klare Auffassung der technischen Probleme. Es soll eine Ästhetik des Romans werden, nicht ein Regelbuch für Anfänger.

Neuere Werke, die viel zu einem besseren Verständnis der Romankunst beigetragen, und deren Anordnung und Methode bei ähnlichen Versuchen nicht ausser Aug gelassen werden darf, sind Riemann und Müller-Embs.

Dem wachsenden Interesse an dem Studium der

Romantechnik soll auch diese Bibliographie zu Hilfe kommen.

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Die Anordnung ist alphabetisch nach dem Inhalt der Arbeiten. Was sonst nicht untergebracht werden konnte, ist unter *deutscher Roman* oder *Technik* gebracht worden.

Die Abkürzungen für die Titel der Zeitschriften sind die in den Jahresberichten für neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte gebräuchlichen. Hinzugezogen sind nebst genanntem Werk, Diedrichs Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur, die Verzeichnisse der Universitätschriften, die technischen Zeitschriften u. a. m. Die allbekannten Arbeiten über die Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, die meistens auch etwas über den Roman enthalten, sind nicht aufgeführt worden.

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(To be continued in January Number.)

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ON A QUANTITATIVE RELATION GOVERNING CERTAIN LINGUISTIC PHENOMENA.

Professor Edward Sievers¹ in his paper on "The Relation of German Linguistics to Indo-Germanic Linguistics and German Philology," read before the St. Louis Congress of Arts and Sciences,

¹ Congress of Arts and Sciences, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904, vol. 3: 284.

speaks of word-accent and sentence-accent, and of certain efforts that have been made to solve what he calls the problem of sentence-rhythm and language-melody. He expresses the conviction that authors are unconsciously limited in their choice of expressions; that their writings are characterized by a certain rhythm which is so clear and so well-defined that it becomes an important factor in philological criticism. To use his own words,

"The individual speaker—especially if he be an author, and no matter whether he be writing in verse or prose—is under the ban of certain rhythmic-melodic conceptions, which unconsciously influence his choice of expressions. The influence is so strong that an author's individual production, often even his entire work, assumes a more or less plain, yet easily recognizable characteristic rhythmic-melodic impress. In language melody especially, the personal peculiarity of the individual author becomes an important factor in the separation of unrelated portions of a preserved text. Personal observations conducted along these lines for several years convinced me that there is no phase of philological criticism which may not receive new light from this source, whether we are dealing with the selection of different versions of a text and the accurate determination of linguistic and metrical forms or with the most complicated problems of higher criticism. The method to be employed in the investigation and application of the individual rhythmic-melodic standards are difficult indeed and have been determined only in small measure. Years will no doubt pass by before empirical proof of the validity of this thesis can be established in detail. Yet even this day we may express the fond hope that the evidence will be forthcoming."

In view of these remarks, I wish to call attention to a number of investigations which anticipated Professor Sievers' hypothesis, and furnish in no small measure "empirical proof of the validity" of his thesis. Furthermore I wish to communicate the discovery of a quantitative relation, the first of its kind ever observed, and which, it would seem, points the way to, if it does not constitute the beginning of, a new branch of linguistic science.

As to the work done in anticipation of Professor Sievers' thesis, Professor Sherman,² Mr. Gerwig³

² *Some Observations upon the Sentence-Length in English Prose*, University (of Nebraska) Studies, vol. 1, p. 119.

On Certain Facts and Principles in the Development of Form in Literature, *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 337.

³ *On the Decrease of Predication and of Sentence Weight in English Prose*, *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 17.

and others investigated in great detail certain so-called sentence-constants, as sentence length—the average number of words per sentence used by an author, predication-average or the average number of finite verbs per sentence, simple-sentence-frequency—the average number of simple sentences per hundred, etc. The results of Sherman and Gerwig seemed to establish the principle of the invariability of sentence-constants for a given author. There is one set and only one set of constants for each author, while different authors employ in general different sets of constants, in short, the results seemed to justify the conclusion that an author's style is characterized by certain ascertainable numerical constants.

In the second place mention must be made of Dr. T. C. Mendenhall's⁴ researches on average word-lengths, and his theory of characteristic curves. His results led him to believe that authors not only put a uniform average number of letters into their words, but that in the long run, one letter words, two letter words, three letter words, etc., do recur with constant frequencies. These relative frequencies give rise to a curve which is characteristic of the author. One author can give rise to but one curve, different curves invariably signify different authorship. It was thought that one hundred thousand words would be both necessary and sufficient to furnish such a characteristic curve.

The present writer⁵ found that one and the same author may employ several distinct sets of sentence-constants, and may give rise to two or more distinct word-curves. Previous investigators had not taken into consideration the effect of the various types of composition, as drama, fiction, biography, criticism, description, science, etc., upon the sentence-constants and word-curves. The principle of invariable sentence-constants as

well as the theory of characteristic curves must be modified so as to allow for the form into which an author casts his thought. In fact, an examination and comparison of all the data available clearly point to the conclusion that the form of composition rather than an author's individuality is the controlling factor in the determination of at least sentence-length, predication-average, simple sentence-percentage, and the relative frequencies of words of various lengths.

In all the work done thus far to establish the invariability of sentence-constants, an equally if not more important question can be raised, the question whether there exists any determinate relation among the sentence-constants themselves. Written language considered as an organism should be subject to the law of organisms in general, and have the proportion of its parts governed by the laws of probability. Not only should the component parts of a composition yield themselves to the law of the mean, but their interrelation should be definite and, if sufficiently simple, should admit of determination. It is with this question that the remainder of this paper is to deal.

Mr. Gerwig's tables contain the results by actual count of about 60,000 sentences analysed with respect to predication-averages and simple-sentence-percentages. The results represent seventy-one different English authors and cover every period of English literature from Chaucer to the present day writers. As originally exhibited the arrangement was by authors, but for the present purpose it will be more convenient to arrange the results with reference to one of the constants in question, say the predication-average which we shall denote by P. The corresponding simple-sentence-percentage is denoted by S. The columns headed by W contain the number of sentences on which the respective averages are based. Averages from groups of less than 500 sentences have been omitted.

⁴ "The Characteristic Curves of Composition," *Science*, March 11, 1887.

⁵ "Solution of a Literary Problem," *Popular Science Monthly*, Dec., 1901.

⁶ "The Sherman Principle in Rhetoric and its Restrictions," *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. 63 (1903), p. 534.

On the Variation, etc., University (of Nebraska) Studies, vol. 3, p. 229.

⁷ "On the Significance of Characteristic Curves of Composition," *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. 65 (1904), p. 132.

1.	P = 1.50 — 2.00		
	W	P	S
Symonds.....	500	1.84	58
Macaulay.....	500	1.88	48
Average.....		1.86	53

P = 2.00 — 2.25			
2.	W	P	S
Phelps.....	500	2.03	50
Channing.....	1000	2.09	42
Bartol.....	1500	2.10	44
Emerson.....	500	2.14	38
Macaulay.....	5000	2.16	36
Blaine.....	500	2.23	39
Average.....		2.14	39.1

P = 2.25 — 2.50			
3.	W	P	S
Everett.....	1000	2.27	32
Macaulay.....	4000	2.29	32
Geikie.....	500	2.34	32
Grant.....	500	2.34	31
Emerson.....	1000	2.38	37
Forum.....	500	2.42	32
James.....	500	2.45	24
Phillips.....	500	2.47	53
Shelley.....	500	2.48	26
Average.....		2.34	32.9

P = 2.50 — 2.75			
4.	W	P	S
Junius.....	500	2.54	26
Greeley.....	500	2.56	26
Disraeli.....	500	2.57	27
Channing.....	2000	2.59	31
Shaftesbury.....	500	2.61	28
Darwin.....	500	2.64	21
Lowell.....	1500	2.67	22
Fiske.....	500	2.69	20
Pater.....	500	2.74	26
Average.....		2.62	25.9

P = 2.75 — 3.00			
5.	W	P	S
Arnold.....	500	2.77	20
Shakespeare.....	500	2.76	31
Hamerton.....	500	2.85	20
Higginson.....	500	2.85	21
Thoreau.....	500	2.86	25
Choate.....	500	2.88	30
Browning.....	500	2.91	25
George.....	500	2.92	23
Munger.....	500	2.92	26
Goldsmith.....	500	2.95	18
Newman.....	500	2.97	16
Average.....		2.88	23.2

P = 3.00 — 3.25			
6.	W	P	S
Stevenson.....	500	3.01	24
Holland.....	500	3.03	21
Franklin.....	500	3.04	19
Mandeville.....	500	3.08	22
Bacon.....	500	3.12	19
Carlyle.....	500	3.12	18
White.....	500	3.15	15
Johnson.....	500	3.23	16
Average.....		3.10	19.2

P = 3.25 — 3.50			
7.	W	P	S
Hume.....	500	3.29	12
Coleridge.....	500	3.33	19
Huxley.....	500	3.36	16
Scott.....	500	3.36	16
Moore.....	500	3.38	11
Gladstone.....	500	3.43	16
Ascham.....	500	3.49	19
Ruskin.....	500	3.50	18
Average.....		3.39	15.9

P = 3.50 — 4.00			
8.	W	P	S
Lyly.....	500	3.51	17
Luke.....	500	3.62	10
Bolingbroke.....	1000	3.65	14
More.....	500	3.65	15
Addison.....	500	3.67	12
Very.....	500	3.67	11
Swift.....	500	3.69	13
De Quincey.....	500	3.69	14
Barrow.....	500	3.74	20
Howell.....	500	3.74	11
Wordsworth.....	500	3.87	17
Bunyan.....	500	3.91	10
Sidney.....	500	3.98	10
Average.....		3.70	13.4

P = 4.00 — 4.50			
9.	W	P	S
Steele.....	500	4.02	10
Hooker.....	500	4.12	12
Chaucer.....	1000	4.17	8
Hakluyt.....	500	4.22	12
Average.....		4.17	10

P = 4.50 — 5.00			
10.	W	P	S
Latimer.....	500	4.75	13
Milton.....	500	4.87	6
Dryden.....	500	4.89	6
Average.....		4.84	8.3

P = 5.00 — 5.50			
11.	W	P	S
Chaucer.....	500	5.25	4
Spencer.....	1000	5.44	8
Average.....		5.38	6.7

The results have been arranged in eleven groups, the first group containing the works for which P lies between 1.50 and 2.00, the second those for which P lies between 2.00 and 2.25, etc. The average for each group is the weighted average, that is the average P is obtained by multiplying each separate P by the number of sentences from which it is taken, after which all the products are added and their sum divided

by the total number of sentences in the group. Similarly the average S's are obtained.

On comparing the individual pairs of corresponding P's and S's, one fact becomes rather evident; namely, while the P's form an ascending series of numbers, the S's form a series which is in the main descending. The exceptions to this rule disappear entirely if, instead of the individual pairs of values, we consider the averages of the various groups. To the larger P there corresponds the smaller S, to the smaller P corresponds the larger S. This signifies a general reciprocal relation between the P's and S's, a relation which we might have expected *a priori*. Other things equal, there will be the largest average number of predication, when the simple sentences are fewest, and vice a versa, when the simple-sentence-percentage is 100, that is, when all sentences are simple, the predication per sentence will be fewest.

At this point the question suggests itself whether the reciprocal relation just observed is sufficiently simple to admit of formulation and determination. The simplest imaginable reciprocal relation is of course

$$P = \frac{c}{S}, \text{ or } P \cdot S = c \quad (1)$$

where *c* is some constant number. To test for this relation we need only to multiply the P and S of the different pairs and observe whether or not the products obtained are approximately the same. A few trials show that the relation (1) is not satisfied.

The next simplest reciprocal relation is

$$P = \frac{c}{S^k}, \text{ or } P \cdot S^k = c \quad (2)$$

where both *c* and *k* are constant numbers. We could test this relation for any particular *k* by observing whether *P · S^k* is approximately the same for various pairs of corresponding values of P and S, and by trying various values for *k* we might ultimately discover the true relation between P and S. However, this is a very laborious process, which may be avoided by writing the assumed relation (2) in its equivalent logarithmic form

$$\log P = \log c - k \log S \quad (3)$$

and observing that this equation plots into a straight line if $\log P$ and $\log S$ are used for rectangular coördinates of points. If then the

predication-averages and the simple sentence-percentages are connected by some relation of the form (2), the points, representing $\log P$ and $\log S$, either value being used for abscissa and the other for ordinate, should lie approximately on a straight line. Moreover, the line being located, the constants *c* and *k* may be easily determined, for as is well-known — *k* is the tangent of the angle which the line makes with the positive direction of the axis along which $\log S$ was laid off, and $\log c$ is the distance from the intersection of the axis to the point in which the line cuts the other axis.

Let us then collect the eleven pairs of average values of P and S into a table, compute the corresponding values of $\log P$ and $\log S$ and then plot the eleven corresponding points as shown in figure 1.

No.	P between	W	Averages.		Co-ordinates.	
			P	S	$\log P$	$\log S$
1	1.50 and 2.00	1000	1.86	53	0.270	1.792
2	2.00 and 2.25	9000	2.14	39.1	0.330	1.524
3	2.25 and 2.50	9000	2.34	32.9	0.369	1.517
4	2.50 and 2.75	7000	2.62	25.9	0.418	1.413
5	2.75 and 3.00	5500	2.88	23.2	0.459	1.365
6	3.00 and 3.25	4000	3.10	19.2	0.491	1.283
7	3.25 and 3.50	4000	3.39	15.9	0.530	0.201
8	3.50 and 4.00	7000	3.70	13.4	0.568	1.127
9	4.00 and 4.50	2500	4.17	10.0	0.620	1.000
10	4.50 and 5.00	1500	4.84	8.3	0.685	0.919
11	5.00 and 5.50	1500	5.38	6.7	0.731	0.826
General Mean			2.96	20.03		

It is at once apparent, from an inspection of the figure, that the points representing the eleven groups of writings lie nearly in one and the same straight line, we therefore infer that the hypothetical relation formulated in (2) is approximately correct. In order to determine the constants which enter into that relation we must actually construct a straight line such that the sum of the deviations⁶ of the eleven points from it shall be as small as possible. This is most readily done by moving a stretched thread until it occupies the desired position, that is until the distances from the thread of the points on one side, are balanced by those of the other side.

After the line has been drawn the constant *k* is

⁶Exact treatment according to the laws of probability requires that the sum of the squares of the deviations, rather than the sum of the deviations themselves, shall be a minimum.

obtained from any triangle, as AOB, which has some portion of the line for its hypotenuse, and its other two sides parallel to the co-ordinate axes. Thus from Fig 1 :

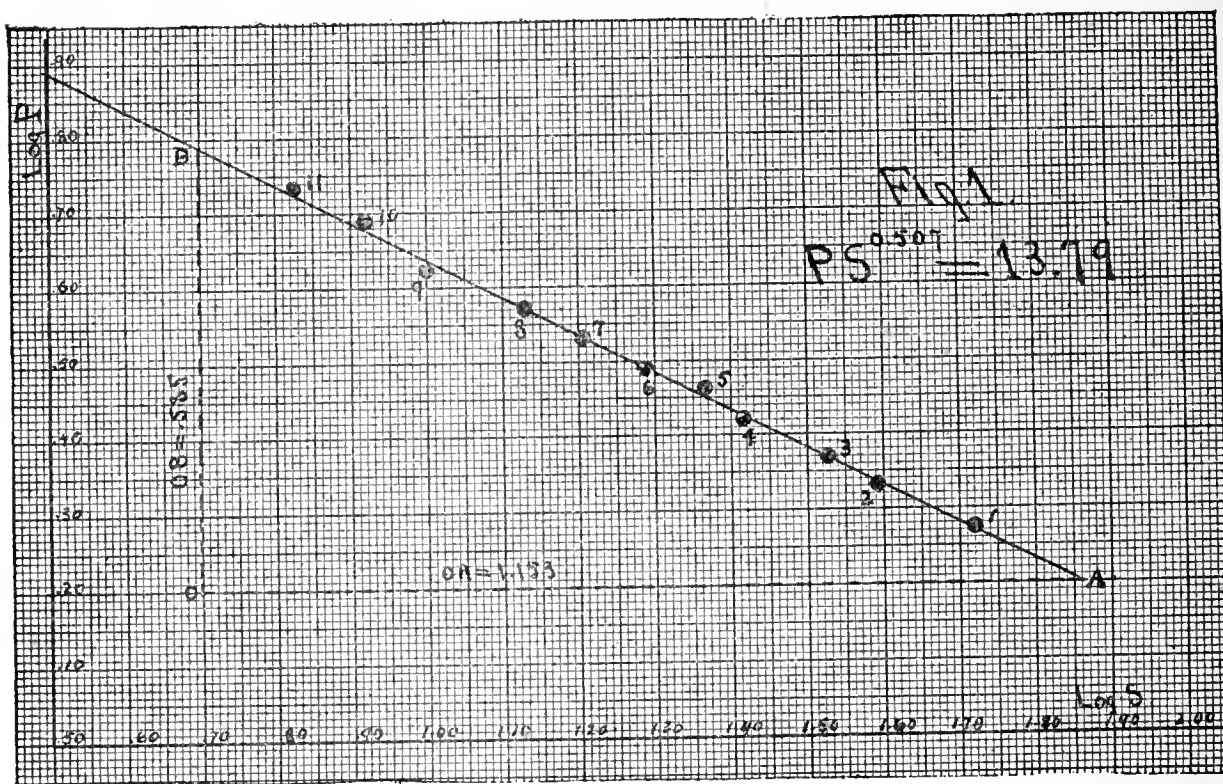
$$k = \frac{OB}{OA} = \frac{0.585}{1.153} = 0.507.$$

The constant c is obtained from the point where the line intersects the vertical axis. Thus,

a more rigorous mathematical method (the method of least squares) could have been used. By that method, a rather laborious process leads to two normal equations for the determination of C and k , viz. :

$$\begin{aligned} 52 \log c - 70.046 k &= 23.745 \\ 70.046 \log c - 96.759 k &= 30.767. \end{aligned}$$

Solving



$$\begin{aligned} 0.886 &= \log c - 0.50 k, \\ \log c &= 0.886 + 0.2535 = 1.1395, \\ c &= 13.79. \end{aligned}$$

With these values for k and c , the relation between predication-averages and simple-sentence-percentages becomes

$$\log P = 1.1395 - 0.507 \log S,$$

or

$$P = \frac{13.79}{S^{0.507}}. \quad (4)$$

Instead of the simple device which has been employed in the determination of the constants in the foregoing empirical formula between P and S ,

$c = 13.78$, $k = 0.5068$, results which differ but slightly from the values obtained above.

The accuracy with which the empirical formula

$$P = \frac{13.79}{S^{0.507}}$$

represents the true relation between predication-averages and simple-sentence-percentages, may be better realized by comparing results as obtained by actual count, with corresponding results derived by computation from the formula. The following table contains two values of S for a given P , the third column contains the actual,

the fourth the theoretic value. Thus for $P = 2.14$, S as obtained by actual count is 39.1, while computation gives

$$2.14 = \frac{13.79}{S^{0.507}}$$

from which

$$S = \left(\frac{13.79}{2.14} \right)^{1.9724} = 39.6$$

No.	Predication Averages.	Simple-Sentence- Percentages. By Count.	Simple-Sentence- Percentages. By Formula. (4)	W = Weight.	E = Error.	W E ² .
1	1.86	53	51.9	1	1.1	1.21
2	2.14	39.1	39.6	9	0.5	2.25
3	2.34	32.9	33.1	9	0.2	.36
4	2.62	25.9	26.5	7	0.6	2.52
5	2.88	23.2	22.0	5.5	1.2	7.92
6	3.10	19.2	19.0	4	0.2	.16
7	3.39	15.9	15.9	4	0.0	.00
8	3.70	13.4	13.4	7	0.0	.00
9	4.17	10.0	10.6	2.5	0.6	.90
10	4.84	8.3	7.9	1.5	0.4	.24
11	5.38	6.7	6.4	1.5	0.3	.13

Error of Mean Square, .55

Modulus, - - .78

Probable Error, - - .38

Those who are accustomed to compare experimental with theoretic values will pronounce the agreement between the numbers in the third and fourth columns of this table exceedingly close, an agreement much closer than is usually obtained from formula embodying so-called physical laws. Technically this accordance is characterized by computing the modulus of the probability curve, which in our case is .78, or the so-called probable error .37 which is the modulus multiplied by .477.

The accuracy indicated by these numbers is moreover corroborated by comparing results calculated from our formula with those obtained by actual count of works not included in our list. For instance, Miss Pound¹ found, from a tabulation of 2665 periods, that Chaucer uses 2.77 predications per period, and 24.8% of simple sentences. Using $S = 24.8$, that one of the two constants most readily determined by count, our formula gives

$$P = \frac{13.79}{(24.8)^{0.507}} = 2.71.$$

¹Modern Language Notes, Vol. xi, p. 202. Miss Pound gives 2.76 and .024, the discrepancy is due to an error in addition.

Averaging with these 2665 periods the results from the additional 2205 periods from the *Romanunt of the Rose*, also given by Miss Pound, we obtain $S = 22.42$, $P = 2.82$, while the formula gives

$$P = \frac{13.79}{(22.42)^{0.507}} = 2.85.$$

The constants P and S for Macaulay's *History of England* also have been determined with accuracy. By actually counting the simple sentences and finite verbs in the forty thousand periods of the *History*, Professor Sherman found the simple-sentence-percentage for the entire work to be 34.2 and the predication average 2.30. This is precisely the result given by our formula, for

$$P = \frac{13.79}{(34.2)^{0.507}} = 2.30.$$

Formula (4) may be replaced by another which is much simpler and but slightly less accurate. 0.507 is nearly one-half, so that the denominator of the right hand member of the formula may be written

$$S^{0.507} = S^{1/2} = \sqrt{S} \text{ nearly,}$$

that is, without committing much error the k in (2) may be put equal to one-half. If now we draw the line AB in figure 1 so that the tangent of its angle with the horizontal axis is one-half and so that the sum of the squared distances of the points from it is a minimum, the corresponding constant c is found to be 13.5. Formula (4) may then be replaced by the slightly less accurate formula

$$P = \frac{13.5}{\sqrt{S}}, \text{ or } P^2 S = 183, \quad (5)$$

in words :

The average number of predications employed by an English author varies approximately inversely as the square root of the average number of simple sentences per hundred employed by the same author, or, the average number of simple sentences per hundred employed by an English author varies in the long run as the inverse square of the average number of predications per sentence.

The following table compares the counted values of S and the values as calculated by formula (5) :

No.	P = No. of Predi- cations.	S = Simple-sentence percentages.		W = Weight.	E = Error.	WE ² .
		By Count.	By Formula (5).			
1	1.86	53.0	52.9	1	.1	0.01
2	2.14	39.1	40.0	9	.9	7.29
3	2.34	32.9	33.4	9	.5	2.25
4	2.62	25.9	26.7	7	.8	4.48
5	2.88	23.2	22.1	5.5	1.1	6.61
6	3.10	19.2	19.0	4	.2	.16
7	3.39	15.9	15.9	4	.0	.00
8	3.70	13.4	13.3	7	.1	.00
9	4.17	10.0	10.5	2.5	.5	.62
10	4.84	8.3	7.8	1.5	.5	.38
11	5.38	6.7	6.3	1.5	.4	.24

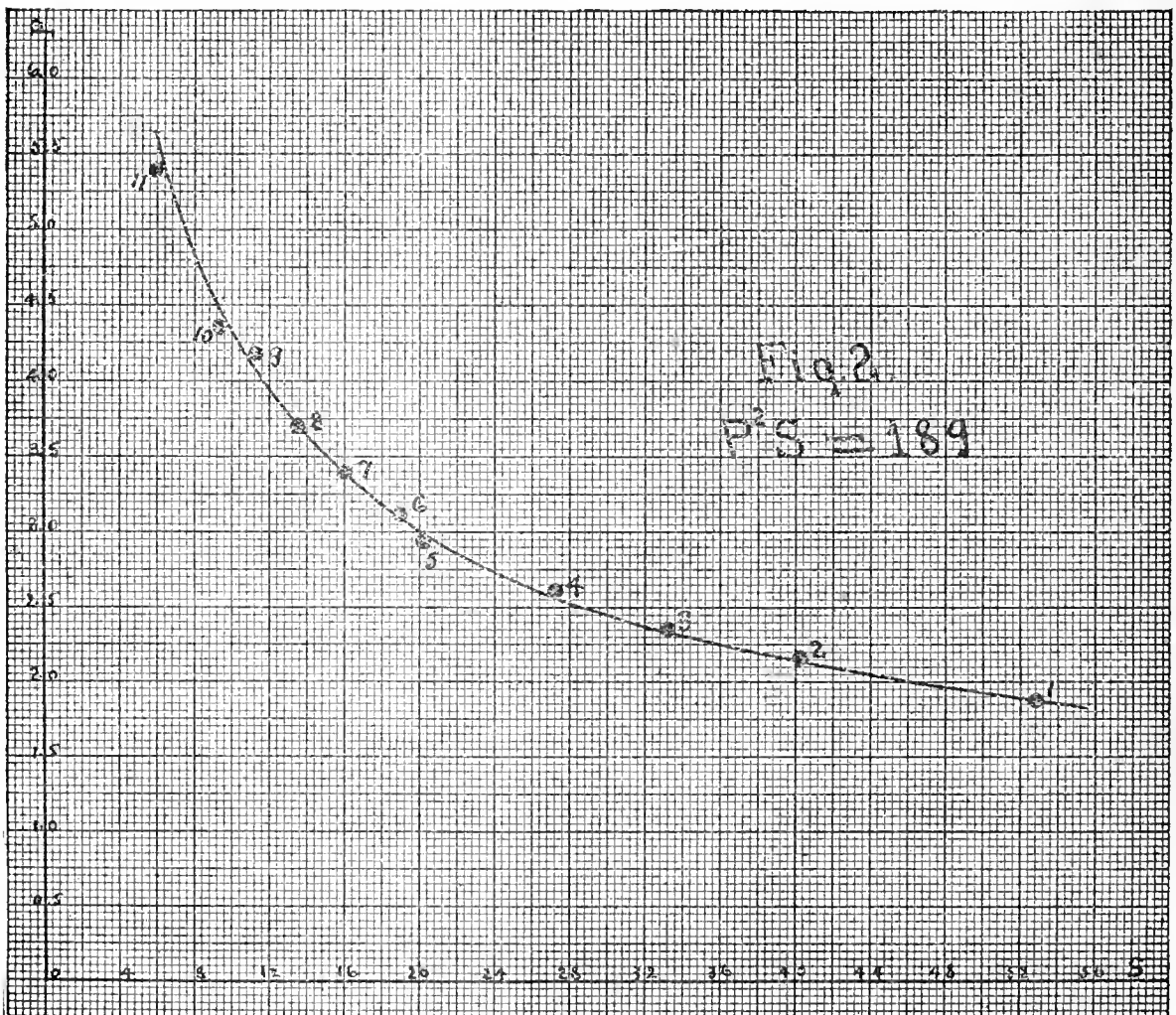
Error of Mean Square, .65

Modulus, - - - .91

Probable Error, - - .43

Here the error of the mean square and consequently also the modulus and probable error are but slightly in excess over the corresponding magnitudes for the more exact relation (4). The agreement of the assumed relation (5) with the data collected by counting is perhaps most obvious from an examination of the following graph. The graph represents the inverse square relation $P^2S = 183$, the marked points represent the results obtained by actual count, S and P being used for horizontal and vertical co-ordinates respectively.

It seems, then, that the inverse square relation (5) fits all the observed data as closely as could well be desired, and may therefore be regarded as established until conflicting data are produced.



But the existence of one definite relation suggests the possible existence of others. May not the other sentence-constants be interrelated also, and if so can their laws of interrelation be made manifest and formulated in a simple way? Is it possible to construct a norm or system of norms, and characterize the writings of any given author by their departure from this norm? Unfortunately no data are available to answer these and kindred questions at the present time.

It is hoped that the examples here given and the suggestions made, may receive the attention of students of linguistic science. From the example it should be clear how mathematics itself, the most perfect and powerful instrument of exact thought, may be pressed into the service of linguistic science. The suggestion is that the law of the inverse square connecting simple-sentence-percentages and predication-averages may not be an isolated phenomenon but the first landmark rather of a rich field yet to be explored, pointing the way to an unsuspected branch of philology which under the name of "Literametrics" may become to philology, what "Biometrics" has already become to the biological sciences.

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INTERCHANGE OF SUFFIXES.

-Aster, -Ignus, AND -Icus.

Meyer-Lübke (*Gram.*, II, page 445) treats briefly the interchange of the Latin suffixes *-aster* and *-ignus*, and the consequent effect upon the Romance words of step-relationship:

"En regard de l'ital. *figliastro*, *figliastra*, *fratellastro*, *fratellastra*, de l'esp. *padrastro*, *madrastra*, du fran. *marâtre*, également *par*, *fill*, . . . figurent l'ital. *patrigno*, *madrigna*, qui paraissent remonter à *patrigno*, *matrigna*, refaits à l'époque romaine déjà sur *privignus*; ajoutez-y certaines formes dialectales, p. ex. *fradlëh*, *sorleña* à Mantone. C'est encore une autre formation que présentent le napol. *patriye*, *matreye*, teram. *patreye*, *matreye*, dont le point de départ est dans le grec *μητρυνία*."

This interchange of suffixes has had a wider

field of action than Meyer-Lübke has been pleased to show. Suffix *-aster*, in this connection originally compounded with Cl. Lat. *pater*, *mater* into Vulg. Lat. *patraster*, *matrastra* (step-father, -mother), soon spread to the forms *filius*, *filia*, *frater* (for both genders), and sometimes to *soror* (Prov. *sourrastrre*).

Suffix *-ignus* (*-igna*), originally in Cl. Lat. *privignus*, *privigna* (step-son, -daughter), likewise separated from its stem and helped to form new words of step-kinship (Ital. *patrigno*, *matrigna*). In several dialects the same stem is found compounded indifferently with either suffix (Venet. *paregno*, *pareastro*).

Mater + > O. Fr. *marâtre*; Ital. *matrigna*; Span. *madrastra*; Port. *madrastra*; Prov. *mairastra*; Milan. *madregna*; Venet. *maregna*; Rhæt. *madrastra*, *madrigna*; Namur, *maurause*; Sicil. *marrashtra*; Roum. *mastera*.

Pater + > O. Fr. *parâtre*; Ital. *patrigno*; Span. *padrastro*; Port. *padrastro*; Cat. *padastre*; Prov. *pairastro*; Milan. *padregn*; Venet. *paregno*, *pareastro*; Rhæt. *padraster*; Sicil. *parastru* (f. *parrastra*; v. *mater*).

Frater + > Ital. *fratellastro*, *-a*; Mant. *fradlën*; Sicil. *fratastru*, *-a*; Milan. *fradellaster*; Venet. *fradelastro*; Parma *fradlasch*.

Soror + > Prov. *sourrastrre*; Mant. *sorlena*; Milan. *sorellastra*; Sard. *sorrastra*, *sorrestra*; Venet. *sorelastra*; Parma *sorlasca*.

Filius (a) + > O. Fr. *fillâtre*; Ital. *figliastro*, *-a*; Span. *hijastro*, *-a*; Cat. *fillastre*; Sicil. *figghiastru*, *-a*; Rhæt. *figliaster*, *-astra*; Roum. *fiastu*, *-a*; Liège *fïäs*; Prov. *filhastre*; Sard. *fizastru*, *-a*; Milan. *fiaster*, *-astra*; Venet. *fiastro*, *-a*; Alban. *Oieštre*.

Enough examples have been given to show the constant interchange of *-ignus* and *-aster* in these words of quasi-kinship. There still remain unexplained by such suffix interchange, O. Fr. *sérorge*, *serourege*, *sororge*, etc. (beau-frère, belle-sœur); and Neapol. *patriye*, *matreye*, Teram. *patreye*, *matreye*. Meyer-Lübke has recourse to a Greek *μητρικά* to explain the Italian forms, while he poses a Cl. Lat. *sororius* (adj.) to explain *sérorge*. In view of the other suffix interchanges and the interdependence of meaning in this class of words, need we look so far afield for an explanation of their origin?

Schwan-Behrens, offering *sororium* as the etymon of *sérorge*, explains the phonetic change as an exception to the rule of *ri* intervocalic becoming *ir* (cf. *coriu* > *cuir*, etc.). Du Cange (*Glossarium*) offers a variety of Low Lat. forms, *sororius*, *sororgius*, etc. The form *sororgius* can be readily explained as an evident attempt to re-latinize the O. Fr. *sérorge* which was not thought of as remounting to *sororius*.

We must take into consideration a third suffix peculiar to Cl. Lat. and employed in the two chief words of step-kinship, *-(i)cus*, *-(i)ca* found in Cl. Lat. *vitricus* (step-father), *noverca* (step-mother). The words have evidently been overlooked in their relation to the other words of their class. Prof. Grandgent (*Vulg. Lat.*, p. 9) makes the common oversight when he observes that Cl. Lat. *vitricus* was driven out by Vulg. Lat. *patraster*. This statement is too comprehensive, for the form is still found in Roum. *vitrigu*, *vitriga*, in Logud. *bidrigu*, and in South. Sard. *birdiu*, *birdia*.¹

Bréal (*Mém. Soc. Ling.*, 6, 341) would go back to a form **mater(i)ca* to explain Cl. Lat. *noverca*. "En réalité *noverca* est un produit de l'analogie. On disait pour marquer un père qui n'était pas un vrai père, *patricus*; pour marquer une mère qui n'était pas une vraie mère, *matrica*. De même, par une hardiesse qui rappelle les créations linguistiques des enfants, on a dit de la nouvelle épouse du père, *noverca*."

¹ In Roumanian, the Lat. noun has weakened to adjectival use, though it may also be used substantively: *frate vitreg*; *mamă vitriga*. There is likewise the fem. adj. *mastera*, "contrasă d'in matrasta; s. f. *noverca* . . . se aplica si ca adjectiva: *mamă mastera*."

Key (*Lat. Engl. Dict.*, 1888), failing an etymology of *vitricus*, observes an obvious lack of *patricus*. This absence we may feel sure was felt in Vulg. Lat., when *vitricus* passed out of general use, while a more familiar stem was sought to take its place.

Worthy of special mention in this connection is the established use of suffixes *-icu*, *-ica*, in the Slavic tongues in words of quasi-kinship. Scores of examples might be given: Sl. *polnica*, daughter-in-law; Russ. *padčerica*, step-daughter; Serv. *suričica*, step-brother, *surica*, step-sister; *punica*, father-in-law.

By a singular chance, doubtless, the Celtic has preserved traces of a suffix corresponding to Lat. *-icu*, *-ica*, in words of step-relationship: *tadek*, *mammek*, *mabek*, etc. (step-father, etc.). Celtic *-ek* is in some cases derived from Latin *-icu*, and a claim might be made that the form *tadek* was a resultant of early Latin influence: *i. e. tata* + *icu*. Unfortunately for such an etymology, *tad*, *mam*, of the Celtic cannot be traced definitely to the Latin, owing to their close relationship to Indo-European forms found in Polish, Russian, etc. *Mammek* is not to be distinguished, for derivation, from Roumanian *maica* (< *mamica*, dimin., often used for *noverca*).

That the other Romance tongues outside so widely separated territories as Sardinia and Roumania should show no trace of the influence of *vitricus* and *noverca*, were an incredible thing. We may at least expect to find the suffixes *-icu*, *-ica* employed in the general suffix interchange.

**Sororicu*, **sororica* (beau-frère, belle-sœur), if postulated, being probable in view of the suffix exchange given above, as well as the wide-spread use of *-icu*, has a saner phonetic relationship to *serourege*, *serorge*, than has *sororium*.² With **sororicu* (*-a*) we can easily explain the dialectical forms, *serotche* (Huy), *sorotche* (Liège), *serog* (Wallon), as well as *serouque* (Rouchi), which could scarcely be referred to *sororiu*.³

²Cf. *fabrica* > **farge*, *forge*; *pedica* > *piège*; *serica* > *serge*; *sudrica* > **sourg* > *surge*. In the case of *surge*, the Low Lat. developed a word *surgia* in the expression *lana surgia*, not recognizing the true etymology. Cf. this with *sororgius* given by Du Cange.

³Joret (*Du C d. l. Lang. Rom.*, p. 99) makes a similar complaint regarding mistaken derivation. "On admet

In a postulated **patricu*, **matrica*, we find an obvious phonetic and semantic solution of dialectal *matreyg*, *patreyg*. Latin nouns in *-icu*, *-ica*, show a marked tendency in Italian dialects to change *c* to hard *g*. This *g*, in the dialects of Teramo and Naples, often weakens to a spirant. Usually this change seems to occur when the *c* or *g* precede or follow the accent, though examples may be found in proparoxytons.⁴

By thus referring *sérorge*, *patreyg*, etc., to etymons with suffixes, *-icu*, *-ica*, according to an evident phonetic change, we more readily illustrate the unified semasiological development of these words of quasi-kinship.

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A CARDUCCI-LEOPARDI PARALLEL.

Chiarini (*Giosuè Carducci: Levia Gravia*, II-vi)¹ several times refers to the influence of Leopardi on Carducci, but the points of contact are on general lines and not reduced to particular citations. He is apparently surprised for instance at the lack, when the psychological moment seems most favorable to such influence, of connection between Leopardi and the ode *Alla memoria di Dante Carducci*. We note the details for which Chiarini was seeking, in another poem from *Juvenilia*, that internal evidence would seem to connect with Dante Carducci's suicide. The parallel is between *Juv.*, XVIII, vv. 1-12, and Leopardi, *Sopra un basso rilievo antico sepolcrale*, vv. 28-35, 18-24. The conceptions are identical, treating the picture of death which overtakes the youthful soul just expanding to maturity, and the attendant

separation from the loved ones in the home. The probability of direct connection between the passages is further strengthened by certain striking recurrences of phrase:

Juv., I, XVIII,² vv. 1-4:

E tu venuto ai belli anni ridenti
Quando alla vita il cor più si disserra . . . in terra
Poni le membra di vigor fiorenti.

Leopardi, *l. c.*, vv. 28-34:

Ma nata al tempo
Che reina bellezza si dispiega
Nelle membra e nel volto,
Ed incomincia il mondo
Verso lei di lontano ad atterrarsi;
In sul fiorir d'ogni speranza, e molto
Prima che incontro alla festosa fronte . . .

Carducci, *l. c.*, vv. 5-8; 12-14:

. . . Dch, quanta guerra
Di mesti affetti e di pensier frementi
Te sugli occhi dei tuoi dolci parenti
Spingeva ad affrettar pace sotterra.
. . . Nè il viso
Più de la madre e non la donna cara
O il fratel giovinetto o il padre pio.
Nè i verdi campi, vedrai più.

Leopardi, *l. c.*, vv. 20-24:

. . . L'aspetto
Dei tuoi dolci parenti
Lasci per sempre. Il loco
A cui movi è sotterra:
Ivi fia d'ogni tempo il tuo soggiorno.

Leopardi treats more tersely the same idea, in phrases somewhat similar in *Il Sogno*, vv. 26-33.

We may add that if, during this period, the textual influence of Leopardi on Carducci is slight, it is because there is little in common between the passive morbidity of the one and the exultant agnosticism of the other. Leopardi feels a crushing social dejection, a despair in the utility of life; Carducci addressing a melancholy interrogation to the unknown which his reason is unable to penetrate, but the more abundantly sees the joy of living. Hence Leopardi is entirely foreign to such emotions as *Funere mersit acerbo*, *Pianto antico* and *Congedo* (II). It is on lines of broad

. . . *bourriche* . . . qu'on regarde comme un dérivé en *icius* . . . ; j'aime mieux y voir un dérivé en *ieus*; l'ancienne orthographe, et les formes picardes ou normandes *épinouque*, *filouques* . . . rendent cette étymologie évidente pour les mots correspondents."

⁴Corica > coleche, medico > mmedeche, pizzica > pizziche; but sfaticata > sfatijata, gastigo > castije, fatica > fatije, fatyje, nemico > nemije.—Finamore, *Rom. Forsch.*, XI; De Lollis, *Arch. Glott.*, XII, 191.

¹Giosuè Carducci, *impressioni e ricordi*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1901, particularly p. 24.

²G. Carducci, *Poesie*, 1850-1900 (Zanichelli, Bologna, 1902), p. 28.

construction (e. g., the introduction of a classical analogy in *Alla Libertà* from Leopardi's *All' Italia*) that Carducci was susceptible to Leopardi's influence. Such direct borrowings from him as that from Petrarch's *Passa la nave mia* (*Juv.*, III, 1) are rare.

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SHAKESPEARE AND HIS RIDICULE OF 'CAMBYSES.'

Schmidt in his "Shakespeare Lexicon" calls attention to the fact that "perpend" "is used only by Pistol, Polonius, and the clowns." Walker¹ in commenting upon the use of "perpend" by the clown in *Twelfth Night*, suggests that it is "perhaps from a tragedy: though dramatic scraps seem to be hardly in the clown's way." He was nearer right than he knew. Steevens² in a note on "Ford, perpend," in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, hits upon *Cambyses*³ as the right source for this word as used by Shakespeare. Steevens makes no reference, however, to the other uses of this word by Shakespeare.

A closer observation of the two passages in Thomas Preston's *Cambyses*, together with a consideration of the passages where Shakespeare makes use of "perpend," will strengthen Steevens' "perhaps" into an expression of more emphasis. The italicized words in the following quotations are my own. The first and more important passage for our purpose in *Cambyses* contains the opening lines of the play. They strike at once the extravagant note of bombast that Shakespeare ridicules:

¹ *Crit.*, iii, 138.

² Johnson's and Steevens' *Shakespeare*, 1778, Vol. I. p. 262. Steevens says: "This is perhaps a ridicule on a passage in the old comedy of *Cambyses*: 'My sapient words I say perpend': again: 'My Queen, perpend what I pronounce.' Shakespeare has put the same word into the mouth of Polonius."

The *New Variorum Shakespeare*, in commenting on its use in *Hamlet*, *As You Like It*, and *Twelfth Night*, fails to record Steevens' observation.

³ Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vol. iv, p. 163.

Comb. My Counsaill grave and sapient, with lords of legall traine.

Attentive ears towards me bend, and mark what shall be sain;

So you likewise, my valiant knight, whose manly acts doth flie

By brute of Fame, that sounding tromp doth perce the azur sky;

My sapient words, I say, *perpend*, and so your skill delate!

You know that Mors vanquished hath Cirus, that king of state, [etc.].

At line 1018 we find a second example of *perpend*:

King. My queene, *perpend*; what I pronounce, I wil not violate,

But one thing which my hart makes glad I minde to explicate;

You know in court uptrained is a lyon very yong; [etc.].⁴

It is the former of these passages that Shakespeare had especially in mind when employing "perpend" for burlesque effect. A consideration of the passages involved in the five plays is necessary to establish the probability of this source for Shakespeare's use of "perpend."

Feste, commanded to read Malvolio's letter written from the darkness of his place of confinement, begins with extravagant gesture and grandiloquent voice:⁵

Clo. [Reads] By the Lord, Madam,—

Oli. How now! art thou mad?

Clo. No, madam, I do but read madness. An your ladyship will have it as it ought to be, you must allow Vox.

Oli. Prithee, read i' thy right wits.

Clo. So I do, madonna; but to read his right wits is to read *thus*: therefore *perpend*, my princess, and give ear.

To punish Feste for not heeding her injunction to leave off his mad reading, Olivia commands Fabian to take the letter from the clown and read it himself. Any actor playing to an understanding audience in Shakespeare's day would have had no difficulty in forcing home Feste's thrust, "Therefore perpend, my princess, and give ear."

Touchstone similarly observes the possibilities of this sonorous word in suggesting the grandilo-

⁴ Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vol. iv, p. 226.

⁵ *Twelfth Night*, v, i, 299 (Cambridge Shakespeare).

quence of the old play. In the course of his argument with Corin, the clown's "too courtly a wit" suggests to him to impose upon the simpler wit of the country man the impassioned eloquence that he had seen tear in shreds the objects of its fervour. Having advanced the argument that unless one has been at court he be damned, Touchstone upholds his point by demolishing one after another, the reasons that Corin argues. Finally he clinches the argument by turning back upon Corin (as a reason why a shepherd should go to court) his own comparison of the civet-perfumed hands of the courtier with the tar-stained hands of the shepherd⁶:

Touch. Most shallow man! thou worm's-meat, in respect of a good piece of flesh indeed! *Learn of the wise and perpend.* Civet is of a baser birth than tar, the very uncleanly flux of a cat. Mend the instance, shepherd.

Cor. You have too courtly a wit for me. I'll rest.

Touchstone's style both of delivery and of language in this triumphant shot at the "natural philosopher," must have recalled in some measure, by its pompous diction, its alliteration, and the grandiose gestures that doubtless accompanied it, those "harlotry players," who speaking in passion did it "in King Cambyzes' vein."

When the clowns summon "perpend" to do them service, they do it consciously with a full knowledge of the possibilities for laughter that it contains. This is not the case with the other users of this word. Polonius, the statesman, who affects euphuistic niceties of expression, pompously rolls "perpend" over his tongue. Elated over the discovery that Hamlet is mad for the love of Ophelia, he revels in verbal play in the communication of this fact to the Queen, earning for his reward her sharp reproof,⁷ "More matter, with less art."

Pol. Madam, I swear I use no art at all.

Perpend.

I have a daughter,—have while she is mine,—

Who in her duty and obedience, *mark*,

Hath given me this: now gather and surmise.

[Reads.]

Polonius' vocabulary and delivery may well

have connected him in Shakespeare's mind with the ranting declamation of *King Cambyzes*. The probability that this was the case is strengthened by the use in Polonius' speech of the second imperative form, "mark," as in the opening lines of *A Comedy of King Cambyzes*.

In his serious use of "perpend" Polonius finds for himself a strange yoke-mate in Pistol. In Pistol's speeches Shakespeare recalls typical passages from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*,⁸ Peele's *Alcazar*,⁹ and probably from another of Peele's dramas that is lost.¹⁰ These passages have been identified in burlesque form: and still other scraps from older and less known dramas are suspected.

It is from this sheep in wolf's clothes that we catch twice the word "perpend," once in a martial scene of exquisite humour in *Henry V*, and once in a scene of less spirit in *The Merry Wives*. In France, Pistol has captured a Frenchman, and true to his love for the fustian in word and deed, he terrifies the captured enemy with the vehemence of his words and the violence of his actions¹¹:

Pist. Yield, cur!

Fr. Sol. Je pense que vous êtes le gentilhomme de bonne qualité.

Pist. Qualtitie calmie custure me! Art thou a gentleman? What is thy name? Discuss.

Fr. Sol. O Seigneur Dieu!

Pist. O, Signieur Dew should be a gentleman?
Perpend my words, O signieur Dew, and mark;
O Signieur Dew, thou diest on point of fox,
Except, O Signieur, thou do give to me
Egregious ransom.

Fr. Sol. O prenez miséricorde! Ayez pitié de moi!

The Frenchman had no way of knowing that the wild behaviour of the violent enemy before him was only the stage-house fury of a coward who had caught the trick of ranting from the older school of London actors. Bottom, with his "chief humour for a tyrant," would have enjoyed this "Ercles" rarely. Even if our critical

⁸ *2 Henry IV*, II, iv, 178, "And hollow pamper'd jades of Asia."

⁹ *2 Henry IV*, II, iv, 193, "Then feed and be fat, my fair Calipolis."

¹⁰ *2 Henry IV*, II, iv, 173, "Have we not Hircn here," probably from *The Turkish Mahomet and Hyren the Fair Greek*.

¹¹ *Henry V*, IV, iv, 1.

⁶ As *You Like It*, III, ii, 67.

⁷ *Hamlet*, II, ii, 95.

spirit in a moment of "perpending" be aroused to challenge here a direct reference by Shakespeare to Thomas Preston's play, it is impossible to deny the comic potentiality a reference of this kind would possess—and entirely worthy of the genius of Shakespeare.

This "lamentable tragedie mixed full of pleasant mirth, containing the life of Cambyeses, King of Persia," was, furthermore, the admiration of those "rude mechanicals" in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, who modelled after its title, it is thought, the title of their¹² "most lamentable comedy and most cruel death of Pyramus and Thisbe."¹³

Falstaff, as is well known, adds his testimony that Shakespeare made sport of *Cambyeses*. Assuming the part of the King, he enacts the scene in which Prince Hal is to be called to account by his father¹⁴:

Fal. Well, an the fire of grace be not quite out of thee, now shalt thou be moved. Give me a cup of sack to make my eyes red, that it may be thought I have wept; for I must speak in passion, and I will do it in *King Cambyeses' vein*.

Prince. Well, here is my leg.

Fal. And here is my speech. Stand aside, nobility.

Host. O Jesu, this is excellent sport, i' faith!

Fal. Weep not, *sweet queen*; for *trickling tears* are vain.

Host. O, the father, how he holds his countenance.

Fal. For God's sake, lords, convey my *tristful queen*, For tears do stop the *flood gates of her eyes*.

Host. O, Jesu, he does it as like one of these harlotry players as ever I see!

Fal. Peace, good pint-pot; peace, good-ticklebrain, [etc.].

The force of Falstaff's remarks here to the Hostess cannot be understood without reference to the source of their inspiration. The "trickling tears" of "my tristful queen," as it is, fit illy into the meaning of the passage. Falstaff here is taking not only his manner, but his matter as well, from King Cambyeses. For the moment he is identifying himself with the tyrant, his

model, and is re-enacting the scene where the King is ordering his queen off to execution¹⁵—with special reference to the interrupting Hostess. An "understanding auditory" must have exclaimed with the Hostess, "O, Jesu, he does it as like one of these harlotry players as ever I see!"

However, Pistol in one respect at least brings the burlesque nearer home. Both in *Henry V* and in *The Merry Wives* he delivers the passages in question in a rough metre that stumps along with strongly marked emphasis, a "right butter-woman's rank to market," recalling both by its movement and its grammatical peculiarities the crude structure of such old plays as *Cambyeses*. In particular, the passage in *The Merry Wives* which contains Shakespeare's key-word of dramatic extravagances, stumps along in imitation of the awkward metre of the old drama. It is where Pistol has been telling Ford that Falstaff is making love to his wife, that Ford replies¹⁶:

Ford. Why, sir, my wife is not young.

Pist. He wooos both high and low, both rich and poor, Both young and old, one with another, Ford; He loves the gallimaufry: Ford, *perpend*.

Ford. Love my wife!

Leaving now the consideration of individual passages in Shakespeare, let us look at some general resemblances of Shakespeare's use of "perpend" to the use of the same word by Thomas Preston in *Cambyeses*. Both authors employ it only in the imperative mood, accompanied in each case either by the name or the title of the person addressed, or by both. It occurs consistently in Shakespeare in metre, even where it is closely preceded and followed by prose, as in *Twelfth Night* and in *As You Like It*, where a rough line is hammered out to give it its proper setting. As in *Cambyeses* further, "perpend" arrests the attention in preparation for an important statement that is to follow: Feste and Polonius are preparing to read a letter; Pistol in *Henry V*, to inform "Signieu Dew" of the terms on which he will grant his life; Touchstone, to confuse Corin by turning back upon him, boom-crang-like, his own argument. Only Pistol in

¹² *Mid. N's. D.*, I, ii, 11.

¹³ The mention of a pension by Flute in this play (Iv, 2, 19) is thought to refer to the pension conferred in 1564 upon Thomas Preston by Queen Elizabeth, for his good acting in the tragedy *Dido*, played before her majesty.

¹⁴ *1 Henry IV*, II, iv, 421.

¹⁵ *Cambyeses*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vol. IV, pp. 237, 238.

¹⁶ *Merry Wives*, II, i, 116.

his counsel to Ford seems to be an exception, but here Ford's uncomplimentary surprise, that anyone could love his wife, interrupts Pistol's speech, and thus prevents him from adding what he had in mind to add.

Not only are there these general marks of resemblance in the use of "perpend," but an examination of the thought and the words of the introductory lines of *Cambyzes* will show, I think, that in each case Shakespeare has borrowed, along with "perpend" (Pistol's advice to Ford excepted here again for the same reason as above), other characteristic thoughts and even words to make his burlesque the more sure. Feste's words to Olivia, "Therefore perpend, my Princess, and give ear," Touchstone's "Learn of the wise, and perpend," Polonius' "Perpend . . . mark . . ."; and Pistol's "Perpend my words and mark," find close parallels in "Attentive ears toward me bend," "My sapient words, I say perpend," and "mark what shall be said," all taken from the first four lines of *Cambyzes*, the passage in question that Shakespeare seems to have had especially in mind each time that he made use of the word "perpend."

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DANTON, GEORGE HENRY: *The Nature Sense in the Writings of Ludwig Tieck*. New York: The Columbia University Press, 1907. 98 pp.

STEINERT, WALTER: *Das Farbenempfinden Ludwig Tiecks*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Naturgefühls in der deutschen Dichtung. Diss. Bonn, 1907. 118 pp.

The increasing interest in the history of German Romanticism is manifesting itself in a more intensive study of the nature sense of the Romanticists, that conspicuous element of their literary art. In this movement Tieck bulks so large, that a detailed study of his attitude towards landscape should long since have been undertaken. Hence the dissertations before us, one American, one German, which in a sense complement each other, are very welcome.

Danton divides his subject into an introduction

and four chapters entitled: The Temperamental Attitude, The Philosophical Attitude, The Naturalistic Interpretations, The Mystic and Symbolic Interpretations. It appears that Tieck was appreciative of most divergent types of landscape. He was impressed by the North German March (and thus becomes—Danton might have added—the forerunner of Fontane), by the mountainous and wooded regions of Germany, by Switzerland and the Swiss Alps, and by Italy. Unfortunately, this wide range rarely implies profound inner experience, for, as D. happily expresses it, Tieck was capable of being violently but never deeply moved (p. 34). To misquote Wordsworth, his was the tumult not the depth of soul. His treatment of nature reveals, as does his handling of character, a Protean quality which differs from Goethe's in not being carried by a definite Weltanschauung.

This versatility appears also in Tieck's attitude towards gardens: love and admiration for the French—and especially the Italian—garden, with consequent criticism of the English park at his time so much in vogue, coupled nevertheless with great admiration for the English park at Wörlitz. In his protest against the vagaries of the English garden Tieck was not so isolated as has often been supposed. We learn from an excellent French investigation (Daniel Mornet: *Le Sentiment de la Nature en France de J.-J. Rousseau à Bernardin de Saint Pierre*, Essai sur les Rapports de la Littérature et des Mœurs, Paris, 1907, pp. 219 ff.), that in France, criticism and ridicule were leveled at it almost to the end of the eighteenth century. Thus, also, he loved great vistas and small gardens with formal plots. In the same fashion he coupled liking for the vast phenomena of nature—storms, cataclysms, great sweeps—with liking for the minute and delicate. Here Danton should have shown to what extent this love for the minute in nature implies careful observation and a trained eye, such as we find in Goethe and in modern poets like Stifter. (See Ratzel, *Über Naturschilderung*. München und Berlin, sec. ed., 1906, *passim*).

The center of Tieck's nature sense—the center of the entire viewpoint of this typical Romanticist—is his Egoism, which makes him constantly inject into nature his own subjective moods (p. 33).

Here, we might add, Tieck differs vitally from such modern poets as Storm and Martin Greif. The latter, as appears from a very sympathetic study of this delightful lyricist by Kosch (Wilhelm Kosch, *Martin Greif in seinen Werken*, Leipzig, 1907), was a master of objective rendering of nature's moods. Perhaps no better foil for Tieck's subjectivity could be found than the following lines from Greif:

"Beim letzten Abendstrahle
Fol' ich der Ache Lauf,
Da taucht mit einem Male
Des Sees Spiegel auf.
Zu Häupten welch ein Glühen,
Von Firn zu Firn entfacht,
Zu Füßen welch ein Ziehen
Der Nebel in die Nacht.
O übermächtig Steigen
Dort, wo die Alpen stehn,
O tiefgeheimes Schweigen
Dort, wo die Schleier wehn."

In many respects Tieck's attitude towards nature is purely conventional. So in his treatment of the seasons and times of day he displays no originality. (He might be compared here to his disadvantage with Lenau in the latter's felicitous treatment of autumn, or with Storm in his descriptions of the pomp and poetry of high noon.) Nor is Tieck a pathfinder in his love of mountains, for Rousseau—as is well known—had introduced mountains into the literature of Europe. Truly original, however, and really important is Tieck's treatment of the charm and individuality of the various moods of the forest: the very word "Wald-einsamkeit" is of his coinage (pp. 58 ff.). It is worth noting—as Mornet points out (p. 451)—that almost simultaneously with Tieck, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and Chateaubriand discovered the forest for French literature.

Tieck's philosophical attitude towards nature is neither pantheistic (like Goethe's and Wordsworth's), nor does nature appeal to him as the expression of a divine personality (as she does in so elevating and sublime a fashion to the authors of the Psalms). And yet there are echoes of a confused pantheism and worship of the presence of God everywhere (36 f.).

In other words, the results of this careful little treatise are—as the author says—essentially nega-

tive. But they are not sterile, for we learn that in his treatment of nature Tieck was indefinite and rather superficial. This corresponds with what we know of his whole literary output. What Danton does not sufficiently elucidate is the method by which Tieck succeeds in the one particular in which he attains mastery: in his creation of atmosphere. Danton quotes Tieck as saying: "Ohne Stimmung ist keine Natur da" (p. 34), but he does not go into any analysis of method.

In a sense this gap is filled by Steinert's investigation. This is one of the few studies that concentrate on the use of color made by individual poets. In Tieck's case this is of particular interest, as it was in large measure by the introduction of color that he produced "Stimmung." The results are significant. We learn that Tieck's love for color was profound and intense, but rarely exquisite (much less subtle, therefore, than our modern taste, intensified as that has been by Japanese art). Tieck riots in sumptuous coloring: red, blue, green, greenish yellow (very much as does Jean Paul. Cf. Lothar Böhme, *Die Landschaft in den Werken Hölderlins und Jean Pauls*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 85 ff.). With characteristic inconsistency, he is also capable of appreciating "kleine lautlos in einander huschende Lichter" (Steinert, p. 47).

In his theoretic utterances, too, he cares more for color than for line, because color gives Stimmung, and recognizes that color should be the highest aim of painting (pp. 82 and 85). Tieck's position as a pioneer in this particular becomes evident from the fact that in the eighteenth century even Rousseau was comparatively callous to color (cf. Mornet, *o. c.*, p. 407), and even Goethe laid less emphasis on it (cf. Steinert, pp. 20 ff.). Steinert reminds us very properly that if there is a certain "Primitivität" in Tieck's treatment, he was at the beginning of a great movement (p. 54) and, moreover, the exponent of a nervous generation. Hence a note of hysteria often mars his happiest utterances and destroys his effects.

Truly romantic is his use of color as symbols. But, like a genuine Romanticist again, he lacks interest in what S. calls "schlichtes Werktaglicht" (p. 52). (Only modern realism could train the eye to the beauty of the commonplace.)

Nor do the light effects of high noon seem anything but harsh and brutal to Tieck.

We hope that investigations of this nature will be carried on of other literary artists. In the case of modern poets this would often reveal a delicacy of retina that has led to the discovery of new color-values and combinations. So William Morris describes the heralding of dawn: ". . . a faint green light began to show, Far in the east" (Story of Cupid and Psyche in *The Earthly Paradise*); and again: "The wind did run through the gray leaves overhead." (From *The Golden Apples, Earthly Paradise*). These are colors Tieck would never have seen under the circumstances. Besides Morris, Pierre Loti (especially in *Le Pêcheur d'Islande* and *Le Désert*), d'Annunzio, and Stephan George would well repay such study.

Before closing, I cannot help calling attention to the exceptional position in the literature of the nature-sense of Ratzel's book mentioned above, *Naturschlüderung*. It is of importance not only to students of the treatment of nature in literature, but to all teachers of belles-lettres, and to all lovers of nature. The theory of landscape had been treated—in passing at least—before him, so in Ruskin's Works, in Hehn's *Italien*, etc. But never had any one written an entire book in so thorough a fashion on what may be called the criticism of landscape. The geographer Ratzel is acquainted not only with the landscape of Europe, but of the entire world. Because of his scientific training on the one hand and his large literary acquaintance on the other, he strews his pages with stimulating and illuminating remarks.

To-day the love of landscape has become a well-nigh universal taste. But it is not always combined with the trained eye nor the discriminating judgment. So a comparatively commonplace lake in the prairie lands of the Middle West, seems to many of a beauty not intrinsically different from the dramatic scenery of Lake George with its background of the Adirondacks, or a melancholy tarn in the moors. We may say of Ratzel's book that it bears much the same relation to the study of landscape that Volkelt's *Asthetik des Tragischen* bears to the study of the drama.

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Der Roman, Geschichte, Theorie und Technik des Romans und der erzählenden Dichtkunst. Dritte verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage der Theorie des Romans. Von HEINRICH KEITER und TONY KELLEN. Essen-Ruhr, Verlag von Fredebeul und Koenen. 1908. Erster Abschnitt, I. Geschichte des Romans.

The present work is a very ambitious one. It purposes to treat of the historical development of the novel in general, in China as well as in Germany, in India as well as in France, Italy, Russia, England, and America. It is not to be, then, a history of the novel in Germany, in which those novelistic currents which influenced directly the course of the German novel are described, but in reality a history of prose fiction.

The scope of this first part of the work was suggested to a certain extent by the second part which deals with the theory and principles of narrative prose writing and does not limit itself exclusively to the German novel. In fact, the present work grew out of Heinrich Keiter's *Theorie des Romans und der Erzählkunst*, published in 1876 with a preface by F. Kreyssig. Mr. Kellen enlarged this treatise and published it in 1904 prefixing to it a twenty-six page sketch of the history of the novel. In the present edition (the third) the book has grown from 306 pages to 496. The introductory sketch has been expanded from 26 to 128 pages.

It would have been better if the author had simply disregarded his original sketch and started afresh at the task of writing the history of the novel, for enlarging an old structure necessitates conforming one's self to a large extent to the original framework and the work becomes more mechanical, less free and effective. The result in the present case is a rather large mass of material, a catalog of names with more or less detailed remarks about each, loosely bound together, lacking inner coherence, without any clearly traceable independent point of view. This last is the disturbing feature of the book. We never feel sure whether a remark is the writer's own or some one's else. In fact, all indications point to the conclusion that the treatise is practically a mosaic of passages borrowed from various works on literature. These passages have not

been assimilated and poured forth in one flowing current but merely placed in juxtaposition, each in the words of the original, with, perhaps, a few minor alterations. It is a series of jottings, of notes. Such excerpts cannot possibly be united into a homogeneous whole and the eclectic character of the contents has made necessary a complete lack of literary form. The style is jerky and uneven. Paragraphs do not flow inevitably from preceding ones, nor connect closely with following ones.

We are dealing, then, with a compilation from various books, and these of the most varied age and character. The author has mentioned, as far as I can judge, all of the works which have been drawn on for excerpts, either in the footnotes scattered thruout the book or in the general bibliography at the end. And yet he has not shown sufficient care in indicating in every individual case just what he got from others and where he got it. When a writer excerpts from other works, he is under obligation to enclose the passage in quotation marks and state exactly where it is to be found. The quotation marks and the name of the work or author should be given; it is essential that we have at least one or the other. In some cases such acknowledgment has been made in this book. In a large number of cases, however, passages have been incorporated without indication of their source. A very striking example of this is found on pp. 28-39, where practically everything is borrowed. I will give the parallel passages¹:

- 27²³-29² E. 59-61.
 29³⁻¹⁷ (to Schule) V. 315.
 29¹⁷⁻²³ Kr. 6.
 29²⁶⁻³¹ (to Umfangs) Br. 13, 960.
 29³⁶⁻³⁶ (from Hier) Br. 13, 960.
 30²²⁻³⁵ (from Wie) E. 61-62.
 30³⁶⁻³¹²⁹ (to Josephs) V. 315-316.
 31²⁹⁻³¹ (dient-auszulegen) E. 63.

¹ I have given the paging according to the editions accessible to me. The letters prefixed indicate the abbreviation employed in each case.

Br. Brockhaus, *Konversations-Lexicon* (14^{te} Aufl.).

E. Eichendorff, Joseph Freiherr von, *Der deutsche Roman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts in seinem Verhältnis zum Christentum*. Leipzig, 1851.

Kr. Kreyssig, Fr. *Vorlesungen über den deutschen Roman der Gegenwart*. Berlin, 1871.

V. Vilmar, A. F. C. *Geschichte der deutschen National-Literatur*. 20^{ste} Aufl. Marburg u. Leipzig, 1881.

- 31³¹-33¹⁹ (from Trotzdem) V. 316-317.
 33²⁰⁻³¹ E. 63.
 33³¹-34¹² V. 317-318.
 34¹²⁻¹⁶ (to 1707) E. 62-63.
 34¹⁶⁻²⁵ (In—erzählt) V. 318.
 34²⁷⁻³⁰ (Von—zerbrochen) E. 63.
 34³⁰⁻³³ (from Zu) V. 318.
 34³⁷-35⁴ V. 319.
 35⁴⁻¹¹ (oder—gezieret) V. 319, footnote.
 35¹¹⁻²⁸ (In—geführt) E. 64.
 35²⁸⁻³⁸ (from ohne) V. 319.
 36¹⁻⁶ V. 318.
 36⁷⁻²⁹ E. 65.
 36³⁰-37²⁵ V. 318.
 37²⁸-38²¹ E. 66-67.
 38²²-39²² V. 319-320.

We can hardly approve of the selection of works from which excerpts have been made. General histories of world-literature like those of Hart and Baumgartner, histories of German literature like those of Vilmar and the uncritical Koenig, works on the German novel one-sided or popular and now antiquated, encyclopedias, etc., cannot be considered the proper sources for a modern, up-to-date treatise on the novel. We except Mielke, of course, which is an excellent study of the nineteenth century novel in Germany.

The reader is referred to a number of first-rate works, monographs, and articles in journals, in the footnotes thruout the book, particularly at the close, as well as to some now antiquated. No systematic, critical classification or treatment of the bibliographical material has been attempted. In general, however, altho incomplete, this bibliography is helpful. Attention might be drawn to a few minor errors which came to my notice: p. 3, footnote 3, Rhode should be spelt Rohde; p. 10, footnote 13, should read, "des Fiore di Virtu"; p. 72, footnote 80, E. Müller-Fraureuth, not E. Müller; p. 123, footnote 148, read "Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur" for "J. f. r. u. germanische Philologie"; and on p. 128, footnote 154, Berlin should be substituted for Braunschweig, as the place of publication of the third edition of Mielke's book.

To mention a few more inaccuracies: on p. 9 the date of Boccaccio's birth is given as 1343 instead of 1313; on p. 11 Vandello should be corrected to Bandello (this correction must be made in the index as well), and his dates changed from 1490-1560 to 1480-1561; p. 15, l. 17, read

"prosaische" instead of "poetische"; p. 16, Magalone translated into German 1536, not 1535; p. 21, the date of Cervantes' death was 1616, not 1610; p. 56, "Lebensgeschichte des verstorbenen Jonathan Wild *des Grossen*," not "der Grosse"; p. 100, Justin McCarthy, not Mecarthy, and Ramée, not Ramé. On p. 25, ll. 8-11, we find statements with regard to the publication of the various parts of "L'Astrée," which conflict with Körting's in his *G. d. fr. Romans im 17. Jh.* p. 82 seq. We read in Körting that the first and second volumes were published in 1610, the third in 1619, whereas the fourth and fifth, the latter written for the most part by secretary Baro, using the author's sketch as a basis, appeared in 1627.

Various minor alterations have been made in the wording of the extracts drawn from other books. One piece of editorial work, p. 54, ll. 17-18, is open to criticism on the score of style. The original (Brockhaus) had (Salon- und Boudoirromane) "die auch nach Deutschland und den anderen Ländern herüberwirkten" which is altered to "die auch nach Deutschland wirkten."

It is a very difficult task to give a satisfactory idea of the history of the novel of one single country in anything like so small a compass as 128 pages; it is an impossibility to give a suitable history of the novel of all countries in that space. Keiter's original work on the theory and technique of the novel (and Keller's enlargement of it) is based pretty exclusively on the German novel, altho French and English works are now and then drawn on for illustration and once in a while a novel or novelist of some other country is mentioned. The German novel furnishes the basic material, and this as well as the fact that so little is gained by such a cursory treatment of the oriental, Greek, Slavic, Portuguese, Hungarian, Norwegian, Polish, Turkish, and American novel, make it clear that the writer would have done well to dispense with these entirely. The pages thus won would have permitted more adequate justice being done the German novel. Little over half of the work, roughly speaking, is devoted to the German novel, and in the last dozen pages, which deal with "die neuesten Romandichter," the Spanish, French, English, and American novel receive, each, nearly the same prominence and fulness of

treatment as the German, to say nothing of the fact that the Italian, Norwegian, Hungarian, Polish, Czechic, Turkish and Japanese are also introduced. In the paragraphs on the German modern novel, we find mention, to be sure, of Richard Voss, Polenz, Ompteda, Freussen, Otto Ernst, (also of Brackel, Marie Herbert, and Handel-Mazzetti), but fail to discover Wildenbruch, Hans Hoffmann, Seidel, Ernst von Wolzogen, Ernst Zahn, Ricarda Huch, Klara Viebig, Beyerlein, Joseph Lauff, and many others whose names we might expect to find. Why omit Otto Ludwig, Franzos, Sacher-Masoch, Anzengruber? "Heiterethei" and "Zwischen Himmel und Erde," "Ein Kampf ums Recht," "Das Vermächtnis Kains," "Der Schandfleck" and "Der Sternsteinhof" certainly entitle their authors to a place in a treatise in which space is found for Schücking and Kompert, for a John Retcliffe and a Gregor Samarow.

In fact, the question of the proportion of space due individual writers, according to their importance in the history of the novel has not been weighed with sufficient care by the author. Emil Souvestre receives 26 lines while Felix Dahn gets 3, Manzoni has 13, Raabe receives no more, while Rosegger is allowed only 9 and Sudermann 4, that is just as much as the Russian novelist, Anton Tschekow. A large number of names are enumerated in the book, each with perhaps a few lines of characterization and yet without mention of a single one of the author's works (*e. g.*, Hesekei, p. 90, Holtei, p. 91).

Our conclusion is, then, that the writer attempts too much, that his treatise on the history of the novel is not an independent, homogeneous work, but is, for the most part, a disjointed series of extracts from works now antiquated, or, at least, not up to date and standard for the history of the novel. The work shows no proper sense of proportion, omits essential names and works and introduces unessential ones, or at any rate, less important ones. The treatise is not reliable as a guide either to German literature or that of other countries, for the reader can have no confidence in the critical judgment displayed or method of selection employed.

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Les poètes du terroir du XV^e siècle au XX^e siècle.

Textes choisis, accompagnés de Notices biographiques et d'une Bibliographie et de cartes des anciens pays de France, par AD. VAN BEVER. (Alsace, Anjou, Auvergne, Béarn, Berry, Bourbonnais, Bourgogne, Bretagne, Champagne.) Tome I. Paris, Delagrave, 1909. xv + 575 pp.

The interest in the literatures of the Provinces of France is growing every day, and the prediction that it would prove a mere fad is farther than ever from being realized. Thus the publication of this admirable volume—which awaits a brother shortly—is very timely. To all those who are familiar with Vicaire's *Études sur la poésie populaire*, the work of Van Bever will be heartily welcome. It is indeed the whole of France, not only the somewhat cosmopolitan Paris which sings all through this rich collection, the gay, sunny France; the variety of the French wit comes out in a really striking fashion; Anjou does not laugh like Béarn, Champagne is not merry like Brittany, Burgundy is enjoying life differently from Alsace. One of the most interesting features are the *Chansons populaires*, generally anonymous, of those various countries. In many cases when the "patois" offers difficulties, a translation is added to the original text. For our own taste, and from the point of view of the scholar, we should have preferred if more space had been allowed to those popular songs, while some of the poets might have been left out without much impairing the value of the book; for instance, such authors who after having gone to Paris lost the characteristic turn of mind of the "terroir" might have been merely mentioned in the introductory chapters. Moreover, such poets like Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Banville, and so forth, are well enough known without being represented there, all the more so as the space allotted to each one of them could not possibly do justice to their importance.

The biographical and bibliographical notes are as generous as they are concise, both for the groups of poets and for the individual men; they will prove extremely valuable for students of French poetry. The name of the editor is a

guarantee by itself of the excellence of the work. Van Bever is one of the greatest "Fureteurs de bibliothèques" in Paris; he is one of the editors of the *Poètes d'aujourd'hui*, that indispensable tool for any student of contemporary poetry in France; and he has now under way a most interesting edition of Guill. Colletet's *Vie des poètes français*, from the unique ms. preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, and which will be published by H. Champion.¹

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CARLSON, J. S.: *Swedish Grammar and Reader*. The H. W. Wilson Company, Minneapolis. 1907. Pp. 277.

Carlson's *Grammar*, based, as the author informs us in his Preface, on Sunden's *Svensk Språklära*, is intended "as a practical text-book for the school-room and home." In eighty-six pages the principles of Swedish grammar are presented and in twenty more a survey of the syntax. Pages 107-126 contain Exercises 1) illustrating the various parts of the sentence and grammatical forms in general and, 2) exemplifying the spelling of Swedish, especially the various ways in which the *j*-, *v*-, *sje*-, *tje*-, and *äng*- sounds are indicated in writing. The remainder, or a little over one-half of the book, is given to the selections for reading, and the vocabulary to these (pages 227-273). The latter seems to have been carefully prepared; I have found few omissions either of words used in the texts or of meanings in which these are used. There is, however, a considerable sprinkling of misprints, some of which will be confusing enough to the beginner, as p. 264, *ställe*, n. 5; should be n. 4 (neuter, class 4), and p. 253, *minne*, n. 3, which also should be n. 4.¹ I believe, too, that it would have been better in such a grammar if each separate word had been set apart as are the primary stems, and not to embody derivatives and com-

¹ For a more complete description of this forthcoming Colletet and the conditions for subscription, see my note in *Library Journal*, March, 1909, pp. 140-1.

¹ Misprints are unfortunately rather numerous in the *Grammar*.

pounds in the article under the stem. The selections of the *Reader* are, in general, excellent; from among the poets, Wallin, Nieander, Anna Maria Lenngren, Grafström, Strandberg, Runeberg, Geiger, Vitalis, Sehlstedt and Lindblad are represented by one or more selections each, while in prose the numbers are from Topelius, Hjärne, Fredrika Bremer, G. af Geigerstrom, Victor Rydberg, Melander, Tegnér, Geijer, Hedenstjerna, Starbäck, Fryxell, and Mellin.²

The grammar proper will be found to be very serviceable; being written by one to the manner born the explanations of sounds and the discussions of rules and forms are almost always correct and the matter is presented in both readable and teachable form. Some antiquated terms occur in the phonology, which the teacher would best correct to those in present usage; especially objectionable is the designation of *v*, *f*, *s*, *sj*, *tj* and *j* all as 'sibilants.' On page 2, the sound of *ä* is correctly given as that of *ea* in 'bear,' but incorrectly as also that of *a* in 'make'; in § 12 it would have been to the point to have stated that *e* is extremely rare in native Swedish words, occurring only along with *k* or *h* (in *ach*); it would have aided the student if under 48, *c*, the fact of existing cognates in *a* had been brought out. It is an error, I think, to give under 47, 2, *d*, this practically complete list of words in which the short sound of *ä* is written *o*, and similarly under 47, 2, *e*, in the case of foreign words in which *ä* is written *o*; only a few commonly used words should have been given. Likewise it certainly is confusing to the student to have given at all the rules, § 66, for the old three genders, when present Swedish no longer recognizes that, but is a four gender language, something which is correctly presented elsewhere in the grammar. But I do not wish to seem to find fault, for the good points of Carlson's *Grammar* are many. I regard it as a distinct addition to our helps for the study of Swedish in this country and the book ought to become widely used.

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² Some selections from the most recent Swedish writers should have been included, especially one to illustrate the remarkable prose of Selma Lagerlöf.

CORRESPONDENCE.

GUMMERE'S *Oldest English Epic*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—I am one of many who have been welcoming Mr. Gummere's *The Oldest English Epic*, just published. To me, the translation of *Beowulf* it contains, in verse, is of special interest. Can you spare me space for a word or two regarding Mr. Gummere's reasons for preferring verse to prose? These reasons he gives, but says nothing of the other side of the question. He objects to a prose translation because the original is in verse, and because in a prose translation one "can" (does this mean one must inevitably?) get rid of the style of the original, or "suppress it to the vanishing point." These reasons we may leave as stated, and turn to Mr. Gummere's arraignment of a belief, indefensible in his opinion, which he no doubt considers characteristic of those perverse enough to prefer a prose translation. "No greater mistake," he says, "exists than to suppose that the rhythm and style of these early English poems cannot be rendered adequately in modern English speech."

The word to be noted here is "adequately"; the whole question turns on that. Mr. Gummere continues, "As a practical problem *solvitur ambulando*." He probably refers to the pedestrian muse. Who will deny that a person even of modest attainments can sit down and forthwith translate Old English verse with every faithful intention into an imitation of it that scans—or even write original poems in it like Hall's *Old English Idyls*. In point of fact, the embracing of such a temptation and the actual transgression are alike only too fatally easy. At moments—all too few and fleeting—such a translator can be what, by courtesy, is called 'felicitous.' But "adequate" his translation will not be, either as regards rhythm or something still more vital, accuracy, for two main reasons. In the first place, because Modern "Old English" verse does not sound in the least like real Old English verse. It is a bastard archeological fabrication, or an atavistic degenerate, or—something else; and it never will be anything else unless, through some miracle, it should be human-

ized by a real poet or a poetic tradition—and philologists are, after all, not real poets. Moreover, even then, it would be something else, and not Old English verse. The second reason is that when a translator lays upon himself the bonds of Sievers' types and the constraints of initial rime, he limits himself parlously in his choice of available words, and cannot choose the precisely right word, interpret with faithfulness, give to the modern reader what the poem gave to the Anglo-Saxon hearer or reader. Matching letters does not conduce to precision of meaning or poetic inspiration. It made the Old English poet pad—though, to be sure, he very cleverly evaded this particular hardship of Wyrd by making his padding an artistic character of his verse. But the translator is not free to run over and select helpful stop-gaps from a stock of kennings or epic tags; he is not even at liberty to swap one kenning before him for another. This necessity to observe the letter and not the spirit tends continually to make a verse translation inaccurate, cryptic, bald, or, what is worse, artificial. It was one of several things that drove William Morris (and he a poet) to inventing his horrific pseudo-archaisms.

In brief (if I may venture to speak also for Mr. J. R. Clark Hall, Mr. Tinker, and other regrettably prosaic translators) those who have translated *Beowulf* in prose preferred prose because they preferred a medium in which they could be as accurately faithful, that is, make as "adequate" a translation in this most essential regard of faithfulness, as possible. The fact is cited by Mr. Gummere that all German translators but one have used verse. What of that? All persons of generous nature in uncurbed moments burn to rush in where even genius fear to tread. And the Germans are Titanic; they aspire to be supermen. These sinned through pride—but there was at least one just man found among them.

May a suggestion be made which might possibly transform the clash of opinions on this point into a happy concord—a suggestion which Mr. Gummere of all men should welcome? What one cannot do adequately—that is, make a verse translation—might be done by many. The world is much the richer for what Mr. Gummere has taught us of the communal origin of poetry. Why

should not an era of communal translation set in? Let some devoted soul, more valiant and more unselfish than Curtius, perpetrate for the common good a translation of one poem or another in one of our technical periodicals. Our own periodicals—for it would not do to let the Germans in on this. Furthermore it should be understood that we would give everyone in this country a chance, for we get sometimes in the habit of thinking no one exists except the Germans and our own particular University. Then let everyone, in the slang phrase, "jump on" the votive translation, rend it in pieces, and then, by a happy selection of the most accurate, that is prose, renderings offered, in as excellent and as accurate poetic phrasing as is possible, put together, somewhat like a picture puzzle but a good deal harder, an ideal translation for communal use. This could be handed down—a perfect translation, because it would have no individual author, but come out of the heart of a literate (to be sure) but homogeneous folk. For that is what philologists are. There would be no danger of petty differences of opinion or preference for one's own opinion before those of others—not the slightest. Everyone knows that there is no vanity, or jealousy, or narrow parochial spirit among philologists—or, at least, American philologists.

Will Mr. Gummere let me thank him here (not because I suppose it will mean anything to him, but in token of my personal debt) for his helpful book? I had scarcely cut the string before I was reading his stirring verse to a class, and it "went across the footlights" unmistakably. But the fact that Mr. Gummere comes almost within grasp of the impossible does not prove his point.

C. G. CHILD.

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ON AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TRANSLATION OF BÜRGER'S *Lenore*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In an interesting article on English translations of Bürger's *Lenore* (*Modern Quarterly of Language and Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 13–28), W. W. Greg has corrected some of Brandl's mis-

takes in a note on the same subject appended to Erich Schmidt's *Charakteristiken* (Vol. I, pp. 244-48) but has himself erred in attempting to correct Brandl in regard to William Taylor's translation of *Lenore*. Greg writes as follows, commenting on a list of translations :

"Taylor 2. Ellenore, Norwich, 1796. (Brandl mentions an edition of this date at London, which according to him contains a stanza from Spencer(!) I have not been able to find any trace of such an ed.)."

The Spencer referred to is another translator of *Lenore*. *The Monthly Mirror* (Vol. II, p. 480) gives the title of Taylor's translation as follows :

"Ellenore, a Ballad, originally written in German, by G. A. Buerger, Norwich, March. London, Johnson."

Plainly, then, the ballad was published or at any rate distributed both at Norwich and at London. Greg, unaware of this, thinks that Brandl refers to a different edition, whereas both are calling the same edition by different names.

Notwithstanding Greg's exclamation point Brandl is also right in regard to Taylor's borrowing from Spencer. In the first place, Brandl speaks of the copying of a "Vers" which means "line" and not "stanza" as Greg has translated it. *The Critical Review* (New Series, Vol. XXII, p. 455) quotes Taylor's own words in regard to page 7 of this ballad that "he has availed himself of the highly finished translation of Mr. Spencer." Unfortunately this London and Norwich edition of Taylor's translation of *Lenore* is not in the British Museum and possibly not in existence to-day, so it is not possible to prove that this disputed passage is on page 7, tho it is extremely probable. We have other pretty conclusive evidence of the borrowing however. Taylor published a translation of *Lenore* in the *Monthly Magazine* for March, 1796, which we will term (a). By June of that year (see *Critical Review*, Vol. XVII, pp. 303-08) W. R. Spencer's translation (b) had appeared. At the end of this year was published in pamphlet form another translation of *Lenore* by Taylor (c). The version printed in Taylor's *Survey of German Poetry* (Vol. II, p. 40 of 1829 ed.) is undoubtedly, as Brandl and Greg state, a reprint of (c). We will call it (c'). It is at any rate different

from (a). The stanza in which the borrowed line occurs runs in the original and in the various versions as follows :

"Sag an, wo ist dein Kämmerlein?
Wo? Wie dein Hochzeitbettchen?"
"Weit, weit von hier! Still, kühl und klein!
Sechs Bretter und zwei Brettlein!"

(a)

"And where is, then, thy house and home;
And where thy bridal bed?"
"'Tis narrow, silent, chilly, dark;
Far hence I rest my head."

(b)

"Say where the bed, and bridal hall?
"What guests our blissful union greet?"
"Low lies the bed, still, cold and small;
"Six dark boards, and one milk white sheet."

(c')

"And where is then thy house, and home,
And bridal bed so meet?"
"'Tis narrow, silent, chilly, low,
Six planks, one shrouding sheet."

The similarity of the last lines in (b) and (c') seems conclusive proof that the latter was borrowed from the former, since the original contains no reference to a "milk white sheet." If then, as Brandl and Greg suppose, the version in the *Survey of German Poetry* is a reprint of Taylor's 1796 London and Norwich edition, Brandl is right in stating that this edition "contains a line from Spencer."

W. A. COLWELL.

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A PARALLEL BETWEEN HOFFMANN AND LUDWIG.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—The Romanticist Hoffmann and the realist Ludwig seem poles apart from one another, but once at least their great minds ran in very much the same channel. Their famous master coopers, Martin and Holders-Fritz, testify as follows concerning their trade :

"... mein Handwerk halt' ich für das herr- lichste, was es auf der Welt geben kann. . . . Ei, Herr, mir lacht das Herz	"Es geht doch kein Handwerk über die Bütt- nerei. So ein Ding, das steht auf sich selber da, so rund, so glatt und so fest,
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im Leibe, wenn ich solch ein tüchtig Fass auf den Endstuhl bringe, nachdem die Stäbe mit dem Klöb-eisen und dem Lenkbeil tüchtig bereitet, wenn dann die Gesellen die Schlegel schwingen und klipp, klapp—klipp, klapp! es niederfällt auf die Treiber —hei! das ist lustige Musik. . . . Ihr spracht von Baumeistern, lieber Herr! ei nun, solch ein stattliches Haus ist wohl ein herrliches Werk; aber wär ich ein Baumeister, ginge ich vor meinem Werke vorüber und oben vom Erker schaute irgend ein unsauberer Geist, ein nichts-nüt-ziger, schuftiger Geselle, der das Haus erworben, auf mich herab, ich würde mich schämen ins Innerste hinein, mir würde vor lauter Ärger und Verdruß die Lust ankommen, mein eigenes Werk zu zerstören. Doch so etwas kann mir nicht geschehen mit meinen Gebäuden. Da drinnen wohnt ein für allemal nur der sauberste Geist auf Erden, der edle Wein.—Gott lobe mir mein Handwerk! "

E. T. A. Hoffmann: *Meister Martin der Kufner und seine Gesellen* (1818). Sämtliche Werke, Leipzig, 1900, VII, 168-69.

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und man kann seine Freud daran sehn, wies gefügt ist, dass man keine Fuge sieht. Dagegen was hilft dem Schneider und dem Schuster das Schönst, was sie machen? Der Kerl, der hernachen darin steckt, ist er hässlich, so verschimpfiert er das Werk, und ist er schön, so denkt man wieder, der machts. Ich möcht wissen, wie ein Schreiber an seiner Arbeit könnt seine Freud haben, oder ein Kaufmann; denn die Thaler, die der erwirbt, die hat er nicht selber gemacht. Dem Musikanten seine Sach, die ist vollends in die Luft geblasen. Er siehts kein mal ganz vor sich, was er hat gemacht, dass er sich könnt drüber freun."

O. Ludwig: *Die Heitere-thei* (1855). Gesammelte Schriften, Leipzig, 1891, II, 123.

GEO. M. PRIEST.

EASTWARD HOE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—It is to be desired that other students of the Elizabethan drama would follow the example of Dr. Joseph Quincy Adams, Jr. and record in *Modern Language Notes* allusions to previous plays in *Eastward Hoe*, for our list is certainly far from complete. Slitgut, in the same scene from which Dr. Adams quotes (IV, 1), on descending from his "tree" in Cuckold's Haven, says :

Farewel to honest married men, farewel to all sorts and degrees of thee! Farewel thou horne of hunger, that calst th' inns a court to their manger! Farewel, thou horne of abundance, that adornest the headsmen of the commonwealth! Farewell, thou horne of direction, that is the cit-tie lanthorne! Farewell, thou horne of pleasure, the ensigne of the huntsman! Farewell, thou horne of destiny, th' ensigne of the married man! Farewell, thou horne tree, that bearest nothing but stone fruite!

Is it stretching a point to regard this as a parody of *Othello*, III, 3 :—

Farewell the tranquil mind! farewell content!
Farewell the plumed troop and the big wars
That make ambition virtue! O, farewell!
Farewell the neighing steed etc.

It may easily be imagined what point could be given to the parody if the boy who took the part of Slitgut at the Blackfriars had been taught to travesty the accent and gesture of Burbage in reciting *Othello's* "farewell" at the Globe, as some of the artists of the vaudeville stage have mimicked popular actors of our own day. Both these passages in *Eastward Hoe* were probably written by Chapman, and if the conjectures as to their intention are well founded, the larger issue is raised of Chapman's relation to Shakspeare in the stage quarrel, referred to in the prologue of *Troilus and Cressida*.

These parallels should, of course, be carefully scanned, or we may be led astray by accidental repetitions of the same phrases. If an earlier date could be certainly assigned to *King Lear*, one would be tempted to descry a reminiscence of the famous reconciliation scene in the passage in *Eastward Hoe*, v, 1, in which Gertrude kneels down and asks her mother's blessing, adding : "Nay, sweet mother, doe not weepe." The resemblance between the situation in *Eastward Hoe* and that in the older *Chronicle History of King Leir*, from which Shakspeare doubtless took the suggestion, is less close. The scene in the old play (H' in the Malone Society Reprint) has recently been warmly praised by Count Tolstoi, and must have been famous in its day; but the parallel is so slight that it seems rather an instance of the danger of this kind of criticism than of its significance.

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CIBBER'S *Cinna's Conspiracy*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In *Corneille and Racine in England* (pp. 179–185) by Dorothea Frances Canfield, the ascription of the authorship of *Cinna's Conspiracy* to Colley Cibber is questioned on internal evidence, namely, that the play is better than Cibber was able to write, and because, quoting Genest, “no reason is assigned, why he should conceal his name.” These two arguments are so dependent on personal judgment that evidence that Cibber was paid for the play would seem to establish his authorship.

In Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, volume 8, page 294, is given an extract from a memorandum book of Lintot, entitled *Copies when purchased*. According to this Cibber, on March 16, 1712 (O. S.), was paid thirteen pounds for *Cinna's Conspiracy*. The play was first acted at Drury Lane, February 19, 1713 (Genest, vol. 2, page 510), about a month before the purchase by Lintot. The fact that Cibber was paid for the play so short a time after its presentation would seem to be sufficient proof that the play is by Cibber, even though he seems to have made no public claim to its authorship.

DE WITT C. CROISSANT.

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LIKE A MIDSOMER ROSE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—By way of addition to the bibliographical data in Mr. MacCracken's *Lydgate Canon* (The Philological Society, 1908), it may be noted that Lydgate's poem *Like a Midsomer Rose* (MacCracken, p. xix), was copied by Thomas Gray from a manuscript in the Public Library of the University of Cambridge (presumably Hh. iv. 12) and was appended to his *Remarks on the Poems of John Lydgate*. These were published by Mathias in 1814, and again by Mitford, in his *Correspondence of Gray and Nicholls*, 1843, pp. 317–321. Some quotations, this poem among

them, were unaccountably omitted by Gosse from his edition of Gray's *Works*.

Gray's *Remarks* also include several extended extracts from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*; of which we need a new edition.

Like a Midsomer Rose, it may be added, is another of the numerous medieval poems in which the *ubi sunt?* formula figures; cf. the lists of Bright and F. Tupper, Jr. in *M. L. N.*, VIII, 94, 253 f.

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THE THREE DAYS' TOURNAMENT MOTIF IN
MARLOWE'S *Tamburlaine*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The incident of the victorious knight who on three successive days of a tournament appears each day disguised with a horse and armor of different colour is well known to readers of the mediæval romances (see, for example, the Middle English romances, *Ipomedon*, A, ll. 3039 ff., and *Richard Coeur de Lion*, ll. 267 ff.). Miss J. L. Weston in her *Three Days' Tournament* (London, 1902) has traced the theme, though not exhaustively, through the romances and folk-tales, and G. Paris, the year before his death, announced (*Journal des Savants* for August, 1902, p. 449, note), his intention of devoting a detailed study to the subject—an intention which he did not live to carry out. No one seems, however, to have observed a late adaptation of this idea in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part I, Act iv, Sc. i, ll. 47 ff. The messenger, speaking of *Tamburlaine* to the Soldan of Egypt, says (vol. I, p. 69 of A. H. Bullen's edition, 3 vols., London, 1885):

“Pleaseth your Mightiness to understand,
His resolution far exceedeth all.
The first day when he pitcheth down his tents,
White is their hue, and on his silver crest,
A snowy feather spangled white he bears,
To signify the mildness of his mind,
That, satiate with spoil, refuseth blood.
But when Aurora mounts the second time
As red as scarlet is his furniture;
Then must his kindled wrath be quenched with blood,
Not sparing any that can manage arms;

But if these threats move not submission,
 Black are his colours, black pavilion;
 His spear, his shield, his horse, his armour, plumes,
 And jetty feathers, menace death and hell;
 Without respect of sex, degree or age,
 He razeth all his foes with fire and sword."

The differences which distinguish Marlowe's application of the idea—*e. g.*, the symbolical meaning of the three colours, respectively—are too obvious to need pointing out. G. Paris remarks (*loc. cit.*) that the original order of the colours in stories of this class was red, white, black. However this may be, in the actual mediæval texts we find various arrangements. The order in Marlowe—white, red, black—is the same as in *Ipomedon A.*

I am unable to say what was Marlowe's immediate source for this idea. One version of the Robert the Devil story—the Middle English metrical romance *Sir Gowther*, ll. 395 ff. (ed. K. Breul, Oppellu, 1886)—shows this *motif*, but the only versions that were likely to be accessible to Marlowe, viz., *The Lyfe of Robert the Deuyll*, (prose) printed by Wynkyn de Worde (reprinted by W. J. Thoms, vol. 1, pp. 1 ff., of his *Early English Prose Romances*, 3 vols., 2nd ed., London, 1858), and the metrical version of about the same date, based on this print (most accessible in W. C. Hazlitt's *Remains of the Popular Poetry of England*, vol. 1, pp. 217 ff., London, 1864), do not show it. We have in these as in the Old French versions to which they go back the combats of the disguised knight on three different days but there is no change in the colour of horse or armour. Whatever may have been Marlowe's source, the *motif* is so common in romance and folk-tale that I do not believe that we are at liberty to regard the resemblance as accidental.

J. DOUGLAS BRUCE.

University of Tennessee.

LORD BYRON'S *Stanzas to the Po.*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—Byron's *Stanzas to the Po*, though first published in Medwin's *Conversations of Lord Byron* (1824), was composed in April or June of 1819 (see vol. 4, p. 545, note, of the edition of his

Poetry by E. H. Coleridge, 7 vols., London, 1898–1904). Whoever may have been its object—the Guiccioli or another—the poem appears to express a deep and genuine emotion and deserves a high place among its author's lyrical productions. The editors have failed to observe, however, that the beautiful image which gives its effect to this emotion—that of the lover's making the river the bearer of his message to his mistress in her abode far down the stream—is borrowed—yet the following passage from the *Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore* (edited by Lord John Russell, 8 vols., London, 1853–6), vol. 2, pp. 323 f., I think, leaves no doubt on the subject. Under the date, June 6, 1819, Moore (who had been dining at Holland House) says in his Journal:

"I pointed out to Lord Holland and the rest a passage from Busbequius that struck me as romantic; where he describes the soldiers singing a song supposed to be uttered by a dying warrior on the river's bank, addressing the river as it flows by, and bidding it hasten to tell his mistress how gallantly he had died. They did not seem to think anything of it; but if I had mentioned (what was really the case) that it was Lord Byron who first pointed it out to me, they would have been sure to have found out all possible beauty in it,—such is the *prestige* of a name!"

Moore shows here some confusion of memory in regard to Busbequius' narrative but the following is evidently the passage he had in mind. I quote from the English translation—*Travels into Turkey translated from the original Latin of the learned A. G. Busbequius*, 3rd edition, Glasgow, 1761—rather than from the Latin original, since Lord Byron is much more likely to have used the former. On page 180 of this work we find the following words:

"I only heard one Hungarian common soldier playing a doleful ditty on a (*sic*) ill-tuned harp and his companions were howling rather than singing to it; it was the last words of a fellow-soldier who died of his wounds on the grassy bank of the Danube; he adjured that river as her streams were gliding to his own country, to commend him to his friends there, and tell them that he died no ignoble nor unrevenged death for the glory of their nation and encrease of their religion. His fellows groaned out, *Thrice happy he! O that our case were like his!*"

It will be observed that the dying warrior does not send a message of love to his *mistress*, as Moore states, but a message of patriotism and exultant heroism to his *friends*. It is significant, however, that the change which Moore's slip of memory has effected in the original story is just that which Byron's poem also exhibits. Had Moore seen a copy of the poem at the time that he made this entry in his Journal and did the mistake arise from his confusing it with the passage in Busbequius which suggested the image that gives it its peculiar form? This seems hardly likely (although the dates would offer no obstacle to such a supposition, if the stanzas were composed in April, 1819), for he would surely have mentioned the poem in the entry, if he had known of its existence. Moreover, I find no allusion to the piece elsewhere in his Correspondence or in Byron's. It seems most probable, then, that Byron had at some time mentioned to Moore the idea suggested by the passage as a good one to adapt to the purpose for which we find it employed in the *Stanzas to the Po* and that the confusion of memory arose in this way.

At what time did Byron point out this passage to Moore? Moore's words would seem to imply that he did so in person. If this is true, it must have been before April 25, 1816, the day that Byron left England for good (see Moore's *Life of Byron*, p. 305, London, 1901), for the two poets did not meet again until October 8, 1819 (see *ibid.*, p. 410). The thought suggests itself naturally that Byron may have composed, even at this early date—before he left England—some poem based on the passage in Busbequius, but this is not likely. At any rate, there is no evidence that he did. Nor is there anything to show that he "pointed out" this passage by letter to Moore. It would appear, then, that he kept the suggestion, as a highly poetical one, long in mind and finally used it in the manner that we have seen.

J. DOUGLAS BRUCE.

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GRAY'S ELEGY.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—There is an interesting parallelism

between Gray's *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* and a section of Virgil's second Georgic. Beginning with "O fortunatos nimium," line 458, Virgil gives a picture of the life of a husbandman which reminds one of the setting of the *Elegy*.

It is to be remembered that the point of view of the two poets was entirely different. Although he recognizes the fact that much hard labor falls to the lot of the husbandman, Virgil considers his life more delightful than any other except that of the philosopher. Gray sees the hardness of the husbandman's lot and seeks to find some compensation for it. Notwithstanding this difference in point of view, there is a marked similarity in the impressions given by the two poems. The details in the two pictures are very much alike, as is also the method of treatment. In both poems the life of the husbandman is described not only in terms of what he enjoys, but also in terms of what he escapes, by reason of his situation.

Below are some examples illustrating the parallelism in the two pictures. The first example is perhaps the least striking of the number:

1. The curfew tolls the knell of parting day,
The lowing herd winds slowly o'er the lea,
The plowman homeward plods his weary way,
And leaves the world to darkness and to me.

. . . At latis otia fundis,
Speluncae, vivique lacus, et frigida Tempe,
Mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni
Non absunt. l. 468 f.

2. For them no more the blazing hearth shall burn,
Or busy housewife ply her evening care:
No children run to lisp their sire's return,
Or climb his knees the envied kiss to share.

Intertia dulces pendent circum oscula nati,
Casta pudicitiam servat domus. l. 523 f.

3. Oft did the harvest to their sickle yield,
Their furrow oft the stubborn glebe has broke:
How jocund did they drive their team afield;
How bowed the woods beneath their sturdy stroke!

Agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro:
Hinc anni labor, hinc patriam pavosque penates
Sustinet, hinc armenta boum meritosque iuvenco. l. 513 f.

4. Th' applause of list'ning senates to command,
The threats of pain and ruin to despise,
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land
And read their hist'ry in a nation's eyes,

Their lot forbade : nor circumscribed alone
 Their growing virtues, but their crimes confin'd ;
 Forbade to wade through slaughter to a throne,
 And shut the gates of mercy on mankind.

Hic stupet attonitus rostris ; hunc plausus hiantem
 Per cuneos geminatus enim plebisque patrumque
 Corripuit ; gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum.

l. 508 f.

5. Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,
 Their sober wishes never learned to stray ;
 Along the cool sequester'd vale of life
 They kept the noiseless tenor of their way.

Illum non populi fascies, non purpura regum
 Flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres.

l. 495 f.

H. P. JOHNSON.

University of Mississippi.

OS. GENESIS, 285 ff.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—OS. *Genesis*, 285 ff.:

*Suort furdhur skred
 narouua naht an skion, nahida moragan
 an allara seliða gihuuem, uhtfugal sang
 fora daga huoam.*

After looking over the various conjectures on l. 288 recorded in Piper's edition, it occurred to me that the text could be improved more satisfactorily by reading *fora dagawōman*,—an emendation suggested by the well-known Old English expressions *dægwoma*, and *dægredwoma* (Grimm's edition of *Andreas & Elene*, pp. xxx f., Krapp's note on *Andreas*, 125). Cf. OE. *Exodus*, 344 : *dæg-woma beowom / ofer garsecge* (?), *Godes beacna sum, / morgen mæretorht*; *Guðl.*, 1265 : *oðæt eastan cwom / ofer deop gelad dægredwoma, / wedertacen wearm*; *Andr.*, 123 : *nihthelm toglað, / lungre leorde*; *leoht æfter com, / dægredwoma*. On turning to Behaghel's edition (1903), I noticed that the correction *dagawōman*, or rather the still better *dagas wōman* had been submitted before by Kluge and Symons; in particular, the latter scholar was found to have plausibly explained the genesis of the scribal blunder (through misreading of *dagasuuomā*, the long form of the *s* being used). Since, however, this view has so far met with scant favor—having been scorned by all the editors (Braune, Piper, Holthausen, Behaghel,

Heyne)—, it may not be amiss to put in a word by way of additional support.

Of the seven divisions of night as enumerated in Ælfric's version of Bede's *De Temporibus* and in Byrhtferð's *Handboec* (see Tupper's instructive paper in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, x, 111 ff., especially 126 f.), viz., *æfengloma*, *æfen*, 'conticinium' or *switima*, *midniht*, *hancred*, *dægred*, *ærnemergen* (followed by *sunnan upgang*), the 'cockcrowing,' it is interesting to observe, precedes immediately the *dægred*, which latter division we are clearly warranted in identifying with the OE. *dægredwoma* = *dægwoma*. That *uhtfugal* denotes the cock (cf. OE. *on uhtu-tid* = *galli cantu*, B.-T., s. v. *uhtan-tid*), is probably admitted by everybody, unless Kauffmann should stick to his preference for the nightingale (*Z. f. d. Ph.*, xxxii, 509). As to the position of *uhta*, "the hour before dawn" (Tupper, l. c., 147), we may compare also *Sat.*, 465 : *þis was on uhtan eall geworden / ær dægrede*, and *Cur. Past.*, p. 458 : *ðæs cocces ðeaw is ðæt he micle hludor singð on uhtan ðonne on dægred*; *ac ðonne hit nealwæð dæge, ðonne singð he smalor and smioror* (Tupper, l. c., 150). This use of *fora* in a temporal sense, it is true (Franck, *Z. f. d. A.*, xl, 213), cannot be paralleled in Old Saxon, but the same remark would apply to *furi* (in prepositional function),—at least according to Heyne.

Moreover, it appears that of the nine conjectures proposed, the one here advocated and Gallée's *dagaliomon*¹ (or Schlüter's *dagas lioman*) are the most satisfactory ones from the stylistic point of view, and of these two, *dagas woman* has a decidedly better chance by reason of the illustrations referred to.

Whether the irregular position of the alliteration in *uhtfugal sang* is to be tolerated or, with Holthausen, to be exchanged for *sang uhtfugal*, it is difficult to decide; in the latter case, *Jud.*, 211 : *sang hildeleoð* could be cited as a parallel.

In quoting the passage under discussion, the comma has deliberately been placed before *uhtfugal*.

FR. KLAEBER.

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¹Gallée's paper in *Tijdschrift voor nederl. Taal- en Letterk.* is not accessible to me.

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